

MOUNT GARIWANG: AN OLYMPIC CASUALTY

by

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I explore the contested development of Mount Gariwang in South Korea for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games. Through three separate studies that constitute the dissertation, I examine how different groups of people – journalists, activists, and local residents near Mount Gariwang – responded to the issue.

Study One is an examination of South Korean mainstream and alternative print media coverage of the controversy. The findings indicate that the controversy was variably politicized or depoliticized across outlets, with the difference being starkest between, on one side, conservative mainstream media – and on the other side, left-leaning mainstream and alternative media outlets.

Study Two is an exploration of the reflections of activists after a ‘failed’ environmental social movement, with a focus on their emotions. Interviews with 14 activists revealed that they felt a mix of resignation, regret, and frustration, as well as empathy with the locals from whom they did not have much support. The complex and at times contradictory mix of emotions enable reimagining the space between ‘not success’ and ‘not failure’ as a fertile opening.

Study Three is an exploration of the responses of local residents who live(d) within various proximities around Mount Gariwang to understand how Olympic-related environmental transformations and inequalities are experienced by differently situated host-city stakeholders. Interviews with 12 local residents indicate that the ‘local response’ was anything but monolithic. The different perceptions and feelings about the development were entangled with individual relationships (geographical and metaphorical) to the mountain, and their views of the state and understandings of what it means to be a ‘citizen,’ influenced by broader historical memories.

Overall, this dissertation contributes to understandings of injustices and inequalities that underlie environmental controversies, and how they are manifested and perpetuated through post-political processes. By seeking various responses to, and ways to understand, this controversy rather than accepting dominant representations of the issue, this dissertation also represents a way to challenge the post-political order, and to envision alternative political, social and environmental futures.

Lay Summary

This dissertation is about Mount Gariwang in South Korea that was partially bulldozed for a one-time event, a failed attempt to save it, and how different groups of people responded to the issue. Study One revealed that the issue was portrayed variably across differently positioned media outlets. In Study Two, interviews with activists shed light on the role of emotions in how activists understand and respond to a ‘failed’ movement. Interviews with local residents for Study Three revealed that local stakeholders’ experiences were influenced by multiple factors, such as their proximity to the mountain, their understandings of their role as citizens, and the broader historical development trajectories of South Korea. The findings together highlight the various interests, injustices and inequalities that underlie environmental controversies. By seeking various perspectives, I intend to highlight the importance of challenging taken-for-granted understandings of an issue as a way of creating openings for alternative futures.

Preface

This research was approved by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board at The University of British Columbia (Certificate Number H17-00030, Principal Investigator: Dr. Brian Wilson) as well as from the Institutional Review Board of my host institution, Seoul National University in South Korea (Certificate Number 1702/003-014).

A version of Chapter Three (Study One) has been published as:

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Dr. Brian Wilson, my supervisor, is a second author on this publication. Dr. Brian Wilson, as the second author, provided feedback regarding the structure and content of the paper and aided in the manuscript preparation. I was responsible for developing the research questions, data collection and analysis, and manuscript preparation.

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Dedication

*To ᄒᄒᄒ Umma & ᄒᄒᄒ Appa,
who spell 'love': g-i-v-e¹*

*To Max,
Your love is a dimension,
ever a part of me.*

Even
After
All this time,
The Sun never says to the Earth,
“You owe me.”

Look
What happens
With a love like that.
It lights the whole sky.

- Hāfiz

¹ Kay, S. (2014). *No Matter the Wreckage*. Los Angeles, CA: Write Bloody Publishing.

1. Introduction

This dissertation is about a mountain that was partially razed for a one-time event (the Olympic Games), a failed attempt to save it, and how different groups of people responded to the issue – namely, journalists, activists, and local residents. The issue is the controversial development of Mount Gariwang – formerly a protected area – for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games (‘the Games’ or ‘the Olympics’ hereafter) in South Korea (‘Korea’ hereafter). I describe and contextualize each of these groups’ responses in three separate studies, preceded by this introduction and a description of overarching methodological considerations, and followed by a discussion and a conclusion.

The three studies are associated with topics of inequality and injustice. These are themes one may intuitively perceive as possessing a certain dark gravitas – a metaphoric quality that I liken to the literal darkness of the night. Just as the literal darkness of night forms a sort of shroud that is devoid of direction until it can be illuminated by a source of light, so too are the ‘dark’ qualities of injustice and inequality – similarly opaque and out of sight until met with probing lights. I therefore propose that this dissertation be read as a journey under a metonymic ‘night sky,’ through which my pursuit of inquiry serves as a probing light. The three studies that comprise this dissertation may in fact be considered as individual stars that make up a larger constellation.

Finally, this metaphor also takes on a personal layer of meaning, in that the gaps between each ‘star’ (study) represent the spaces of nebulous ambiguity that I often encountered while distilling meaning from the studies, and connecting the dots. Though these gaps – which often felt like vacuous abyss void of ideas – were difficult to navigate, they were, in hindsight, an essential component in forming the proverbial constellation.

In the next section, I provide contextual information about the Mount Gariwang controversy necessary to understand the three studies that constitute the dissertation. Following this, I describe in more detail the three studies that comprise this dissertation, and introduce themes and questions that weave through the studies – as a guide for connecting the studies, like stars, in a proverbial constellation. Following that, I provide a brief overview of the structure of this dissertation to help the reader navigate through this space. Afterwards, I delineate bodies of theoretical literature and empirical research that informs this dissertation as a whole. Specific reviews of literature that cater to each study are provided in each of the three study chapters.

1.1 Background, Context and Timeline of Events

Mount Gariwang was formerly a protected area, distinguished as class 1 (on a descending scale of 1 to 3) on the South Korean Ministry of Environment’s ‘Ecological Naturalness Scale’ for over five-hundred years (Jeon & Chon, 2014: 62; R. Kim, 2014), warranting the highest degree of protection for endangered species and ecosystem vulnerability (Ministry of Environment, 2009). It was also classified as a degree 9 (on an ascending scale of 0 to 10) on the ‘Degree of Green Naturality’ scale, under which forests with trees over 50 years of age with a degree 9 designation are protected from “any kind of development activities” (R. Kim, 2014). Mount Gariwang is – although perhaps no longer – home to over 100 endangered mammal, bird, and plant species. One of these is the Wangsasre tree – the rare hybrid birch unique to the Korean Peninsula (Cheyne, 2013; Jeon & Chon, 2014). In June 2013, the ‘protected area’ label was lifted from parts of Mount Gariwang in order to allow venue development for Olympic alpine skiing events under the newly legislated ‘Special Act’:

[For] Games-related facilities in a conservation zone... the Minister of the Korea Forest Service *may revoke the designation of all, or a part of a conservation zone...* in consideration of opinions of relevant specialists after establishing a plan to revoke

the conservation zone for forest genetic resources, and to protect, conserve, and reinstate forests (Article 34 ‘Special Exceptions to the Forest Protection Act’ in ‘Special Act on Support for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games,’ 2013: 13, emphasis added).

Despite resistance from many environmental and civic groups, construction was undertaken and completed in September 2015. As the following chapters will show, it was not just the forest (and its non-human species) that were affected; there was a small community at the base of the mountain that is now the finish line for the ski course. This community was displaced to make way for a main registration building, two hotels (only one of which was built to completion), parking lots, and access roads.

1.2 Literature Review

This exploration of different groups’ responses to the development of Mount Gariwang was informed by various bodies of literature. A concept that was relevant to, and was interrogated, throughout the three studies was ‘post-politics.’ In this section, I first describe what ‘post-politics’ means, and explain how it manifests in environmental issues through two examples: 1) the media coverage of the controversy surrounding the expansion of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX); and 2) the legitimization of liquefied natural gas (LNG) in British Columbia, Canada. Afterwards, I introduce the contested notion of ‘development,’ another metanarrative that runs throughout the dissertation – and its (neo)colonial undercurrents. I explain the role that sport mega-events play in promoting ‘development,’ and thereby serving as another post-political platform.

1.2.1 'Post-politics' and the environment.

In an op-ed article about the contested 'Leap Manifesto'² (Leap Manifesto, 2015) in the alternative news outlet *The Tyee*, founder of Greenpeace International and former Professor of environmental law at University of Victoria Michael M'Gonigle argues that rather than trying to come to an agreement – and eventually shut down conversations – about whether or not the Leap Manifesto can offer a real solution to climate change, its discontents should be embraced for providing a “chance for real debate – something democracies should prize” (M'Gonigle, 2016: para 1). He states: “Both capitalism and democracy now seem to be about less debate, not more. That's the neoliberal secret for harmonizing accumulation and legitimacy. Stifle the conversation. Leave it to the managers” (M'Gonigle, 2016: para 11). Illustrated in this statement is the concept of 'post-politics,' which plays a significant role in maintaining environmental issues (among others) as an arena for 'experts' and elites in power. While literature on post-politics is wide in range, led by several scholars such as Chantal Mouffe, Jacques Rancière, and Slavoj Žižek, a common theme across literature is that post-politics refers to a politics of consensus that emerged in the post-Cold War era (Taškale, 2016).

Before going more in-depth about post-politics, it is helpful to distinguish between 'politics' and the 'political,' following Chantal Mouffe. Mouffe refers to 'politics' as “the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organising human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political” (Mouffe, 2005: 9). The 'political,' on the

² The Leap Manifesto is a non-partisan initiative that arose from a two-day meeting in 2015 of Canada's Indigenous rights leaders and social, environmental, and labour justice activists. The objective was to “create a space to not just say “no” to the worst attacks on human rights and environmental standards, but to dream together about the world we actually want and how we could get there” (Leap Manifesto, 2015: FAQ page para 1). It was coordinated by Naomi Klein's *This Changes Everything* team.

other hand, refers to a space of power, conflict, and potential emergence of space for antagonism (Taškale, 2016: 31).

Mouffe (2005) claims that the ‘post-political vision’ is one that embraces (and imposes) a consensual form of democracy, in which conflicts can (and ought to) be avoided through dialogue. Mouffe argues that post-politics forbids affective or passionate form of politics, which renders it unaccommodating to deep difference. She explains that we have now entered an era in which the ‘we/they’ antagonisms have disappeared under a democracy based on rationality and reason, which cannot grasp the pluralistic nature of the social world and the conflicts it entails. She instead advocates for ‘agonistic pluralism,’ which involves “a vibrant clash of democratic political positions” (Mouffe, 2005: 20-21). She proposes a democracy that consists of ‘agonism’ (between adversaries) instead of ‘antagonism’ (between enemies), which describes a relationship between opposing parties that recognizes the legitimacy of the other while acknowledging that there is no ‘rational’ solution to their conflict. In a post-political world, there is a “lack of political channels for challenging the hegemony of the neoliberal model of globalization” (Mouffe, 2009: 552). Under an agonistic democracy, consensus is no longer the goal. Rather, space emerges for pluralistic deliberations and disputes for matters of public concern open to all.

Slavoj Žižek (1999: 29) states that the post-political is the attempt to “depoliticise the conflict by bringing it to its extreme, via the direct militarization of politics,” meaning that it prevents the politicization of conflicts and identities, foreclosing the political. His approach to post-politics differs from Mouffe’s with respect to the emphasis on the foreclosure of class struggle. Žižek argues that post-politics presents a false hope that struggle can be resolved, which results in the maintenance of the status quo. Under the premise that conflict and struggle constitute the system, Žižek maintains that revolutionary struggle derived from class struggle is

an alternative that will never be assimilated, and can lead to achieving alternate social imaginaries.

Jacques Rancière interprets post-democracy (which he uses synonymously with ‘post-politics’) as “a political idyll of achieving the common good by an enlightened government of elites buoyed by the confidence of the masses” (1999: 93). He emphasizes that consensus operates through disavowal, rather than repression. Rancière (2001) employs what he calls the ‘partition of the sensible,’ through which he explains that conflict is controlled by the police order. ‘Police order’ in this context refers to a process of establishing and managing who and what counts; as a form of distributional power in the service of neoliberal ideologies. In other words, Rancière’s understanding of post-politics (or, as he would call it, ‘post-democracy’) is a situation in which dispute and any other contestation that may disturb the status quo are rejected.

Taşkale (2016: 33) provides a comparative summary of the three theorists, stating that Mouffe regards post-politics as “a hegemonic order that repressed antagonism,” while Žižek sees it as “a form of depoliticisation that forecloses class struggle,” and Rancière interprets it as a distributive form of power that disavows equality. However, the common theme underlining all three theorists’ work is that post-politics is used to refer to the propensity towards harmony and consensus in which “antagonism, radical structural change... seem to be ignored,” and a situation in which “politics is reduced to the economic, to a depoliticized expert administration” (Taşkale, 2016: 31, 33).

Scholars, particularly those who critically examine environmental politics and communication practices, have taken up this concept of ‘post-politics’ as a theoretical lens. For instance, Wilson and Swyngedouw (2014: 6) refer to ‘post-politics’ as:

A situation in which the political – understood as a space of contestation and agonistic engagement – is increasingly colonized by... technocratic mechanisms and consensual procedures that operate within an unquestioned framework of representative democracy, free market economics, and cosmopolitan liberalism.

In turn, technocrats' market- and consensus-oriented approaches do not leave much space for alternative, radical strategies or solutions to emerge. Such trends are reflected in communication about environmental policies and management of sport mega-events; while environmental issues are considered seriously (or portrayed as so) in most cases nowadays, they are done so in a manner that may (purposely or inadvertently) conceal what is ultimately a profit-motive. In this way, the unequal socio-political power relations that led to the issues in the first place are concealed, and thus never addressed.

As the 'political' refers to the "distinctive experience of antagonism" (Taşkale, 2016: 31), 'post-political' therefore refers to the repression of antagonisms, rendering politics without antagonism as 'depoliticized politics.' 'Depoliticization' refers to the narrowing of the boundaries of democratic politics and the rendering of social, economic, and ecological issues as matters to be managed by technocrats within "the framework of an 'inevitable' hegemonic neoliberal project and global market forces" (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014: 220). Rather than revealing competing values and approaches among stakeholders, depoliticization leaves little room for public discussion and renders those who disagree with the consensus reached by "experts" as "fundamentalist, traditionalist, or blind radical" (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014: 220). In contrast, 'politicization' refers to processes of revealing competing sets of assumptions, values, choices, interests and underlying uncertainties that underlie multiple visions of society and futures (Harriss, 2007: 487). When issues are politicized, they are raised as matters of public concern open to discussions, debates, dissections and evaluations among ordinary citizens

through a variety of arenas (Wilson & Swyngedouw, 2014: 2). ‘Post-politics’ then, is a situation in which forces and discourses of depoliticization are dominant while those of politicization are pushed to the margins.

Depoliticization plays a parallel role to post-politics, as political issues and contradictions are ‘reduced’ to policy problems to be managed by a few experts. Depoliticization plays a parallel role to post-politics, as political issues and contradictions are ‘reduced’ to policy problems to be managed by a few experts. It is important to note that underlining all three terms is a questioning of democracy itself, which is a rarely contested nor examined ideal of “institutionalized political life” (Wilson & Swyngedouw, 2014: 2). As Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy (1997) stated, post-politics is characterized by the erosion of democracy and the weakening of the public sphere.

This lens of post-politics has been used in critiquing how environmental crises – particularly climate change – have been ‘managed’ and communicated. Maesele (2015: 393) provides four characteristics of the post-political condition: 1) concealing the competing imaginations of social actors on alternative futures; 2) assuming that a scientific consensus leads to a political consensus, reducing policy making to a matter of rationality claims; 3) framing environmental questions as an abstract global threat with externalized, “objectified” problems such as CO₂ emissions; and 4) foreclosing the space for politico-ideological conflict and rendering citizens as spectators rather than as participants in shaping alternative futures. Below, I provide examples of specific discourses and approaches to environmental management (e.g., ‘sustainability’ and ecological modernization) that have post-political and depoliticizing characteristics.

Scholar of geography, political ecology, power and democracy Erik Swyngedouw (2007, 2009, 2010, 2015) provides important insights into how theories of post-politics can be used to analyze contemporary eco-political practices. The current paradox in environmental management, he claims, is that while the environment is politically mobilized, it lacks the proper political dimension, and discusses the various ways in which environmental crises become depoliticized (Swyngedouw, 2015). For example, emphasizing CO₂ as the single most important component to ‘manage’ is a form of depoliticization in that it conceals the socio-political structures (and related social conflicts and injustices) that led to the need to mitigate carbon in the first place. “Fetishizing” CO₂ reduces the complex socio-political motivators and implications of environmental issues and prevents a proper political framing. Moreover, the dominant paradigm of managing CO₂ (via ecological modernization) has been to treat it as a commodity by putting a price on it, making it trade-able – a strategy now often employed by sport mega-event hosts³. Not only does this process conceal the complex socio-spatial, and socio-political layers of carbon, it further entrenches environmental crises as an issue for technocratic management within the hegemonic neoliberal capitalist status quo (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2015).

The paradigm of ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable development’ is another mechanism through which environmental crises and controversies are depoliticized. The terms ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable development’ have dominated modern discourse not only with respect to the environment, but about the future trajectory of (human) life on earth. Dryzek (2013: 149) notes that similar to the word ‘democracy,’ ‘sustainable development’ can carry

³ For example, the Vancouver and Portland-based company ‘Offsetters’ is a “provider of sustainability and carbon-management solutions,” and was employed as the official supplier of carbon offsets for the 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (Offsetters, no date: ‘About Us’ page).

many meanings and has become the “main game” in global environmental affairs. However, its underlying premise is that while ecological limits should be respected, “they can also be stretched if the right policies are chosen, so that economic growth can continue indefinitely” (Dryzek, 2013: 149). A paradigm that is intricately linked to sustainable development is ecological modernization (EM), which is explained in more detail as part of Study One (Chapter 3).

1.2.2 How post-politics manifest in environmental controversies – the examples of LNG and TMX.

There are two examples that can inform our understanding of this Mount Gariwang controversy – particularly with respect to how post-politics manifests in communicating the issue. The first example is how liquefied natural gas (LNG), and in turn, the environmentally destructive practice of hydraulic fracturing, have become legitimated in British Columbia (BC), Canada. Chen and Gunster (2015) demonstrate how the texts and images on the official branding website of the project ‘LNG in BC’ legitimate the industry by: 1) emphasizing the economic benefits of LNG development (e.g. employment and taxation revenues); and 2) defining LNG as a way to strengthen and highlight BC’s ‘environmental leadership.’ For example, the visuals (e.g. images of beautiful landscapes of BC) on the ‘LNG in BC’ depict natural gas as a clean and safe source of energy that has minimal ecological impact. In addition, the website frames LNG as an “unequivocal public good” and an “economic engine for a prosperous future” (Chen & Gunster, 2015: 313-314). In these ways, LNG is portrayed as a ‘win-win’ industry that all should support – a veneer that in turn covers up the contentious politics around it.

The legitimation of LNG fits into the ideological petro-culture framework, which “directs our attention to how fossil fuel dependency functions as an epistemological force structuring our

socio-cultural imaginary” (Chen & Gunster, 2015: 307). In other words, petroleum should be understood as a “*political* resource” that has physical, legal, and cultural influence on everyday life, ultimately informing “neoliberal social reality” (Chen & Gunster, 2015: 307; Szeman, 2013; Kennedy, 2014). In his book *Ethical Oil* (2010), the conservative pundit Ezra Levant argues that Canadian oil is more ethical than oil sourced from elsewhere around the world with respect to human rights, labour practices and environmental policies – thereby implying that extracting oil in Canada is an ethical obligation. As such, Chen and Gunster (2015) draw attention to the ideological forces at play that reinforce the petro-culture. A result of this rhetoric is a false binary that suggests a choice between the Canadian oil sands, or an unethical alternative much worse (Szeman, 2013). Chen and Gunster (2015) claim that a similar binary logic renders LNG as the clean, correct, and *only* substitute (i.e. as opposed to ‘dirty’ coal or bitumen).

A notable aspect in the framing of this petro-culture is in who has a say (or who is depicted and legitimated to have a say). Chen and Gunster (2015) point out that in the case of LNG in BC, provincial government officials, industry proponents and international investors are positioned as experts and decision-makers, while those affected by the LNG development projects are rendered as recipients of this ‘expert’ knowledge and information.

This positioning of government and industry-led information as the only reliable and authorized source of knowledge is also seen in the second example – the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) spanning Alberta and British Columbia, Canada (formerly Kinder Morgan’s, now bought by the Government of Canada as of May 2018). If this controversial project goes ahead, the expanded pipeline will carry 590,000 barrels of oil products per day from Alberta to British Columbia, spanning 1,150 kilometers (Leahy, 2018). While the public discussion around TMX as portrayed in media has exposed the conflict around this issue

(i.e. as opposed to shifting toward consensus, which is a characteristic of post-political coverage), it is nonetheless noteworthy that characteristics of depoliticization are prominent, as identified below.

Many Canadian mainstream print and televised news media outlets have carried the stance of the decision-makers, such as the federal government and the provincial governments of British Columbia and Alberta, where the pipeline will be expanded (Barney, 2017). Much of the media framing around the issue has aligned with the federal government's main arguments in favour of expanding the pipeline – notably, the predicted economic benefits, as well as the 'scientifically proven' safety of the pipeline (van den Berg, 2018). For example, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau emphasized the *evidence-based* 'guarantee' of the safety of the pipeline as a reason to endorse the project:

If I thought this project was unsafe for the BC coast, I would reject it. This is a decision based on rigorous debate, on science and on evidence. We have not been and will not be swayed by political arguments – be they local, regional or national (Trudeau, 2016a,b as announced on his official government website and reported in the CBC Radio 1 programme 'The Current').

This rhetoric demonstrates post-politics in its rendering of science and evidence as apolitical. In drawing this example, my intention is not to dismiss the importance of rigorous science and evidence-based claims, but rather, to point out that issues arise when science is co-opted or taken up selectively to justify problematic decisions and support malignant interests. This is a prominent characteristic of a depoliticized discourse, wherein scientific expertise is utilized to quell democratic debate – similar to how the promise to 'restore the forest using the best available technology' was used to justify the development of Mount Gariwang, as Study One (Chapter 3) will illustrate.

Another notable media framing has been that of ‘under whose jurisdiction the decision falls.’ The federal government has been claiming – as is often unquestioningly carried forward in news media – that it has the ultimate jurisdiction over the pipeline. Seen through the lens of post-politics, this claim can be considered a ‘buckling down’ of dictating who has the power to dictate decisions, rendering other voices – or attempts to voice their opinions – futile. In 2016, Andrew Coyne, a columnist for the *National Post* and a panelist for *CBC’s* ‘The National’ made this sentiment clear in the ‘Who are the winners and losers in the Trudeau government’s pipeline decision?’ debate:

This government has gone to the ends of the earth up to this point to allay people’s fears and address people’s concerns. At some point, a democratically elected government has to be able to make a decision. At some point, the rule of law has to apply. At some point, the processes we set up to adjudicate and look into the evidence of this have to be upheld. We cannot simply yield, in this case, to extra-parliamentary, extra-legal opposition (Coyne, 2016).

Illustrated here is a nostalgic invocation of parliament as *the* place where ‘politics’ should happen. Coyne’s nostalgia combined with the Prime Minister’s disavowal of ‘political arguments’ expose the status quo (post-)politics around environmental issues, particularly surrounding energy infrastructure. This depoliticizing narrative focused on jurisdictions is limiting also because it does not take into account the flowing air and water that will be polluted as a result of expanding the pipeline, none of which falls under one distinct jurisdiction. Furthermore, non-human life that will inevitably be impacted by expanding the pipeline is rarely discussed.

In fact, this limitation is indicative of an overall lack of a more comprehensive view. Overlooked in mainstream media coverage is any questioning of the *extraction* of fossil fuels in the first place, rather than the ‘safe’ transport of these materials. In other words, most coverage

starts from the assumption that fossil fuels *will be* extracted and therefore need to be transported. This is echoed in the Mount Gariwang controversy – as Chapter 3 will show, many right-leaning outlets covered the issue with the assumption that the mountain *will be* developed, and from there focused on peripheral aspects, such as promises of economic benefit. Starting with these assumptions pushes aside important questions, such as whether it is a good idea to be investing into, and developing, infrastructure that guarantees continued ecological destruction.

That said, there was also coverage that offered alternative views and voices⁴ about the TMX controversy. Nick Purdon (2018), a journalist for the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (CBC), drove from Edmonton to Vancouver – the approximate route along which the pipeline would be built – to talk to members of different communities along the way about what is at stake for them. Similar to Mount Gariwang, the perceived economic benefit was the primary reason given by those who advocated for the pipeline. Again, it needs to be emphasized here that the problem lies not in the yearning for economic development, to which everyone should be equally entitled, but the fact that building a pipeline or a ski venue (and thereby, destroying the environment) is rendered as their only means to get the desired development.

In Purdon's televised news-piece (2018), one of the featured citizens was the Chief of the Cheam First Nation, who strongly advocated for the development to "improve [their community's] economic standing" and stated that the "green groups get in [their] way." This comment echoes the criticism about how Indigenous communities in Canada often get painted

⁴ There are also forms of communication besides news media that effectively take on this topic. For example, *Directly Affected* (2014) is a documentary made by Vancouver-based filmmaker Zack Embree, who set out to understand the impacts of the Kinder Morgan pipeline on local communities. Similar to Embree (2014) and Purdon (2018), Matt Hern, Am Johal and Joe Sacco took the same journey, which they chronicled in their book *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life: A Tar Sands Tale* (2018). Also, similar to what I did in the first study, there are meta-level analyses of media coverage of the issue, such as in episodes of Jesse Brown's podcast 'CanadaLand' (2018).

with a broad brush prioritizing the environment over all else (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006). This aspect of Purdon's piece is similar to South Korean media coverage of the Mount Gariwang controversy that carried the voices of pro-development local residents, and challenged the romanticized monolithic portrayal of 'locals' as all opposed to any kind of development. As Study One (Chapter 3) will show, it is important to remain vigilant to all opinions, even if they go against protecting the environment – particularly if these voices belong to those who are marginalized, as their reasoning can result in asking bigger structural questions about how economic, social and environmental issues are intertwined.

Matt Hern and Am Johal, with cartoonist and author Joe Sacco, took a similar journey from Vancouver to the tar sands in Alberta, which they documented in their book *Global Warming and the Sweetness of Life: A Tar Sands Tale* (2018). This book is in many ways similar to Study Three (Chapter 6) of this dissertation with respect to the emphasis on talking to the people whose lives are directly influenced by, or depend on, extracting from and/or developing their surrounding environment. Hern and Johal provide accounts of lived experiences and perspectives of local stakeholders (i.e. people who live and work in Fort McMurray), and think through these accounts using various theories of social and political ecology. In doing so, they propose a new way to understand ecology, linking the domination of humans by humans, with the domination of non-humans.

Their book informed my dissertation particularly with respect to thinking about environmental destruction through the lens of colonization and exploitation. For instance, they consult Indigenous (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg) scholar Leanne Simpson about links between the extractive industry and colonialism. She argues that development is based on colonial exploitation – “getting something for nothing... taking without giving... rights without

responsibility or accountability or consent” (as cited as an interview excerpt in Hern & Johal, 2018: 69). Anxiety and shame are integral in this process – using the example of settler colonialism in Canada, she adds:

Economic development and intellectual development, for instance, [are] used to make Indigenous peoples feel ashamed of our societies and nations. This, combined with an historicization of our nations and the continual erasure of us from contemporary society, places us in this situation that if we want to survive as humans, not even as Indigenous peoples, but as humans... then we need to get on board, develop, and fully participate in this hyper-exploitation of natural resources, or we won't survive. It is a jobs/environment dichotomy that has been intensified in a settler colonial context (as cited in Hern & Johal, 2018: 69).

While it is not my intention to misappropriate theories that have emerged from settler-colonial conflict to a context in which such violence is not currently ongoing, nor to declare what emotions the locals *must be* feeling (e.g. shame and anxiety), there are similar dimensions of exploitation that are applicable to the case of Mount Gariwang. Specifically, the proliferation of globalization norms of what a ‘modern city’ looks like could have contributed to convincing locals that going ahead with the development and thereby ‘catching up with the rest of Korea,’ are ways out of such shame and anxiety about the status of their community.

Hern and Johal’s research also helped me to think about environmentally destructive development projects through the lens of post-politics. For example, they claim that there seems to be “no modernity other than a capitalist one” in the Global North (Hern & Johal, 2018: 27) – for this reason, they propose that envisioning alternative futures would require a rupture between capitalism and modernity. This process of ruptures and new imaginations must be underlined with an emphasis on equality that extends beyond humans as well – as Hern and Johal (2018: 146) put it, “change has a necessary relationship to equality, not only for human life, but for the other-than-human world as well.” In this respect, their research encouraged me to reflect on my

anthropocentric way of understanding and addressing environmental crises, which in itself is a taken-for-granted approach. Overall, their analyses inform the narrative overarching this dissertation: that addressing environmental crises must be accompanied with alternative visions of futures and ways of life, and that doing so is an antidote to post-politics and the ‘crisis of imagination’ (explained in more detail in Study Three [Chapter 5]).

1.2.3 Sport mega-events, globalization, and development.

The concept of ‘development’ frequently emerges throughout the three studies I conducted for this dissertation – particularly in interviews with activists and local residents – and serves as a dominant metanarrative that helps explain the perceived need and yearning to build the alpine venue on Mount Gariwang. To better understand how sport mega-events and the notion of ‘development’ have come to be intertwined with one another, examining sport mega-events through a political economy lens is necessary. This is what Richard Gruneau and John Horne offer through their edited volume *Mega-Events and Globalization: Capital and Spectacle in a Changing World Order* (2016) – with a focus on how mega-events influence the “operative scopes” (p. 22) of global capitalism and globalization, as well as how mega-events represent “festivals of modernity” (p. 15). I elaborate below on how sport mega-events both influence and are influenced by globalization, as well as how the concept of ‘development’ configures into the relationship between sport mega-events and globalization.

In the introduction to the volume, Gruneau and Horne (2016: 9-11) present the relationship among sport mega-events and the neoliberal turn in international economics, the acceleration of the mobility of capital and the resulting increase in social and ecological destruction. They claim that sport mega-events play a significant role in “expanding the realm of capitalist exchange on a global scale” (p. 9) – and act as a logical capital response to the

overproduction for satiated markets. This observation aligns with Harvey's (1989) suggestion that the production of immaterial goods (e.g. services, knowledge, experiences and events) emerged as new forms of commodification to address the same issue identified by Gruneau and Horne (2016). Leveraging events as commodities has facilitated economic growth by universalizing the market and expanding the "sphere of exchange" – by introducing a form of capital that can be launched and recuperated quickly, as commodities related to events, for example, are ephemeral and activity-oriented (Gruneau & Horne, 2016: 9).

The 'discovery' of events as a new way to accumulate capital brings with it issues of gentrification, wealth inequality, social polarization, and property speculation, to name but a few. The case of the 2004 Athens Summer Olympic & Paralympic Games in Greece is a case in point. In that instance, turning to sport mega-events as a way to cure slow economic growth brought intensely negative consequences (Gruneau & Horne, 2016: 11). Through highlighting the displacements, dispossessions and social and ecological devastations associated with mega-events, Kevin Fox Gotham (2016) sees this new form of capital (i.e. mega-events) as 'creative destruction.' Originally coined by Joseph Schumpeter (1942), 'creative destruction' in this context encapsulates how mega-events reveal the "uneven and politically volatile trajectories of urban development" (Gotham, 2016: 31). In other words, mega-events revalorize space through "displacement, rezoning, and the conversion of unprofitable land-uses into spaces of profit making via consumption-based entertainment experiences" (Gotham, 2016: 31) – all of which took place for building a ski hill on Mount Gariwang. As the chapters ahead will reveal, the development of Mount Gariwang can also be understood as a case of 'creative destruction' for which people (i.e. locals who used to live at the base of the mountain) were displaced from their homes, and dispossessed of their properties and lifestyles.

Gruneau and Horne (2016: 2) argue that, by their nature, mega-events are never “stand-alone occasions with political, economic or cultural autonomy,” and that they instead require “global networks of capital accumulation and circulation, culture and communications, international governmental relations... and international flows of migration and tourism.” Sport mega-events, in this way, become a platform for promotional culture where consumption of global sporting products and events are a marker of a global citizenship (Whitson, 1998). In addition, as Roche (2002: 8) claims, mega-events play a role in the formation of “global culture.” This “global culture” that Roche (2002: 8) refers to is predicated upon a certain notion of ‘modernity’ – a term integrally tied to narratives around development (and perceptions of underdevelopment). Gruneau and Horne (2016) employ Arif Dirlik’s (2007: 7) concept of modernity “as a product of globalization.” In turn, Dirlik (2007: 7) defines ‘globalization’ as a process whereby modernity has gone global, promising liberation from the past globally, while bearing “the stamp of the colonial economically, politically, socially, and culturally, perpetuating past inequalities while adding to them new ones of its own.” Development, therefore, has been legitimated as an integral part of the globalization process with opportunities for hegemonic powers to expand – and for this expansion to be expressed as neutral and technical (Cullather, 2000).

Marketed with promises of global recognition, significant status on the world stage, political leverage, international investment, and economic development (Roche, 2000), sport mega-events in this way align with the taken for granted understanding of modernity – that implies a need for particular forms of perpetual development. In this sense, Dirlik (2003: 275) argues, “if globalization means anything, it is the incorporation of societies globally into a capitalist modernity.” The vying for sport mega-events by countries considered the Global South,

BRICS countries⁵, and other peripheral nations demonstrates the power of this desire to meet the globally accepted and expected norm of modernity. Gruneau and Horne (2016: 15) state that sport mega-events present an opportunity to these nations to “make their own claims on modernity,” by putting on display their record of ‘development’ and progress, defined by Eurocentric standards.

Of course, the term ‘development’ is itself contested and has been used in a range of ways. For my purposes in this dissertation, I will feature Cullather’s (2000: 644) definition of development, meaning “a process of incremental, managed change toward a final state... [in which] more ‘developed’ areas can be distinguished from the less so by the degree, speed, and extent of their progress from traditional to the modern.” However, this ‘final state’ is one that continues to recede into the future (a “moving target”), as new institutions and new ways to integrate and use resources are continuously devised (Cullather, 2000: 646), rendering development as a never-ending process.

As Cullather (2000: 646) put it, “To be developed is to be Euro-American,” and the standards constantly shift according to western assessments of mostly European and North American advancements in relation to other people. To C. Douglas Lummis, ‘development’ is a neocolonial politics in disguise, which he describes as an ideology under which “the most massive systematic project of human exploitation, and the most massive assault on culture and nature” was launched (Lummis, 1991: 45). Similarly, Ferguson (1990: 254-256) claims that development projects expand state power, provide entry points to otherwise closed societies, and provide resources for later exploitation – all without any negative connotations due to the

⁵ Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

innocuous label. To this end, ‘development’ becomes another post-political tool for vested interests – imperial and otherwise.

With this background, it is not hard to see how the Olympics have served as an effective channel through which the notions and forces of development, neocolonialism and globalization have merged and bourgeoned. To conceptualize ‘development’ associated with sport mega-events, Darnell and Millington (2016: 66-67) return to US President Harry Truman’s 1949 inauguration speech, in which Truman presented the idea of ‘development through modernization.’ The authors note that Truman introduced ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’ as ahistorical, with little attention to the history of inequality and colonialism that led to the gap in status in the first place. Moreover, Truman’s speech indicated a discursive shift from “the old imperialism” to a new “program of development,” under which the Global South required help from the Global North to achieve progress (i.e. economic growth) defined within a capitalist framework, with an emphasis on industrialization and technological advancement (Darnell & Millington, 2016: 67). They state that this ‘development through modernization’ benefitted elites in the Global South and other peripheral nations, for they could execute their capitalist projects as ostensibly “leading their nations into the modern world” (p. 67). In the following section, I elaborate on various responses – including forms of resistance – to such projects that proposed to ‘modernize’ through sport-related events and infrastructure developments.

1.2.4 Modernization through sport-related events and infrastructure development – and responses to them.

Gruneau and Horne (2016) state that while there is a plethora of academic work that identifies tangible and intangible legacies of mega-events, there remains a need to focus more on

the contradictory features of mega-events, particularly with respect to issues of injustice, inequality, social polarization and domination. These issues transcend nation state boundaries, as sport mega-events are integral to processes of globalization. Scholars have documented different responses to issues associated with sport mega-events and/or sport-related infrastructure projects, ranging from: responses to stadium development (Bélanger, 2000; Schimmel, 2006; Scherer & Sam, 2008; Sam & Scherer, 2010); activist resistance in host cities (Lenskyj, 2000, 2008; Boykoff, 2011, 2014a, 2016); journalists' response to (i.e. media coverage of) Olympic-related resistance (Wilson & Van Luijk, 2018); and alternatives to urban planning policies (Broudehoux, 2009; Gaffney, 2014, 2016; Pentifallo & VanWynsberghe, 2015). Related research has focused on experiences of marginalized populations in host cities (Broudehoux, 2016; Kennelly, 2015, 2016; Kennelly & Watt, 2011, 2012, 2013; O'Bonsawin, 2010) and responses to mega-event related environmental issues (Lenskyj, 1998; Boykoff & Mascarenhas, 2016; Karamichas, 2013; Hayes & Horne, 2011; Hayes & Karamichas, 2012; Kim & Chung, 2018; Millington & Wilson, 2016; Millington, Darnell & Millington, 2018). There is, of course, a plethora of work that dates farther back than those listed above, examining other dimensions of sport mega-event related issues as well. The range I have decided to feature above represents work that closely informed this dissertation and will be explored in depth in the chapters ahead. Woven through the subsequent chapters are questions related to these different themes, pertaining to: politics and media; social movements and emotions; and social constructions of sport mega-events from the perspectives of 'local' stakeholders.

Of particular relevance are studies that examine responses to specific sport-related infrastructure developments, as they can shed light on why sport-related events and projects are often linked with notions of modernity, progress and an urban cosmopolitanism (Roche, 2000).

Many cities that want to adopt a post-industrial image and reposition themselves as key players on the global stage seek out mega-event hosting rights, and transform public spaces into entertainment-oriented centres because there exists a sense of optimism that sport stadiums can stimulate urban development (Bélanger, 2000; Sam & Scherer, 2010: 1458). Scholars note how sport-related infrastructure projects (e.g. stadia, ski hills) align with the neoliberal capitalist hegemony – believed to contribute to creating the image of a cosmopolitan city booming with entertainment and (sporting) culture image, attracting people and capital (Silk, 2004; Silk & Andrews, 2006; Schimmel, 2006; Whitson, 2004). As Bridge and Watson (2000: 452) put it, “cities are not simply material or lived spaces, but they are also spaces of representation that, in this case, are deeply aligned with neoliberal discourses of urban development.” The desire for reaping these benefits is more prominent in nations and locations considered peripheral – including PyeongChang, South Korea. In the three studies that constitute this dissertation, I explore how this neoliberal discourse of urban development through a sport mega-event infrastructure is legitimated, reinforced or challenged in news-media (Chapter 3), how it is resisted by activists (Chapter 4), as well as whether and how it is embraced or resisted by the local stakeholders (Chapter 5). In Chapter 5, I also explore more in depth about how this hegemonic discourse of urban development both informs, and is informed by, the particular historical and cultural context in which the locals in this region of South Korea live.

Although there are many reasons to focus on responses to sport-related mega-event projects, Scherer and Sam (2008) argue that by putting a critical lens on these public consultations, a climate of civic engagement can be fostered that can in turn challenge the semiautonomous public-private partnerships under a neoliberal growth paradigm that often bypass civic processes. On a broader level, the tensions that emerge in public consultation

processes about stadium developments reveal how local governments navigate and reconcile the pressure to transition towards an entrepreneurial, neoliberal city while also ensuring that urban space is (or appears to be) produced democratically (Sam & Scherer, 2010). These tensions also represent debates about different understandings of ‘public good’ – which, as Scherer and Sam (2008: 445) note, are often aligned with the interests of business elites. Such dilemmas are underlined with issues of unequal power relations, whereby outcomes to issues are “rhetorically constructed and are always constituted by power relations that afford various institutions... authority in determining solutions that are never purely imported into the deliberative environment” (Parkinson, 2004, as cited in Scherer & Sam, 2008: 449). Sam and Jackson (2006: 366) also state that these political mechanisms and their inherent power relations deserve attention because they set boundaries on the democratic “rules of engagement” through which competing claims are debated and eventually “resolved.”

An example of this work that is particularly informative for my dissertation is Scherer and Sam’s (2008) examination of the *politics* of the debate over the decision to renovate or rebuild Carisbrook stadium in Dunedin, New Zealand. I elaborate more on their work in Study Three, as both their and my research are concerned with local communities’ responses to a proposed plan regarding a sport-related infrastructure.

1.3 Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to ascertain how consent was generated (and/or manufactured) to enable this development – as a way to learn about issues of power and politics surrounding sport mega-events, as well as injustices and inequities related to decision making processes around development projects more broadly. I do this by exploring responses from three different groups (i.e. three different angles from which to understand the controversy), with a

stand-alone study dedicated to each group. Details about each study are outlined in the next section (1.4 ‘The Three Case-Studies: What and Why?’).

Through considering the different responses together, I have two contribution goals in mind for this dissertation. Firstly, I hope to explore various layers of injustices and inequalities that oftentimes underline environmental controversies and to show that environmental controversies are also social issues underpinned by power struggles. Secondly, I aim to consider how seeking various responses to, and ways to understand, an issue can be an act of ‘radical imagination’ (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014) and ‘hope.’ In other words, to ‘use a radical imagination’ can be seen as a way to resist the post-political order of accepting dominant representations of, and/or ‘solutions’ to, an issue as the ‘only’ option. To use a radical imagination, means, instead, actively envisioning alternative political, social and environmental futures.

In addition to these two main goals, I aim to engage with literatures pertaining to: environmental politics, sociology and communication; socio-political and cultural approaches to the study of sport mega-events; and social movements and emotions. Even though this multi-dimensional study of Mount Gariwang is geographically located in South Korea, the various dimensions and concerns around it are relevant not only to South Korea, but also to other sport mega-event hosts. It is also pertinent, in a general way, to studies of environmental communication; modern conceptualizations of the ‘environment’ and humans’ relationship to it; implications of news media discourse in shaping public understandings of controversies; power struggles that underpin environmental issues; questions of democracy; and citizen agency that uphold or challenge the status quo.

Gruneau and Horne (2016: 4) point also to the need for further research in this area when they argue that while there is a plethora of academic work that identifies tangible and intangible legacies of mega-events, there remains a need to focus more on the contradictory features of mega-events, such as issues of injustice, inequality, social polarization and domination. As a way of beginning to respond to this call for more research, I explore different responses to a sport mega-event related controversy, revealing the increasingly post-political ways in which the complex set of relationships mentioned above manifest.

This study is timely with respect to the multiple and ongoing environmental controversies around the world, especially in face of climate change and its unequal and unjust social consequences. Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield and Bradley (2002) have noted that these consequences are associated with multiple forms of inequity – including, but not limited to: intergenerational (i.e. the impact of our actions and decisions today to future generations); intra-generational (i.e. one's material privilege influences how vulnerable they are to environmental problems); and transfrontier (i.e. ways in which an environmental issue in one place may impact those living elsewhere). Other scholars who study sport and environment related issues have highlighted another form of inequity – that is, inequity between humans and non-human species (see: Stoddart, 2008; Wilson, 2012). They note that the negative impact on animal and plant habitat are rarely accounted for in decisions that have devastating consequences, such as developments of ski venues and golf courses.

With this background, I outline below the details and purpose of each study.

1.4 The Three Case Studies: What and Why?

Perhaps due to the controversial nature of the Mount Gariwang ski venue development, and the wide range of stakeholders involved with competing priorities and interests – many

responses to the development arose. These responses varied both between, and within, the different groups. The groups I am most focused on across these studies are journalists who covered the controversy, activists who resisted the development, and residents who live(d) near Mount Gariwang. In each study, I describe and contextualize these different responses – namely, how journalists across different media outlets wrote about the controversy, how activists voiced and maintained their opposition, and how and why the local residents had a range of responses to the development.

The first study (Chapter 3) is an exploration of how South Korean mainstream and alternative news media portrayed the controversy – in other words, how journalists responded to the issue. In essence, the study considers what one would learn about the Mount Gariwang controversy if news media were their only source of information – which was the case for many in and outside Korea. In this way, the first study also serves as a departure point for the two subsequent studies that make up this dissertation (Chapters 4 and 5) – which explore the issue from the activists’ and local residents’ perspectives, respectively. It is notable here – and as will become evident – that the perspectives of activists were, generally speaking, not well represented in news media. Put another way then, the approach I have taken was intended to inspire thinking about how, if at all, the media discourse pertaining to Mount Gariwang may have influenced how decisions were made, and how those decisions were perceived and experienced, by different stakeholders. Themes and theories that frame this study include: ‘post-politics’; depoliticization; sport mega-events and the environment; and media coverage of sport mega-events and the environment. These concepts are all explained in depth across this case. Overall, this first study illustrates the importance of more nuanced and democratic environmental communication in challenging power structures and hegemonic narratives that contribute to crises in the first place.

In the second study (Chapter 4), I explore how environmental and civic activists responded to the development of Mount Gariwang. Specifically, from conversations with activists about their resistance experiences, I infer how they *felt* about their experience resisting the development. In doing so, I examine how activists make sense of a movement that did not achieve its objective, and what constitutes ‘success’ and ‘failure’ in environmental social movements. Exploring the emotional dimensions at a movement’s decline is an underexplored area, to which I hope to contribute through this study. Themes and theories that comprise this study include: emotions after a movement that did not achieve its goal; the role of emotions in sustaining activism; and the relationship among sport, activism, and the environment.

The third and final study (Chapter 5) is an attempt to understand how the local residents who live in three communities of various proximities to Mount Gariwang (e.g. from the base of the mountain to 13km and 20km away) responded to the controversial development. As the first study (Chapter 3) of media coverage of the development will show, the range of views held by local residents were seldom thoroughly represented, or, for some outlets, included at all. Therefore, through this study, I also provide the ‘untold stories’ that point to the gaps in news media portrayals, as well as the consequences of such gaps. Themes and theories that inform this study include: ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (Harvey, 2003); ‘crisis of imagination’ (Haiven, 2014); the ‘Not In My Back Yard’ (NIMBY) and ‘Please In My Back Yard’ (PIMBY) phenomena; eco-social impacts of sports and sport mega-events; and how people view their place and role as ‘citizens’ (or not).

Connecting findings from all three studies leads to a more cohesive understanding of the issue overall. For example, insights offered by local stakeholders illuminate reasons behind why activists felt that there was a miscommunication between activists and the local communities. As

King (2005: 27) notes, drawing connections means tracing the networks of social, political, economic and cultural linkages that produced a particular issue, and how the issue in turn (re)shaped the linkages. In other words, each study, as a representation of different responses from diverse groups, serves as a partial account of the controversy, and therefore complements the others.

In the next chapter, I discuss methodological considerations that apply to all three studies and the dissertation as a whole. Then, I present the three separate studies – the responses of journalists (Chapter 3), activists (Chapter 4) and local residents in three communities near Mount Gariwang (Chapter 5). Afterwards, I discuss the threads that weave through the three studies in an attempt to make sense of the findings collectively. I conclude with deliberations of ‘hope’ in relation to this issue, report what I perceive to be limitations of the dissertation, and provide suggestions for future directions.

2. Research Design

This dissertation was conducted using a qualitative multi-method approach. The different methods adopted in the three studies are described as part of each respective chapter. In this section, I take a step back and provide a rationale behind my decision to take a multi-method approach overall. I also spend time describing the epistemological groundings that influenced my choice of methods. Afterwards, I reflect on how my background and position may influence this research because, in order to make sense of what one is looking at, one must first understand the place that one is looking *from*. I then provide information about the process of language translation – and some contemplation on the (inevitable and necessary) messiness of this process. Finally, I outline the ethical considerations that underlay this research.

2.1 Multiple Methods

In this dissertation, I use multiple methods – namely, Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA)⁶ (Altheide & Schneider, 2013), interviews, and field observation. Using multiple methods is a way to acknowledge that each study is a partial account of the controversy, and is intended to complement the others. By ‘complement the others,’ I do not imply the positivist notions of objectivity nor validation. Rather, ‘crystallization’ is a helpful concept here, which allows the researcher to imagine the topic as a crystal, which “combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach... provide[ing] us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic” (Richardson, 2000: 934). With this background, I explain here key tenets (e.g. the focus on context, a cultural studies approach, and the use of thematic analysis) of the

⁶ In QDA, the term ‘documents’ covers a wide range of sources ranging from personal records such as diaries and letters, to official documents issued by the state, to mass-media outputs. QDA is often used synonymously with Qualitative Media Analysis (QMA) and Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

methodology that span across the three studies, and aim to demonstrate how the strengths of the multi-method design manifest throughout the dissertation.

All methods utilized in this dissertation are ethnographic in nature. According to Altheide and Schneider (2013), this means that data collection and analysis procedures are informed by an awareness of the context in which the data were produced, which requires the researcher to be immersed in the data – constantly comparing and discovering new connections and themes. Here, ‘context’ is not something that exists “*out there*,” but rather, refers to “identities, practices, and effects generally [which] constitute the very context within which they are practices, identities or effects” (Slack, 1996: 125).

This focus on context is what characterizes a ‘cultural studies’ approach (King, 2005; Slack, 1996). Also characterized by a refusal to endorse a singular method, or to perceive application of any methodological tool as rigid, cultural studies has served as a useful approach due to its interdisciplinarity, anti-formalism, and flexibility – and the key tenet of the approach, which requires sensitivity to constantly changing economic, political and social contexts (King, 2005: 21). A cultural studies approach would value employing multiple methods if doing so is conducive to “gather[ing] more and better information, descriptions, resources, and interpretations” (Wright, 2001: 145 as cited in Andrews & Giardina, 2008: 407).

With the focus on context and the advantage of the flexibility that a cultural studies approach offers, I employ thematic analysis in all three studies of this dissertation. Thematic analysis is used to “identify, organize and offer insight into patterns of meaning (themes) *across* a data set” (Braun & Clarke 2012: 57, italics in original). While thematic analysis is useful in identifying “what is common” to the way a topic is talked about, Braun and Clarke (2012: 57) point out that “what is common” is not meaningful in and of itself. Instead, any identified

patterns need to relate to the particular research questions being asked. Here again, data cannot exist in isolation from context, and therefore, contextualizing ‘findings’ is fundamental in thematic analysis. To this end, Braun (2018) calls for a reflection upon the use of thematic analysis as critical social science researchers, highlighting that findings are not “there” to be “found,” but rather, that it is an inductive process, intertwined with the researchers’ perspectives, politics and passions in the process.

2.2 Ontological and Epistemological Reflections

Guided by Guba and Lincoln (1994), I provide here the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underline this dissertation. I assume that structures are ‘real,’ and have been shaped over time by combinations of social, political, cultural, and economic factors. However, I eschew positivist claims that there is a single, objective, discoverable ‘truth.’ Instead, I consider knowledge to be situated, partial, multiple, and embodied (Ellingson, 2009). Recognizing that ‘knowledge construction is situated and partial’ aligns well with the critical theory paradigm. Critical theory posits that the purpose of inquiry is to transform the social, political, cultural, and economic structures that “constrain and exploit humankind, by engagement in confrontation, even conflict” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 113). Advocacy and activism are prominent features in the critical theory paradigm, and render the researcher as a facilitator who understands what transformations are necessary. While I do not feel that I know exactly what transformations are necessary and how to achieve them, the voice of an advocate (i.e. myself) is present throughout the dissertation. I do not perceive this as a problem, however, as cultural studies is explicit in its aim to respond to, and intervene in, political and social conditions (King, 2005: 28).

As such, I assume – and embrace – that my findings are ‘value-mediated’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 110), meaning that my values inevitably influence the process of inquiry. I do not

wish to make claims of objectivity nor political disinvestment. Below, I reflect in more detail on what this ‘value-mediated’ process meant – and in doing so, aim to be transparent about my positionality and how that may have influenced this research.

2.3 Reflexivity (& Reflections)

This dissertation (as with any academic work) is a reflection of, and a subjective interpretation bounded by, my particular and situated rationalities. As a way to recognize that my understandings are limited by personal frames of reference, I describe here how various factors – my identities, social location(s)/positioning, and my perceptions of events near and far from me that occurred over the duration of this project – could have influenced this research.

Markham (2017: para 6) states that reflexivity is to analyze oneself “recursively and critically in relation to the object, context, and process of inquiry.” More specifically, Markham likens reflexivity as more than just a reflection of yourself in the mirror, but rather, “trying to look at yourself looking in the mirror” (2017: para 6). Meanwhile, Peshkin (1988: 17) claimed that, “[i]f, in the spirit of confession, researchers acknowledge their subjectivity, they may benefit their souls, but they do not thereby attend to their subjectivity in a meaningful way.” Heeding this reminder, I take up ‘reflexivity’ not as a way to justify any problematic approaches to data or meanings I made of them, or to ‘tick a checkbox’ of proper code of conduct when doing qualitative research. Rather, through this section, I aim to make this meaning-making process transparent.

Many dimensions of my identity (born in South Korea, settler-immigrant to Canada since my early teens, Canadian by citizenship, cis-gender female, heterosexual, no visible disabilities, from a working/middle-class background, multi-lingual but primarily English-speaking, ostensibly [western-]‘educated’ Ph.D. student) could have influenced my data collection and

analysis. Even though this section is written retrospectively, this process of reflection was active and ongoing throughout the project. Reminding myself that my frame(s) of reference are historically, socially, culturally, and politically situated, I asked myself how they may shape my inquiries and the observational lenses I employ. Peshkin (1988: 18) offers a helpful articulation of what this introspection looks like:

How did I know when my subjectivity was engaged? I looked for the warm and the cool spots, the emergence of positive and negative feelings, the experiences I wanted more of or wanted to avoid, and when I felt moved to act in roles beyond those necessary to fulfill my research needs.

For instance, I knew that I felt more at ease about interviewing those who opposed the development at Mount Gariwang than those who advocated for it because I, too, was against the development. When interviewing those who supported the development, I was cognizant of how I worded my questions to ‘not let on’ where I stood. This caution was enhanced after incidents wherein some supporters hung up on me after I identified in my phone calls to recruit interview participants that I was a student coming from Seoul. This hostility may have been due to some of the local supporters’ perception that (geographic) ‘outsiders’ (i.e. those from Seoul) were mainly the ones ‘obnoxiously intruding’ and ‘getting in the way’ of what they wanted and felt they deserved (and were overdue, in their opinion). Of course, not all those who were pro-development had this attitude, but I was careful to not risk losing any prospective participants.

To delve more into my stance – I acknowledge that I started this project adamantly against the development. I was aware that this might colour what information I sought out and how I made sense of it, so I frequently reminded myself to remain open-minded and that I was there to simply ‘listen and find out more.’ I was careful not to romanticize accounts of those whose points resonated the most, or to present their accounts as somehow more ‘true’ than those

of others. As Ellingson (2009: 14) points out, “all perspectives necessarily are partial, even severely marginalized ones.”

My overall position did not change, but throughout the project – particularly after having talked to local stakeholders in various positions – I noticed that my opposition stance ‘softened.’ More accurately, I found myself empathizing with those who supported the development after hearing their reasons for wanting, and even ‘needing,’ the (promised but not guaranteed) benefits from the development. I felt increasingly so especially after considering the convincing nature of the messages from the Games organizers.

After spending time in the local area, I found myself ‘defending’ some of the pro-development locals’ perspectives when talking to some Seoul-based environmental activists. In response, the activists said that the ‘locals’ desire for the development is based on misinformation or simply a lack of information.’ While I agree with this opinion to a certain extent, I nonetheless felt uncomfortable in how quickly the ‘locals’ were rendered as ‘uneducated,’ ‘uninformed,’ ‘too conservative,’ and ‘archaic’ in ‘still following out-of-date traditions like (blindly) believing and supporting the opinion of the town leader figure.’ I knew from conversations with variously positioned local residents around the mountain that there were multiple layers to their opinions and that, in fact, even the supporters of the development were very much aware that none of the promised benefits were guaranteed.

Such situations triggered an internal tension for me, causing me to walk a thin line between competing priorities. While I wished to respect the opinions of the activists who had volunteered their time to talk to me, I also felt reluctant to perpetuate what I saw as an incomplete impression of local stakeholders. I believe that such incomplete impressions are both a contributing factor to, and a consequence of, the lack of communication between activists and

the local stakeholders. The activists were of course aware that more communication would immensely improve understanding and potential for solidarity. In fact, as the second study (Chapter 4) will show, they tried to initiate conversations with local stakeholders, but were usually met with hostility, especially from the pro-development town representatives. The activists were nonetheless keen to learn more about the locals' perspectives, and hosted a roundtable at which they invited me to speak about my conversations with the residents of areas near Mount Gariwang.

Both during and after interviews with local residents who had been negatively affected by the development, I often wondered what 'good' my research can, or should, do for them and whether my research was yet another exploitation of their struggles (i.e. the fact that there was a story to tell here enables my Ph.D.). Many mistook me for a journalist and asked that I 'let the outside world know about what *really* took place.' I told them that I was a student, and while of course I would try my best, that I could not promise anything, unfortunately. Such conversations left me to wonder about what the ideal outcome of this research would be, besides successfully acquiring my Ph.D. degree. What good was there in telling the story of the disenfranchised, and of the disillusioned activists, when the disaster had already taken place, and the consequences manifested? Did I, at any point, really think that my work could make a difference? At the same time, was thinking that academic work could lead to some kind of change a form of hubris in itself – or at the very least, a misperception of the objective of academic endeavours? While asking these questions may not have led me to definitive answers, I feel that awareness and sensitivity to these potential concerns were important exercises in remaining constantly mindful of the messiness of knowledge acquirement and translation. I return to this point again in 'ethical considerations' below.

Through interviews with activists and local residents, it became clear that ‘the natural environment’ was not the most salient dimension of the controversy to most. In fact, one activist-academic I interviewed told me that focusing on Mount Gariwang was not the most ‘potent’ way to delve into this issue, and that it ‘misses the mark’ in terms of ‘what’s really at stake.’ This comment led to two mental notes. First, a reminder to re-phrase my questions in a way that would not come across as if I was only focused on the ecological dimensions of the controversy. Second, that this perspective of the activist-academic is an example of a case in which social issues are promoted over environmental ones, which represents a significant part of the issue – while also pointing to yet another way in which inequalities between humans and non-humans are exacerbated. At the same time, this interaction did push me to carefully reflect on the pro-environment assumptions I brought into the research, which had motivated my inquiry in the first place. It also made me realize how easy it was to be rendered as an ‘elitist environmentalist’ just by way of asking questions that were not commonly asked about the issue. However, this also made me face the uncomfortable yet undeniable truth that I do have more ‘no-strings-attached’ freedom to hold any opinion about the development due to the privilege of being removed from any of its consequences and politics revolving around it.

2.3.1 Identity and logistics.

For all interviews, my status as a western-educated Ph.D. student who was also affiliated with a prestigious university in South Korea (my host institution during my fieldwork) granted me social capital in forms of credibility and trustworthiness that were beneficial when recruiting for, and conducting, interviews. Because I am Korean by birth (i.e., unambiguously look Korean), I felt that I was given an ‘insider-outsider’ label; ‘insider’ enough to understand the Korean cultural and historical context that one would need to fully grasp the nuance of what was

said and left unsaid, but also an ‘outsider’ to a ‘safe extent’ in that I was not privy to the internal conflicts and contradictions that compounded and complicated their opinions. In other words, I was a ‘blank canvas’ interviewees could paint as they wanted, but one that came ‘primed’ enough to absorb and reflect the added colours.

Undeniable also is that, more often than not, my age and gender worked in my favour. As a young female, I was never considered a threatening presence, which could have enabled some access. For instance, I was able to walk onto the development site even though it was cordoned off, after lingering nearby then chatting with some individuals who were working on-site. At the same time, being a young female also posed risks and barriers that male researchers may not have faced – such as being nervous about hitching a ride with strangers to get to the field site, or judging how seriously to take the recommendation not to stay in a rural motel alone.

2.4 Translation

All data (e.g. news articles and interview transcripts) that comprise this dissertation were originally in Korean, and required translation from Korean to English. This was a major task, and one that often elicited incredulity in others about the feasibility of undertaking such an endeavour. In such instances, I usually resort to describing the mechanical process of translating – the ‘back translation’ method (Brislin, 1970), which is described later in this section. However, this technical side represents a mere sliver of the translation process, and also falsely portrays it as a ‘sterile’ process, which it is anything but. Therefore, before I describe the mechanics of translation, I first attempt to be transparent about the murkier, non-systematic aspects of translation that are especially prominent when translating from a peripheral, non-dominant language like Korean to a central, dominant language of globalization (English).

It is perhaps most appropriate to begin by saying that navigating through a project in general (i.e. let alone the actual process of translation) in which there are two languages involved – one that is a peripheral language like Korean, and the other a globally dominant one – is an uncomfortable, and an inevitably political, process. For example, whenever I talked or wrote about the dissertation or about my fieldwork experience specifically, I found myself purposely avoiding ‘authentic’ Korean words because they would ‘break the flow’ of the conversation or the writing. I have repeatedly erased sentences with cultural explanations because they slowed down the narrative, and the arguments I tried to put forth got lost amidst all the explanation, which sometimes became paragraphs of their own. By the same token, the extra sentences or footnotes of explanations rarely felt adequate to encapsulate the full historical and cultural contexts. While having the ability to flow freely between speaking and thinking in both languages is, of course, a significant privilege, it is one accompanied with complicated responsibility. Carrying out a multilingual project, therefore, requires navigating through more than just the interaction between two systems of linguistic communication.

I am of course not the first to point out the messy ‘debris’ of translation. There is an academic discipline dedicated to translation theory – itself informed by disciplines of semiotics, literary theory, postcolonial studies, linguistic anthropology, and philosophy of language – in which scholars work to situate and particularize translating, especially from a ‘distal’ language to a language of European-origin (cf. Colla, 2018; Qualey, 2012; Selim, 2018; Silverstein, 2003, 2004). Among them, scholars and authors like Avasilichioaei and Mouré (2011), HS Kim and DM Choi (2003), and Chin-Tanner (2012) have put concrete words to the imprecise and hazy complexities around translating, which have influenced both my translating process and thinking around it.

In an article entitled ‘Translation with *abusive fidelity*’ (italics in original), Kim (2013) highlights the importance of elucidating the power relations embedded in translating historically mediated narratives – especially when translating “a peripheral language into hegemonic English” (p. 355), and particularly in sport narratives wherein there are deeply rooted colonial histories and cultural hierarchies. In doing so, she calls for more attention to considering translation as part of data collection, interpretation and analysis.

I am also inspired particularly by the work of Hofer and Pluecker (2013), who introduced the concept of ‘ultratranslation.’ They describe ‘ultratranslation’ as “a process of working against languages that seek to dominate [...] built from radicalism,... anti-racism, anti-superiority, anti-assimilation” (p. 3). They explain:

At the most basic level, the message of translation: there is something being said elsewhere that is of crucial importance for us here (in this language) to hear. It is worth great effort to listen to that “something elsewhere.” Ultratranslation would not bring something elsewhere into a dominant language (English, for instance) in a smooth, seductive, unproblematized way, as if to suggest that now “we” “understand” “you.” Ultratranslation nudges dominant languages away from dominance, toward the space between original and translation. Into the space of the ultra (p. 3).

In this way, they view ultratranslation as a catalyst for radical change. In their words:

Ultratranslation is a kind of activism or (dys)organizing: the translations we work on are not primed for comfortable consumption. We experience ultratranslation as a catalyst for changes in awareness, syntax, and our capacity to reimagine the world (Hofer & Pluecker, 2013: 4).

Building on Hofer and Pluecker’s work, Greene (2017) describes, and disrupts, some ways in which English holds its hegemonic power. He states in the Paratext of his thesis of the literary translation of the Mexican poet Claudina Domingo’s *Tránsito* (*Transit*):

* English is, and has been, posited as neutral, normal, and superior.

* English is not neutral, normal, or superior.

- * English does not exist.
- * englishes exist.
- * my translation of *Tránsito/Transit* represents an interaction between my english and Claudina's spanish.
- * interactions between languages are political.

I also aim to make transparent this political nature of the interaction between Korean and English in this dissertation. When reading this dissertation, I invite the reader to keep in mind Hofer and Pluecker's (2013: 2) likening of translation to an asymptote: "no matter how close we try to get, there's always a space between the two bodies and that is the space where we live. The space where we transpose, or are transposed."

Lastly, there were challenges related to translation specific to some studies, such as the exploration of activists' emotions (Chapter 5 – Study Two). As I elaborate in Chapter 5, the translation of language further compromised the loss of emotional conveyance that occurs when speech is converted into written text.

2.4.1 The 'mechanics' of translation.

The excerpts of news articles and interviews included in this dissertation were translated using Brislin's (1970) 'back-translation' method, in which the input language is first translated into the target language, and then the target language is translated back into the input language. Underlining this method is a "decentering" (Brislin, 1970: 186), wherein both versions of the text in the back-and-forth process are considered equally important (K Kim, 2013). I partially followed the approach taken by Kim (2012) in her doctoral dissertation work, in which she analyzed South Korean print media narratives of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. She used a combination of the back-translation and 'committee approach'⁷ techniques, which

⁷ A process that involves a group of bilingual individuals who translate the same text, followed by the correcting of mistakes and/or different interpretations by others within the group (Kim, 2013). I did not use this approach as there

together enabled a self-reflexive, critical and historically/culturally contextualized translation. Her process and rationale were underlined with the premise that there lies potential in and through translation for decolonization.

Because no text exists in isolation from the context in which it is embedded, cultural, historical, social, and political interpretation were also significant parts of the translation process. For terms or concepts that do not directly translate into English, I added footnotes for further explanation. At the same time, I paid attention to whether the cultural explanations may exacerbate any stereotypes. As Carbonell (1996: 81-82) notes, cultural translation should play a role in questioning how to comprehend knowledge gained from other cultures without exoticizing the Other.

When said and done, these processes did not result in word-for-word literal equivalencies – nor was that the goal. There are gaps between Korean and English that cannot be bridged with direct equivalency translations. For example, there are multiple forms of the words ‘I’ and ‘you’ in Korean that are used depending on the age and the nature of the relationship of the parties in the conversation. There are also different verb conjugations (i.e. formal or informal ‘honorifics’⁸) and nouns (e.g. different word for ‘meal’ depending on the age of the person addressed) that change according to the speaker’s relationship with the other party addressed. These details set a particular tone to, and establish a hierarchy (one that is considered natural and benign, oriented

were no Korean-and-English-speaking individuals within reasonable reach. However, I believe my translations are adequate as I have ample experience in both ‘real-time’ and ‘on-paper’ translating. I am a trained and approved Korean↔English language interpreter for a Canadian provincial government, and have also done similar translating for my master’s thesis.

⁸ Honorifics refer to a ‘speech level’ that reflects the speaker/writer’s relationship with the subject/audience of the speech. Korean language has an extensive and complex honorific system, allowing the speaker to express degrees of politeness towards the other party they are addressing (Brown, 2011).

around culture and custom, rather than an unequal power dynamic) in, the conversation – the nuance of which is inevitably lost when translated into another language.

Elliott Colla (2018), in his ‘Reflections on Working between Arabic and Standard Average European Languages,’ claims that ‘literal’ translation works well between closely related languages, but otherwise, that the concept of ‘literal’ is nonsense. While I have tried to stay as ‘true’ to the original form (e.g. syntax, equivalent vocabulary, inflection, declension) as possible, I acknowledge that the most profound lessons and moments for reflection stemmed from the (at times painstaking) process of reaching, or never reaching, the ‘perfect’ word or expression – hence, the aforementioned ‘translation as asymptote’ metaphor resonates here. As Carbonell (1996: 90) notes, “translation takes place at a different level from that of linguistic equivalence. Meaning is not located in a source culture or a target culture in a univocal signifying movement; rather, it is being created endlessly in a third cultural space of growing conflict and complexity.” With this in mind, I aimed for (linguistic and cultural) *permeability* more than equivalence.

On a meta-level, acknowledging and accepting this process as inevitable, rather than as a shortcoming, is appropriate – particularly in the context of this dissertation, parts of which explore how language may dictate outcomes and perceptions. Of course, most academic work, and information-gathering/sharing are language-bound – and limitations are always associated with this.

2.5 Ethical considerations

Because my dissertation involved interacting with human subjects (i.e. through interviews and participant observation), I obtained ethical approval from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board at The University of British Columbia (Certificate Number H17-00030,

Principal Investigator: Dr. Brian Wilson) as well as from the Institutional Review Board of my host institution, Seoul National University in South Korea (Certificate Number 1702/003-014).

Upon reading, or being orally told about, the study's objectives, procedures, and risks involved, all interviewees gave informed written or oral consent prior to participating in the study. It was made clear that their participation was voluntary, and that they could withdraw at any point. Both English and Korean versions of the interview questions (which are applicable to Studies 2 [Chapter 4] and 3 [Chapter 5]) are located in Appendices. Except for those who indicated that they are comfortable being identified, all participants in this study are anonymous, and only broadly identified by the group to which they belong, or their place of residence – which, as Studies 2 and 3 will demonstrate, were markers relevant to themes that emerged.

'Ethical considerations' should go beyond obtaining institutional approval certificates. As Stewart Lockie (2018: 175), the editor of the journal *Environmental Sociology*, commented in his editorial about 'Privilege and responsibility in environmental justice research,' there are important questions to ask about how researchers do environmental justice research, and more broadly, the responsibilities of social scientists in exposing and challenging injustice. Specifically, researchers need to question power relations embedded in research relationships, and whose knowledge 'counts' when claims of injustice are made or challenged (p. 175). While conducting fieldwork, and in the process of writing, I pondered whether my research may come across as a type of 'holier-than-thou' preaching, or 'virtue signaling' (Lockie, 2018: 175). Also on my mind were the implications of using knowledge 'extracted' from some of the locals who are disadvantaged – specifically, whether this translates into doing research *on* them, rather than *with*, or *for* them (Lockie, 2018: 175).

On that note, I often felt blurry about what the research participants expected – not of their participation, but of the research overall. One field note entry reflects this nebulous space I navigated:

Was in Sukam again today and talked to 3 ladies. Started out with one but the other two joined as everyone seems to know one another. [...] Didn't hear anything new or surprising (that said, it's always appalling to think about what they had to go through), but at the end, they pleaded that I bring their stories to media. I think they mean conservative media (which is what most here seem to watch), because Hankyoreh, Pressian and KyungHyang [these are all left-leaning news outlets] have made a point to focus on their stories quite a bit, from what I've seen at least. I tell them that I'll do my best. I don't have the heart to tell them that I have no plans of taking this to media, nor would media be interested in my research. The thing is, they know that too and yet they ask. (They know that I know that they also know). [...] Also, the Prosperity Association guy also asked the same thing yesterday – more specifically, for me to “get the truth out” since he thinks environmental activists are partially deceptive and wholly clueless, but have nevertheless yielded some clout over how it's (been) talked about in media. I don't quite know what to say in these situations. Usually I nod and smile and make a self-deprecating joke about how this is just research for school that no one but myself and a couple professors will read... but that of course I'll do my best because the topic at hand and how it impacts lives is very important – which I really do mean. Fortunately these have happened mostly in the wrap-up/goodbye phase of the interview, so a lot of niceties are said and honestly, I just find myself hoping that they don't actually expect me to be a warrior on their behalf (but also, thinking that they may expect this is pretty arrogant of me?!) I think the reason all of this feels increasingly nebulous is because I can actually see where each party is coming from and can empathize with most of them (Fieldnote entry, 3 April 2017).

As illustrated above, there are ethical questions to consider in terms of what the researcher can, or should, promise the participants. However, adhering to ethical guidelines (e.g. of not making false promises) should not mean that I am off the hook for trying to leverage my research for justice, especially when I embrace the critical epistemology in which my research is positioned.

3. (Study One) Journalism, Environmental Issues, and Sport Mega-Events: A Study of South Korean Media Coverage of the Mount Gariwang Development for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games

3.1 Introduction

Although there are many studies that examine how environmental issues are portrayed in media (e.g., Hackett et al., 2017; Painter, 2013), few focus on depictions of environmental issues associated with sport mega-events. This is a surprising gap in light of the growing body of research showing: (a) the detrimental environmental impacts associated with hosting a sport mega-event (e.g., Boykoff & Mascarenhas, 2016); and (b) the contentious politics that underlie decisions to hold such events (e.g., Hayes & Karamichas, 2012). This gap overlaps with that in the sociology of sport literature. While scholars are paying more attention to the relationship between sport and the environment, few have approached this topic from the perspective of media and communications. The study presented here – an analysis of South Korean mainstream and alternative print media coverage of the controversial development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games – was therefore designed to contribute to fill these gaps, and to thinking about links between research on journalism, mediatization, environmental issues, and sport mega-events.

This study is also a response to the need for studies of environmental communication outside English-language and western contexts (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014) – and for research on how environmental issues are covered in different types of media (e.g., left and right leaning; mainstream and alternative). Recognized here is that media production practices often vary according to social, cultural, political and geographical context – and that the contents and perspectives offered in reports on environmental issues may also vary across differently positioned outlets (Gunster, 2011a,b).

With these issues in mind, we see this study of an environmental issue in a non-western context – that focuses especially on how sport media played a role in disseminating messages about an environmental controversy – to be novel theoretically and empirically, as we analyzed data collected from South Korean media outlets with sensitivity to the growing literature on sport spectacles, environmental issues and mediatization. The main research questions that guided our study were as follows: (1) How were decisions and events unfolding around the development of Mount Gariwang portrayed in South Korean mainstream and alternative news-media outlets; (2) How was mainstream and alternative coverage – and coverage from left-leaning and right-leaning outlets – similar and/or different; and (3) To what extent were the issues addressed in these media depoliticized or politicized, both within and across these outlets.

To contextualize this research, we begin with a discussion of ‘politicization,’ ‘depoliticization’ and the notion of ‘alternative’ media – followed by a review of literature on environmental issues related to sport mega-events, news-media coverage of environmental issues, and media coverage of environmental issues related to sport mega-events. We also consider the relevance of the mediatization concept for aiding understandings of how media is integrally linked not only to sport, but also to perceptions of – and the literal shaping of – sport-related physical spaces and landscapes. Following this, we outline findings, discuss how these findings relate to existing literature, and offer suggestions for future research.

Before proceeding though, we introduce the key issues surrounding Mount Gariwang, and the controversial ski development on the mountain for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games. Mount Gariwang was formerly a protected area, warranting the highest degree of protection (Ministry of Environment, 2009). In June 2013, the ‘protected area’

status was lifted from parts of Mount Gariwang in order to allow venue development for Olympic alpine skiing events:

[For] Games-related facilities in a conservation zone... the Minister of the Korea Forest Service *may revoke the designation of all, or a part of a conservation zone...* (Article 34 ‘Special Exceptions to the Forest Protection Act’ in ‘Special Act on Support for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games,’ 2013: 13, emphasis added).

As will become evident from the media analysis presented later, the development inspired strong responses from environmental activists, government officials and the Games organizing committee. The issues at hand, as will become evident too, were social as well as environmental – as several people living around the base of the Mount Gariwang were asked to move for the development, with varying levels of compensation.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Depoliticization and politicization.

Our study is influenced by the theoretical work of Carvalho (2007, 2010), Gunster (2011a,b) and Swyngedouw (2010), who used the ‘politicization’ and ‘depoliticization’ concepts to explain how journalists engage with environmental issues and to consider the implications of such engagements. ‘Politicization’ refers to processes for revealing competing sets of assumptions, values, interests, and power relations that underlie issues (Harriss, 2007: 487). Issues are ‘depoliticized’ when assumptions and ideologies that underlie particular understandings of issues are left ‘invisible,’ and/or where options for responding to particular issues are selectively presented so as to make potentially contentious issues appear uncontroversial, or not worthy of debate. Depoliticization leaves little room for public discussion – and renders those who disagree with the (apparent) consensus opinion – as “fundamentalist,

traditionalist, or blind radical” (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014: 220). Of course, news-media play a key role in these processes – as journalists, editors and others along the production chain make decisions that shape how particular opinions and approaches are presented (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) – and can therefore be key figures in the intentional or unintentional depoliticization of issues, just as they can politicize issues by actively challenging status quo positions.

Through the lens of politicization and depoliticization then, it is possible to consider how, and the extent to which, media portrayals of environmental issues pertinent to Mount Gariwang address questions about the implications of the environmental issues at hand, what response to these issues is preferable and who is responsible for addressing these issues. Such analyses also require sensitivity to whether and how media coverage may privilege some voices over others, and position particular viewpoints as ‘consensus’ – and in doing so, limit potential thinking about novel solutions (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014). Depoliticization and politicization can therefore help analysts explore and attend to questions about which decisions and debates are featured, and what activities are described as contentious (or not) – and, therefore, the subtle means through which consent is generated for particular decisions and subsequent actions. In the case described in this paper, the decision was to raze an ancient forest for a short-term skiing event – a decision that was carried out in the lead-up to the PyeongChang 2018 Olympics and Paralympics.

3.2.2 ‘Alternative’ media.

While politicization and depoliticization are common reference points in critiques of mainstream media coverage that include only a narrow set of perspectives on environmental issues – the concepts are also useful for guiding analyses of the mechanisms at work in alternative media too. This is especially the case for media known to challenge the status quo in

ways that depart from usual mainstream media (e.g., media that may depoliticize issues) (Atton, 2002), such as: media that deals with radical, unconventional content and emerging issues; democratically produced media content that argues for social change; media production that is driven by concern with the free flow of ideas (more than in profit); and media that is advocacy- and grassroots-oriented – that represents issues of marginalized social actors.

According to O’Sullivan et al. (1994), the two main differences between alternative and mainstream media are that: 1) writers in alternative media tend to argue for social change as an objective; and 2) alternative media involves citizens rather than elites, not only in their content but also in production processes. Of particular relevance to this case is that citizen-led content production is indeed the main feature of one of the most prominent alternative media outlets in South Korea, *OhMyNews* (Beers, 2006; Bruns, 2007; Van Dijck & Nieborg, 2009).

3.2.3 Political alignments, news media and environmental issues.

While differences between mainstream and alternative media are worth attending to for these reasons, a wealth of research has also shown that coverage across mainstream media also varies widely depending on the political orientation of the outlet, particularly in the United States (Hart & Feldman, 2014; Mayer, 2012). Mayer (2012) demonstrated how conservative outlets such as *Fox News* focused on the ‘climate change is a hoax’ narrative while more liberal outlets like *CNN* presented both sides of the ‘debate’ – recognizing that scholars like Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) are critical of the idea that a ‘balanced’ portrayal of climate change debates accurately reflects the near consensus among climate scientists on the realities and implications of climate change.

Based on studies about politicization in the context of environmental journalism, there seems to be two main ways in which scholars have theorized the politicization of environment-

related news. The first way is through polarization, in which ideological distinctions serve a role in either fortifying a particular interest, or as a distraction to addressing issues (e.g. when outlets focus on vilifying coverage of the other ideological spectrum). The second way – and one especially relevant for this current study – is through shifting the focus onto the politics around the issue, rather than the science or technocratic expertise. Authors like Naomi Klein (2015) advocate for both, arguing, for example, that emphasizing the socio-political dimensions of climate change (e.g. inequalities within and across nations that both influence and are influenced by climate change) is necessary to enable a holistic approach to climate change, which includes questioning the compatibility of the current political economic system with a sustainable ecological future.

3.2.4 Sport mega-events and the environment.

There is a growing body of research focused broadly on sport and environmental issues. Articles contained in a recent special issue on ‘Sport, Physical Culture, and the Environment’ in the *Sociology of Sport Journal* (published March of 2018) and in in McCullough and Kellison’s (2017) recent edited collection *Routledge Handbook of Sport and the Environment* offer an excellent reflection of how these issues are being dealt with by social scientists of sport. Other important and recent studies in this area focus on topics like the impacts of fracking on physical activity (Kellison, Bunds, Casper & Newman, 2017); the golf industry’s environment-related practices (Millington & Wilson, 2013, 2015, 2016a,b; Neo, 2010; Briassoulis, 2010); relationships between physical activity and environment-related charity causes (Bunds, 2017; Bunds, Brandon-Lai & Armstrong, 2016); and how environmental issues have become part of sport-related organizational management and marketing (Stevens, 2017; Trail & McCullough, 2017).

Despite this progress, Bunds and Casper (2018) have recognized the need for more critical work that focuses on sport and the environment-related issues, with a particular call for research in this area on politics, culture and inequality. As will become evident, the study contained herein focuses especially on politics and culture – and attempts to fill some of the notable gaps in the area of study concerned with sport, media and environmental issues, including the lack of research on politics and inequality that underlie sport-related environmental communication in a non-western context.

Of course, by foregrounding sport-related environmental issues through our study of media, we are also contributing to a growing body of research on environmental management practices of, and degradation resulting from, sport mega-events – and how messages about these events are framed and promoted (see for example: Hayes & Karamichas, 2012; Karamichas, 2013; Millington, Darnell & Millington, 2018; Kim & Chung, 2018; McLeod, Pu & Newman, 2018; Müller, 2015). The research we are referring to here has shown convincingly that environmental degradation has become an inevitable part of hosting sport mega-events – despite attempts in recent years to decrease this impact (Karamichas, 2013). It is well known in this context that international sport organizations have responded to concerns about environmental problems associated with such events by carrying out, to differing degrees, a range of pro-environment activities.

The main concern here of course is that the actual impacts of such responses are arguably insufficient and overly narrow (Hayes & Horne, 2011). For example, Karamichas (2013), in reviewing the strategies adopted and promoted by organizing committees of the 2000 Sydney, 2004 Athens, and 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, found that event promoters were guided almost exclusively by what are known as ‘ecological modernization’ (EM) principles.

EM is driven by a belief in the power of innovation, technological fixes and moderate (and often voluntary) regulations to address environmental impacts. EM is generally viewed as an optimistic and business-friendly response to sport-related environmental concerns.

The problem with this, as many authors have pointed out, is that committing exclusively to an EM-driven strategy has important limitations. For example, the focus on business-led technological innovation and cross-sector partnerships that are characteristic of EM are commonly accompanied by calls for limited government regulation – and the alleviation of government responsibility for environment-related issues. For critics like Gibbons (1999), this is a problem because it is governments that are ultimately mandated to address environmental protection issues, while businesses are mandated to pursue profit. For businesses, too, ‘appearing’ green is at times more profitable than actually carrying out pro-environment measures – so there is an incentive to ‘greenwash.’

Another concern with EM is that an over-reliance on technology-driven solutions to environmental problems means an unjustified faith in human ingenuity to address highly complex and ever-changing environmental challenges (Homer-Dixon, 2000). Critics have also argued that responses to environmental issues, especially EM and sustainability-driven ones – that are based around a call for collectively addressing social, environmental and economic concerns – often serve economic interests more than they do environmental ones. This critique is particularly relevant to sport events, where oft-celebrated collaborations between environmental NGOs, corporations and Olympic organizers are known to favour the interests and perspectives of business (Kearins & Pavlovich, 2002). Consider for example, the 2012 London Olympics, where the corporations BP, BMW, GE, and Dow Chemicals – companies responsible for some

of the biggest ecological disasters in recent history – were named “sustainability partners” (Boykoff, 2014a: 96).

3.2.5 Research on media coverage of the environment: areas to develop.

Our study begins to address an acknowledged scarcity of research focused on non-North American media coverage of the environment. Olausson and Berglez note, for example, that there is a “strong bias toward European and North American countries” in environmental journalism research (2014: 139), with only a few notable exceptions (e.g., Climate Tracker, 2017; Yun et al., 2012, 2014). Although Schäfer and Schlichting (2014) note an increase in analyses of media coverage of climate change by journalists in East Asian countries, more attention is required to develop culturally contextualized recommendations.

Another shortcoming in the literature, according to Bourassa et al. (2013), is the lack of research focused on ‘best practice’ examples of media coverage of environmental issues, and recommendations for improvement. Although not a direct response to Bourassa et al. (2013), Pepermans and Maesele (2014) suggest using frameworks for evaluating media discourse that focus on encouraging democratic debate and citizenship as a way of improving environmental journalism. Gunster (2011b) took up this challenge in his study of coverage of climate policies in 2009 in two Canadian alternative media outlets. He found that the alternative media he studied adopted “a moralized language of crisis, agency and collective responsibility, insisting that the choice of whether to mobilize...or continue with business-as-usual is one that properly belongs to everyone” (p. 16). Gunster points to ‘sympathetic coverage provided to climate activism’ and ‘political will’ to be the most striking features that distinguish alternative media coverage from mainstream media (2011b: 17).

Our study will consider the extent to which these findings hold up in the South Korean context. Specifically – and as well as attending to differences between, and within, mainstream and alternative media coverage – we focus on the extent to which messages privileged across the outlets we studied are politicizing or depoliticizing, and how. In other words, we are interested in whether and how the coverage of the development of Mount Gariwang renders environmental issues as a “spectacle to be observed,” or a collective challenge that can be pursued by ordinary people (Gunster, 2011b: 17).

In this vein, it is noteworthy that while there is research that examines South Korean mainstream media coverage of the Olympic Games (e.g. Cho, 2009; Lee & Maguire, 2009; Yoon & Wilson, 2014), they are concerned mostly with geopolitics. These studies were concerned with broader changes over time in discourses of nationalism and/or made comparisons between different Games, as well as between domestic and foreign outlets with respect to portrayals of North Korea and the inter-Korean relationship. Therefore, this study contributes to this body of literature by considering coverage of environmental issues related to the Olympics, as well as by focusing on differences between various domestic outlets.

3.2.6 Media coverage of sport mega-events and the environment.

As noted earlier, there is limited research to date on media coverage of sport mega-events and the environment. One exception comes from Lenskyj (1998: 351), who provided an account of Australian media treatment of environmental issues leading up to the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympics – finding that although there were articles highlighting contentious environmental issues related to the Games, the coverage was mixed when it came to environmental activists. Most notably, she found striking examples of attempts to discredit activists alongside articles that were more balanced, or even critical of the Games. Boykoff’s (2014a) book on activism and the

Olympics includes a focus on how news-media covered a range of forms of activism (including environmentalism) during the Vancouver 2010 and the London 2012 Olympics – although his broader focus on activism makes it difficult to get a sense of how environmental issues specifically were dealt with.

Of course, and although there is limited research specifically on media coverage of environmental issues pertaining to sport mega-events – there is much more that can be said about links between sport mega-events, media and the environment. For example, one of the authors of this paper contributed to a study of the golf industry’s willingness to pursue idyllic green conditions (“the Augusta standard”) – a standard that can only be attained when pesticides associated with health and environmental risks and problems are used, along with excessive water inputs (Millington & Wilson, 2016a, 2017). The key finding from that research was that the perceived need for pristine conditions on golf courses was and is intricately tied to media – that is, to early colour television productions of the Masters golf tournament, that showed the dazzling green conditions of Augusta National Golf Club, where the Masters sport mega-event is held. While focused on golf – the article’s broader message is that there are overt and subtle interconnections between sport, environment, media and modernization (Millington & Wilson, 2017: 143) – interconnections that can be illuminated through the ‘mediatization’ concept.

Scholars have introduced ‘mediatization’ as a way to reconsider fundamental questions about the role and influence of media in culture and society (Hjarvard, 2013; Lundby, 2009). Traditional studies of media, which focused largely on production processes, content, and audience responses, considered media as an independent variable that has influence *on* society (Hjarvard, 2013). Theories of mediatization, on the other hand, view media as intertwined with

culture and society, and seek to understand how the permeation of media into every crevice has influenced social, political and cultural institutions and processes (Hjarvard, 2013).

It is to these interrelated processes that led Frandsen (2014) to call for increased sensitivity to ‘mediatization’ in studies of sport. Billings and Wenner (2017) take up this call in their edited collection *Sport, Media and Mega-Events*, and consider how sport mega-events can be considered from the perspective of mediatization. Keeping in mind that “sport-centered media spectacles are about much more than sport” (Billings & Wenner, 2017: 17), we see mediatization as a crucial concept as we attempt to theorize specific interconnections between media coverage of the development of Mount Gariwang, the Winter Olympics and Paralympics, environmental politics, and the actual razing of an ancient forest.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Context: Dominant environmental governance and discourse as understood through South Korean mainstream media.

In order to understand the findings in context, background knowledge of the socio-political atmosphere around the time when the Mount Gariwang controversy was unfolding (e.g. 2011-2016, approximately) is necessary. Specifically, we provide here a brief overview of the environmental paradigm of the governing regime at the time, in order to present how the government’s environmental management approach was reflected in the decisions that were made around Mount Gariwang.

On August 15, 2008 – on the 60th anniversary of liberation from Japanese colonial rule – former President Lee Myung-bak announced the ‘Low Carbon Green Growth’ (LCGG) as a new vision for the nation’s long-term development. In a cover story he authored in the journal *Global Asia*, then-President Lee (2010: 9) presents the LCGG as a response to: 1) a changing national

demographic (i.e. a rapidly aging population that can no longer sustain a labour and capital-based economy); 2) the changing global economy with increasing unpredictability (e.g. the swings in oil prices, which impacts Korea due to its high dependency on foreign imports for energy); and 3) the threat of climate change that requires drastic cuts in greenhouse gas emissions. In the report, Lee frames this plan first and foremost as an *economic* model. Indeed, the LCGG is widely known as an economic growth strategy that puts green technologies and industries as the driver of national economic growth (Rhee, Jang & Chung, 2012). Critics, however, argue that this model is focused explicitly on economic growth, and caters to big businesses and the central government, while it neglects empowering citizens and extending decision-making powers to local offices and grassroots groups (Moon, 2010; Yun, 2009; SH Lee, 2008).

Yun, Ku, Park and Han (2012) found that the LCGG was framed differently across newspapers with varying political orientations. Mainstream conservative newspapers indicated support for the LCGG – specifically, for maintaining a system in which capital markets dominate and using climate change as an *economic opportunity*, aligning with the vision of Lee Myung-bak. On the other hand, according to Yun et al. (2012), left-leaning newspapers opposed ‘business-as-usual’ strategies that fall under the LCGG, pointing out climate change as a grave crisis with emphases on ecological and social risks. These progressive papers also criticized the LCGG for its adherence to the limited quantitative growth model with little consideration for equity.

This trend was reflected in another study by Yun et al. (2014) that compared coverage of climate change in mainstream newspapers between 2007 and 2008 in South Korea. They asked what frames constitute coverage, whose voices are represented, and what actions and solutions are suggested, if at all. They found that while the conservative and business newspapers

portrayed climate change as an economic opportunity, the progressive paper approached the issue with a focus on ecological risk and response of the public. All papers of their sample cited arguments of civil society organizations that matched the point of view commonly adopted within the newspaper. While the conservative newspaper portrayed climate change as a universal issue, the progressive paper emphasized the more devastating impact climate change has on vulnerable people. Similar to findings of mainstream news media coverage in North American contexts (cf. Boykoff, 2007; Zehr, 2009), the conservative newspaper was not critical of the status quo – and commonly featured technological and economic ‘fixes’ to environmental problems. Conversely, the progressive paper more often voiced concern about government and business practices, and focused on ecological and social solutions – with particular attention to adaptation of the vulnerable. Similar to studies in North American contexts, Yun et al. (2012) conclude that climate change discourse in newspapers is informed by the outlets’ political and economic viewpoints. However, South Korean coverage does differ from North American coverage (at least as it is portrayed in studies by Boykoff, 2007a,b; Mayer, 2012; Nisbet & Fahy, 2015; Sol Hart & Feldman, 2014) in that all outlets, regardless of where they place on the political spectrum, accept that climate change is due to human causes.

It is against this background that the controversy surrounding the development of Mount Gariwang unfolded. As the findings of this study will illustrate, the LCGG model that constituted the dominant environmental management paradigm of the time is reflected in the justifications and ‘solutions’ presented by the Games’ organizers for partially razing Mount Gariwang for a ski hill. For instance, the alpine venue development was justified predominantly with the rationale of economic growth, framed as in line with ‘sustainable development,’ with an emphasis placed on advancements in technology to ‘fix’ environmental problems. Further, the coverage of the

contested construction of the ski hill also follows a similar partisan pattern for that of climate change outlined above. My study adds another layer of understanding by including an examination of alternative news-media coverage as well.

3.3.2 Sample and data collection.

Print news articles of South Korean mainstream and alternative news-media about Mount Gariwang published between January 1, 2011 and December 31, 2016 were collected through daily Google news alerts and later cross-checked through Factiva and a Korean language news database search engine called BigKinds. This timespan was chosen to account for the period leading up to PyeongChang's winning of the bid in July 2011, as well as after the construction on Mount Gariwang was completed and test events were hosted in February 2016. The stipulations for the search were: (1) articles to be from a Korean-language media outlet geographically based in South Korea; and (2) article to include the word '가리왕산' (Mount Gariwang). Most articles discussed in this chapter are concentrated in the time range of 2013-2015 because most decisions and events surrounding the controversy took place then.

The combined searches resulted in a total of 305 articles from 47 different outlets, of which 26 of the outlets were 'mainstream' and 21 were 'alternative' media outlets. Table 1 (below) provides an overview of the name, number of articles, and the political orientation of each outlet included in this study's dataset. Distinctions between 'mainstream' and 'alternative' media outlets were made based upon connections to state and/or corporate ownership and their means of content production. 'Alternative' media outlets are independent of corporate and government, and are commonly thought to offer perspectives different from traditional outlets (Cissel, 2012: 70). While alternative media can include a wide variety of forms such as radio,

film, street art, and performance, this study focused on print news articles online to allow for direct comparisons with the mainstream media data.

Furthermore, an outlet was identified as either left-leaning, centre, or right-leaning on the political spectrum based on the information provided in the ‘2014 National survey report of socio-political demographics and newspaper subscriptions’ (Korea Press Foundation [KPF], 2014: 18-20) as well as the Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2018). *Chosun Ilbo*, *Donga Ilbo* and *JoongAng Ilbo* were identified as the three most conservative papers as they have been widely known for decades, and also as the papers with the highest subscription numbers. On the other hand, *Hankyoreh* is well-known as the most popular ‘progressive’ or left-leaning mainstream outlet. The categorization based on the KPF report was further confirmed through a review of Korean journalism and communication research studies that used political leaning-tendencies of media outlets as categories and/or indicators. Beyond political orientations of each outlet, there are other factors too that may have influenced coverage, such as economic pressures arising from relationships with sponsors.

The same information was unavailable for alternative media outlets. However, the most widely known alternative outlets, such as *OhMyNews* and *Pressian*, from which over half of the alternative media articles of the dataset emerged, are widely acknowledged to be left-leaning (Jeong & Kim, 2007). While this is not to claim that all alternative media outlets are left-leaning on the political spectrum, it is worth noting that the most widely known and used alternative outlets in South Korea are acknowledged to be progressive.

Table 1. Overview of media outlets, their political orientation, and the number of articles about Mount Gariwang.

	Mainstream Outlets	Alternative Outlets
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	Mainstream	Political orientation	# of Articles	Alternative	Political orientation	# of Articles
1	Hankyoreh	L	61	OhMyNews	L	25
2	Newsis	L	24	Pressian	L	20
3	JoongAng Ilbo	C-R	17	Ecomedia	L	10
4	KyungHyang Shinmun	L	16	Greenpost	L	3
5	Yonhap	C	14	Lafent	**	2
6	Hankook Ilbo	C	10	NewsCham	**	2
7	Gangwon Domin Ilbo	R	9	NewsTomato	**	2
8	Huffington Post Korea	L	8	Sisaweek	L	2
9	Chosun Ilbo	R	8	Baekn	**	2
10	Media Today	C-L	6	Anewsa	**	1
11	Energy GyeongJae	R	6	CBC News	**	2
12	KBS Online	varies*	6	Christian Daily	**	1
13	News1	L	6	EcoTiger	L	1
14	Segye Ilbo	R	4	Kyosu Shinmun	L	1
15	Seoul Ilbo	L	4	Landscape Times	**	2
16	Donga Ilbo	R	4	Shinmoongo	**	1
17	KukMin Ilbo	C	3	SisaIn	C-L	1
18	Naeil Shinmun	L	3	SlowNews	**	1
19	News1 Gangwon	L	3	Vop	**	1
20	G1 TV Online	L	3	eDaily	**	1
21	Asia Economy	R	2			
22	SBS Online	C-R	2			
23	NoCut	C	2			
24	MBC Online	C	2			
25	JejuSori	C	1			
	TOTAL		224	TOTAL		81

*The political orientation of KBS varies by the government in power, as it is a government-funded public broadcaster. For the period applicable to the data collected for this study (January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2016), the conservative party led by Lee Myeong-bak and Park Geun-hye was in power, most likely rendering the political orientation of this outlet conservative – at least during this time.

**Columns for political orientation were left blank for outlets about which relevant information was unavailable. However, as stated above, alternative outlets in South Korea are widely acknowledged to be left-leaning (Jeong & Kim, 2007).

3.3.3 Analysis and approach.

The title, date, author, and link to the article were compiled on two spreadsheets, for mainstream and alternative media respectively. Multiple readings of the article titles led to the formation of initial indices of themes and subthemes according to recurring topics within each dataset. Different framings of the same event by multiple media outlets, as well as the absence or presence of the de-/politicizing narratives in the reporting, were a central focus.

Thematic analysis was used to analyze the articles with sensitivity to social, political and cultural contexts – and with attention to how media discourses may reinforce or reveal inequalities – and/or enable or constrain informed debate. Bailey, Giangola and Boykoff's (2014: 199) observation that discursive framing may “privilege or marginalize particular ways of knowing” is especially pertinent here, as our study was designed to investigate how media framing may contribute to producing, exacerbating, and/or transforming meaning. Thematic analysis fits well in studying media discourse with the concepts of depoliticization and politicization, as particular media framings may in turn influence public engagement and political challenges.

The quotations drawn from the articles that are included in this study were translated by the first author, who is an approved and certified English \leftrightarrow Korean translator, using Brislin's (1970) ‘back-translation’ method – in which the input language is first translated into the target language, and then the target language is translated back into the input language.

3.4 Findings

This section is organized into three broad and interrelated topic areas that pertain to our key findings. The first two topics relate directly to ways that the Mount Gariwang controversy was variably politicized and/or depoliticized in differently positioned media outlets. The first of these two considers the ways in which journalists took a critical stance on questions about irresponsibility, hypocrisy and corruption that were prevalent in the lead up to the Olympics. The second focuses on whose voices were featured in the articles – and how choices about who is ‘given’ voice would either confirm or unsettle traditional hierarchies among stakeholders in the controversy. In turn, in this same section, we consider how these decisions about voice might contribute to the politicization or depoliticization of the issues at hand.

In the third and final topic area, we consider articles that included discussions about more environmentally-friendly alternatives to the development, and about the lessons that the PyeongChang Organizing Committee for the 2018 Olympic & Paralympic Winter Games (POCOG) could learn by attending to the environmental legacies associated with previous Olympics. This final theme is especially relevant to thinking about what ‘best practice’ coverage of environmental issues look like – recognizing that offering reflexive and solutions-oriented coverage along with highly contextualized reporting is commonly associated with a form of best practice, or what is sometimes known as ‘environmental journalism’ (Bødker & Neverla, 2012). We consider throughout all sections the extent to which reflexive, solutions-oriented and highly contextualized coverage were offered across outlets, and what this coverage looked like.

Before proceeding, we will highlight a finding that ran throughout all areas. This finding is that differences between media outlets were starkest not between the categories of ‘mainstream’ versus ‘alternative’ media, but rather, *between right-leaning (i.e., conservative)*

mainstream media and the rest (left-leaning/progressive mainstream and alternative media outlets) – although the magnitude and nature of these differences varied, depending on the topic. We also recognize that, in rare cases, conservative mainstream media outlets carried nuanced, politicizing criticisms that we considered to be similar to those highlighted in some progressive mainstream and alternative media.

3.4.1 Covering corruption, irresponsibility and hypocrisy.

a) Highlighting corruption, irresponsibility and hypocrisy in left leaning mainstream and alternative news media.

Left-leaning mainstream and alternative media coverage commonly focused on the questionable practices and decisions of POCOG – attending especially to how POCOG’s decisions might be understood alongside the impeachment scandal of Park Geun-hye, the former President of South Korea from 2013 to 2017⁹. For example, and as this scandal came to light in 2016, many articles in the dataset about corruption had to do with the organizational structure, vested interests, and strategic relationships within POCOG generally – without necessarily focusing on Mount Gariwang alone.

Prior to 2016, however, there were more articles that specifically highlighted the reckless and hypocritical nature of POCOG’s management in relation to Mount Gariwang. Consider the following excerpt from an article in the centre-left alternative outlet *SisaIN*:

Korea, under the agreement of the Convention on Biological Diversity, must increase its ecologically protected territory to 17%. This same Korea just got rid

⁹ Park Geun-hye was impeached over multiple charges including abuse of power, bribery, extortion, and leaking state secrets to her ‘friend’ Choi Soon-sil. Choi has been dubbed as the ‘mastermind’ of Park, influencing her decisions regarding domestic and international affairs. Choi, who has been arrested for extracting donations from conglomerates through the President for her own illegitimate ‘foundations,’ also has investments in ventures associated with the 2018 PyeongChang Games, which journalists have brought to light.

of an existing protected forest area for a couple days of skiing events... (JN Park, 2015).

The above excerpt is representative of a number of articles published in left-leaning mainstream and alternative outlets – that portrayed POCOG’s decision to push forward with clearing areas of Mount Gariwang as irresponsible and reckless. To make this same point, some articles from left-leaning alternative outlets provided figures to emphasize the negative impacts of the decision, as seen in titles such as: ‘6000 trees to be felled for one week of Olympics?’ (BC Lee, 2014 - *OhMyNews*) and ‘Cutting down a 500-year-old forest for a 3-day event’ (DH Choi, 2015 - *Pressian*). A left-leaning alternative outlet *OhMyNews* also foregrounded the irresponsibility narrative when reporting that there are at least four other alternative options to Mount Gariwang, all of which the authorities rejected for various reasons – reasons that in turn have been challenged over time (Sung, 2012). We return to this point about viable alternatives later.

Also portrayed by both left-leaning mainstream and alternative media outlets were environmental coalitions’ criticisms of the ‘recovery’ plans announced by POCOG:

What do you say to a government that considers re-planting about 300 trees with less than 15cm in diameter of the 100,000+ total felled as a ‘recovery plan’? (BC Lee, 2014 *OhMyNews*).

Both left-leaning mainstream and alternative outlets also reported that construction had already begun before adequate recovery plans were agreed upon and officially instated:

‘The closer you look, the worse it gets: PyeongChang Olympics – Controversy over ignoring environmental recovery plans’ (HM Park, 2015c - *Newsis*)

‘Gangwon Province found illegally clearing trees without adequate recovery plans for Mount Gariwang’ (YM Kim, 2014a - *Ecomedia*).

Hypocrisy was also highlighted in articles that compared POCOG's proposed plans for a 'Green Games' to their actual practices. It is worth noting here that articles in our sample from right-leaning mainstream media did *not* problematize the differences between the promises and actions of POCOG and other parties (see next section) – unlike the left-leaning mainstream and alternative outlets we studied, that did so. Consider the following headlines from left-leaning and alternative media: 'Environmental coalitions criticize PyeongChang's '7 lost principles'' (HM Park, 2015d - *Newsis*); and 'They proposed an 'Environmental Olympics,' but hundreds-of-years-old forests are being cut' (MY Lee, 2014 - *OhMyNews*). The left-leaning *Newsis* pointed out the irony of Gangwon province hosting the Conference of Parties on Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD COP12) while unjustified tree felling was occurring within its vicinity, as seen in the title 'CBD COP12 planning and actions separate from one another' (HM Park, 2014).

Concerns about the potential silencing of critics of the development (by POCOG and politicians) that were highlighted in left-leaning mainstream and alternative media were, again, in stark contrast to the conservative mainstream media, which did not refer to this issue. HM Park (2015e) addresses the possibility of deliberate silencing of critics through her *Newsis* article 'POCOG dismisses destruction of Mount Gariwang; environmental organizations resist.' In the *Hankyoreh* article 'Rational sharing suggestions rendered moot upon one statement by the President' (CG Kim, 2015), the author speaks to the power hierarchy involved in how discussions unfold:

After Park Geun-hye's remark that 'the sharing debate is over,' POCOG and Gangwon Province flatly bowed down. Common-sense and rational debate have now disappeared.

JH Park (2015), a lawyer and member of a sport-related activist group, wrote an opinion piece entitled, ‘Distorted intents, manipulation of public opinion’ in *The Huffington Post* (South Korea edition). In it, he emphasized the shutting down of debate by those in power: “It is understood that through thorough inaction and neglect, [the federal government] will prevent concentrated negative media discussions about PyeongChang.”

In response to the continued extolling of the proposed benefits of the Games by POCOG and Gangwon Province, both left-leaning mainstream and alternative media journalists also questioned how the benefits and legacies will be distributed to ordinary citizens. In the left-leaning mainstream outlet *Media Today*, contributing author and lawyer Jang (2014) asserts that the only ones to benefit from building a ski course on Mount Gariwang are construction companies. Reflecting the uneven distribution of ‘benefits,’ *OhMyNews* carried the voice of a resident affected by the development:

Go Choon-Rang (77 years old) who lived in Suk-am-ri all her life lamented, ‘I got ₩10,000,000 (equivalent to approximately USD\$10,000) for losing my habitat all too quickly... I can’t go anywhere with this amount of money’ (MY Lee, 2014).

NewsK, an alternative online outlet, echoed this concern about the viability of promised benefits in an article entitled ‘35% of Mount Gariwang’s developmental land owned by one individual with promised business permit’:

People residing in this area were happy when Mount Gariwang was chosen as a development site for the Olympics – in anticipation for extended benefits to them. However, as the compensation plans roll out, their rosy expectations are turning into disappointment and reservations... (JY Yoo, 2014).

This questioning of benefits extended into critiques of sport mega-events generally. In the left-leaning mainstream outlet *KyungHyang Shinmun*’s ‘Hosting international sport events - for

what and whom?’ (JH Park, 2014), the author (and Director of a regional Green Korea office) wrote an opinion piece in which she questions the worth of mega-events and points out that “Korea is still under the fantasy that life will improve with hosting a global sport mega-event.”

b) Usually uncritical descriptions of POCOG’s environmental plan in conservative mainstream media.

In contrast to portrayals of environmental issues offered by left-leaning mainstream and alternative venues, conservative mainstream outlets – *instead of questioning* the obvious gap between promises made and actions executed by POCOG and other authorities – most often *described POCOG’s plan* for development, providing facts and figures as the central component of coverage. Such coverage did not include the critical commentary evident in progressive mainstream and alternative outlets.

For example, POCOG’s proposal for a ‘Green Games’ was reported almost exclusively by conservative mainstream media – with details on the exact number of carbon emissions to be offset by certain dates, and the companies that had already donated Certified Emissions Reductions purchases (SW Kim, 2015). Also carried by some conservative media outlets were interviews with POCOG officials, such as the former chairman Cho Yang-ho – who, in one reported interview, lauded POCOG ideas and progress to date for hosting a ‘Green Games’ (Chun, 2015). Even though such initiatives are not directly relevant to the controversy of Mount Gariwang, they were often referenced in the same articles.

Although few in number, there were also articles from conservative mainstream outlets where reasons to disapprove of decisions around Mount Gariwang were highlighted. For example, Ohn (2015), writing in *JoongAng Ilbo*, contributed an article entitled ‘Dehydrating death rather than supposed recovery: The unclear recovery plans for Mount Gariwang.’ Ohn

points out that requests by environmental groups to check and confirm recovery plans currently in practice were denied by Gangwon Province, and that this denial should lead to heightened concerns about the legitimacy and (in)adequacy of the recovery plans. Another article from this same outlet, titled ‘POCOG dismisses destruction of Mount Gariwang; environmental organizations resist’ (HM Park, 2015e), portrays POGOG’s (in)actions as irresponsible, and shows how civic groups were responding.

It should be noted, however, that *all of JoongAng Ilbo’s articles about Mount Gariwang were from 2015* – with the exception of one in 2014. Also, more than half of the articles that could be considered ‘critical’ (n=7/11) *were written by the same journalist* (Park Hae-mi) – who also writes for the centre-left leaning wire agency *Newsis*. It should also be noted here that *Newsis* is under the ownership of *JoongAng Ilbo*, which is considered one of the three most conservative newspapers.¹⁰ The key point we take from this is that the work of many right and left leaning outlets is still underpinned by a profit-generation mandate – which allows for *some, but rare*, fluidity when it comes to the ideological positioning of outlets, and the sometimes unanticipated messaging across outlets.

SH Kim of another right-leaning mainstream outlet, *Segye Ilbo*, offered a more expansive criticism of the Olympics in ‘Environmental destruction and mountains of debt... the glamorous shadows of the Olympic Games’ (2015):

The world’s view of the Olympics is changing. Many countries have decided not to bid or host due to environmental and economic implications, as well as citizens who oppose the Games... The Olympics aren’t a win-win game; rather, it is one in

¹⁰ The corporation of *JoongAng Ilbo* is interesting in itself in the context of news business as it is also the ‘parent’ company to the TV news channel *JTBC*, which is considered the most progressive, and trusted, outlet in Korea (Woo et al., 2017). In a recent survey, about 40% of news-media consumers identified *JTBC* as their most preferred source of news, specifically for holding those in power accountable (Ahn, 2018; Keum, 2018).

which everyone loses.

While recognizing that some articles in conservative mainstream press included critiques of POGOG's environmental record, as noted earlier, this was rare when compared to left-leaning mainstream and alternative press.

3.4.2 De-politicizing and politicizing Mount Gariwang.

This section focuses on mechanisms through which the issues noted above were politicized or depoliticized. We focus especially on 'whose voices' were featured in the different articles, how 'experts' and 'non-experts' were implicitly and explicitly defined, and the 'hierarchies of voice' reinforced in such instances. In doing so, we will point also to how limits on 'what is possible' are demarcated through the politicization and depoliticization processes.

a) Depoliticization and conservative mainstream media.

In most conservative mainstream media coverage, decisions around the Mount Gariwang development were framed as unchallengeable and/or in the hands of the experts – with POCOG, the federal government, and the IOC being positioned as the most knowledgeable voices. Other voices (e.g., those of activists or residents who live near the mountain), it would seem, were less important or did not exist.

For example, after IOC Executive Board Member Gunilla Lindberg expressed her satisfaction with PyeongChang's progress in January 2015, references in conservative mainstream media to the option of 'sharing the Games' to save Mount Gariwang dwindled out. It is interesting here that during this same visit, Lindberg also stated that the sharing of events *is ultimately up to POCOG*, and that the IOC will respect their decision. While this comment is relevant in the sense that POCOG was positioned as the sole decision-maker (thus allowing the

IOC to distance itself from the Mount Gariwang issue), it is equally relevant here that in most conservative mainstream media, *POGOG's agency as a decision-maker* – i.e., the fact that POGOG could still have chosen another option, besides Mount Gariwang – *was underplayed*. The headline from the conservative outlet *Kado* – ‘IOC says PyeongChang’s sharing of events is impossible’ (MS Jin, 2015) – is an example of how POGOG’s agency was misrepresented.

Attention was also diverted from highly contested aspects of the Games in articles that emphasized how the IOC was happy with PyeongChang’s progress in preparing for the Games. An example can be found in *Yonhap*’s article entitled, ‘IOC Coordination Commission Chair Lindberg ‘confident that PyeongChang Olympics will be a success’’ (YS Park, 2015). Another example can be found in an article in *Chosun Ilbo* entitled, ‘PyeongChang Olympics believed to yield greater revenue than investment’ (JH Sung, 2014), where Sung relays the confidence of IOC President Thomas Bach in POCOG, without an accompanying quote from, or reference to, someone who challenges this view.

Depoliticization was further evident in conservative mainstream media’s reporting of POCOG’s plans and aims. For example, media coverage of POCOG’s announcement of their plans for carrying out an ‘Environmental Games’ was matter-of-fact and almost uniformly uncritical, with titles such as ‘Support for a successful ‘Environmental PyeongChang Games’ in motion’ (SH Lee, 2015 - *Yonhap*).

b) Voices from the periphery: politicization and left-leaning mainstream and alternative media coverage.

Unlike the articles noted above, left-leaning mainstream and alternative media coverage commonly politicized the Games by including voices from the periphery. In fact, environmental activists, civic coalition members, academics and others – who in many cases were not

journalists by profession – wrote articles that appeared in left-leaning mainstream and alternative media outlets. For example, alternative news outlet *OhMyNews*, an online-based news platform to which citizens can register to contribute as journalists, carried the second highest number of articles in the dataset. The alternative outlet *Pressian* offered a platform in one instance for a debate between a professor of sport studies and a staff member of the Province of Gangwon office – who held contrasting views on the motivations for, and impacts of, the PyeongChang Olympics (SK Choi, 2015; Jung, 2015).

Alternative media also presented evidence of what some politicians were already doing to challenge the Mount Gariwang development. This, again, contrasts with our findings about conservative mainstream media – where politicians directly involved with Games’ preparations were the exclusive sources in almost all cases. In particular, alternative outlets *OhMyNews* and *Pressian* noted specific politicians within the province of Gangwon who were actively going against their colleagues in order to lessen environmental destruction (SY Park, 2014; NS Sung, 2015). It is through compelling evidence such as this that the reader comes to understand that pro-environment political engagement is not only possible, but that it is indeed already being practiced.

3.4.3 Suggesting alternatives and learning from previous Olympics.

Incited by the IOC’s announcement of Agenda 2020 – a policy that now allows Olympic hosts to ‘share’ hosting duties to reduce the need for superfluous venue construction – *all media outlets in our dataset* included discussions about the potential value of hosting the alpine venue in a location other than Mount Gariwang, to cut down on environmental and economic costs. Conservative outlets, however, tended to focus more on economic benefits of pursuing alternatives – while left-leaning mainstream and alternative outlets spent comparatively more

time highlighting the environmental benefits. Because of the overall similarities across outlets, we outline our findings in one section here – with the differing emphasis on economic and environmental concerns being noted throughout. As will be evident, though, most of the examples provided here come from left-leaning mainstream and alternative outlets – which produced the lion’s share of coverage about alternatives to the status quo.

Having said this, we will begin with an example of an article that appeared in the conservative mainstream outlet *Donga Ilbo*, focused on the viability of using an existing ski facility for the Olympics – with the economic-focused headline: ‘₩200 billion venue for 15 days would cost ₩20 billion using the [existing] Seoul MokDong facility’ (HJ Lee, 2015). This article is typical of articles in our sample that appeared in conservative outlets that centered on reducing debt from the development – rather than environmental benefits of hosting elsewhere.

Left leaning articles, while also highlighting questions about hosting in pre-existing venues in other locations, commonly reported on environmental groups’ advocacy for sharing the Games, as can be seen in an article entitled ‘PyeongChang’s sharing of events must be actively considered’ (HM Park, 2015a) in the mainstream outlet *Newsis*. In fact, the debate surrounding potentially sharing events gained so much traction that the left-leaning mainstream outlet *Huffington Post* (South Korea edition) carried a seven-part series entitled ‘PyeongChang Winter Olympics: Sharing is the Answer,’ in which various academics and activists contributed their expertise in explaining why there was no need to limit the Games to PyeongChang.

In searching for ways to mitigate damage to Mount Gariwang, some journalists focused on learning from examples of former candidate or host cities. In the left-leaning mainstream outlet *KyungHyang Shinmun*, GB Kim (2013) lauds Denver, USA, for ‘giving the Games back’ after winning the bid to host the 1976 Olympics – in response to citizens’ protests against

environmental destruction that the Games would cause. Similarly, an article in the left-leaning mainstream outlet *Hankyoreh* entitled ‘Olympics rejected by German citizens’ (SH Lim, 2014) included a detailed account of why residents of Munich opposed the bid to host the 2022 Winter Olympics:

[O]pposing the bid to host the Olympics is a choice for sustainable development; for preventing harm to ordinary citizens and the environment for the benefit of a select few; for preventing the destruction of the gift of nature; and for driving public money to be spent for public services.

There was particular emphasis in several articles (all of them in left leaning media) on learning from Nagano, Japan – the hosts of the 1998 Winter Olympics. A coalition of activist groups invited Mr. Ezawa Masao – an expert on the 1998 Nagano Olympics, the author of *Olympic gold covered: The back of the Nagano Olympics* (1999), and the head of the Japanese Anti-Olympics People’s Network – to share his experience and knowledge. In left-leaning alternative and left-leaning mainstream media outlets especially, article with titles like ‘Nagano resulted in a debt of ₩12trillion. What about PyeongChang?’ (YNY Kim, 2015 - *Pressian*) and ‘Ezawa Masao: ‘Nagano is still suffering from hosting the Olympics’’ (HM Park, 2015b - *Newsis*) relayed Masao’s message: that the power lies with citizens to change the destructive course the Games is currently on.

Optimism gained from ‘small victories’, while rare, was nevertheless found in alternative media articles. For example, in *EcoMedia*’s article entitled, ‘There are ways to save billions of money and also protect Mount Gariwang’ (YM Kim, 2014b), the journalist provides specific plans for mobilizing citizens to apply additional pressure on POCOG and Gangwon Province. In an article published in *Hankyoreh* entitled, ‘PyeongChang Olympics sacrificial Mount Gariwang still has a way to survive,’ HS Cho (2014) attempts to do this by refuting the belief that the time

for action has already passed, and highlights lessons learned from Nagano; that “critical media attention in conjunction with collective citizen action can, and should be, used as levers in negotiations.”

Although most of the examples offered so far came from alternative and left-leaning mainstream outlets, conservative mainstream media contributed some – albeit fewer – articles in this vein. For example, the wire agency *Yonhap* contributed to the pressure on POCOG to learn from former hosts’ examples through the article ‘Nagano’s aftermath is grave; PyeongChang needs to be different’ (Yoon, 2015).

3.5 Discussion

With our various findings in mind, we will consider in this section how our results inform, are informed by, and in some cases differ from those reported from existing literature. We begin with what we consider to be one of our most intriguing findings, which was that differences in coverage of the Mount Gariwang controversy were starkest not along the division of mainstream versus alternative media – as was the case in Gunster’s (2011a,b) studies – but rather, between left-leaning and right leaning outlets – with left-leaning mainstream and alternative venues offering similar coverage. These findings differed in some respects from those reported by Gunster (2011a) – who found notable discrepancies between mainstream and alternative Canadian media coverage of the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit. At the same time though, and perhaps unsurprisingly, our findings aligned with Gunster’s in that coverage in right-leaning mainstream media in our sample differed from coverage in alternative media – with alternative media featuring reports and questions about environmental issues, and right-leaning mainstream being relatively silent on such issues. The main difference then, between Gunster’s

findings and ours, was therefore around how left-leaning mainstream media reported on environmental issues.

Although there are a range of ways that differences and similarities like these could be understood, it is of course crucial to attend especially to *how alternative and mainstream media coverage might be understood across socio-cultural contexts*. As noted earlier, there is little research that considers how environmental issues are covered outside of western contexts. Our study is therefore one example that fills this lacunae by focusing on South Korean media. Questions that are raised from this study that could be pursued in further research might focus on how conventions for producing mainstream left-leaning media might be different in South Korea and Canada – and about how ‘open’ these outlets are to contributions from non-journalist environmentalist activists, academics and others. We spoke briefly in our findings about a case where one group (*JoongAng Ilbo*) was simultaneously owners of both right-leaning and left-leaning media outlets – a point that is undoubtedly relevant for thinking through why there was, at times, some fluidity across right and left media especially. It also leads us to questions about the factors that influence what is ultimately published in outlets in these different contexts – and how the ‘hierarchy of influences’ on media productions (see Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) might differ across contexts.

Along with these broad contributions to thinking about how environmental issues are covered in differently situated media, we see our study as beginning to fill a gap in the body of research on coverage of environmental issues in sport – and especially on coverage of sport mega-events and environmental issues. As noted previously, there is a small body of research focused on how sport-related environmental issues are depoliticized – often in public relations campaigns designed by sport organizers, or through the activities of governments (Wilson &

Millington, 2013). In this vein, Karamichas (2013) and others demonstrated specifically how sport mega-event organizers commonly adopt and feature business-friendly ecological modernist responses to environmental issues. Such responses are, however, de-politicizing in the sense that the contentious aspects of ecological modernist responses are commonly deemphasized in such responses – as the uncontroversial aspects of an environmental response are featured as the ‘only’ response. In this way, the contentious political issues that unpin such responses are effectively concealed.

With these issues in mind, we also highlighted in this study the role that journalists play in either disrupting or confirming this ecological modernist narrative – and the role that *some* journalists may also play in promoting dialogue and critical thinking around controversial environment-related topics and decisions. Our finding that many journalists writing in conservative media reported only the ‘official’ response from POCOG or the IOC to questions about environmental concerns – and outlined only the EM-driven plan for addressing any concerns – is an excellent example of how media producers can be complicit around environmental issues. At the same time, we demonstrated what is possible in terms of (re)politicizing such issues – showing how particular journalists foregrounded corruption and irresponsible decision-making, included a range of voices and opinions in reports, and highlighted options for a more environmentally-friendly future. And although we highlighted how differently positioned media outlets were more likely to produce particular media contents, there was also some evidence that what we might think of as social and environmental justice-oriented reporting can (even if it seldom does) cross demarcations like left-leaning and right leaning, and mainstream and alternative (the latter of which was more frequent in this case).

To return to Billings and Wenner's (2017) discussion of mediatization, it is important not to be overly focused solely on the production, content and reception of the coverage – but rather, to think more broadly about the interconnections and circulations among coverage of this controversial development, environmental politics, and impacts on non-humans. Put simply, Mount Gariwang will never revert back to its previous state because of the (mediated) spectacle of a sport mega-event – and also due to how the issue was communicated and circulated in media coverage. In this sense, the broader forces of mediatization found itself in the crevices of a remote mountain.

Similar to what Millington and Wilson (2017) found in their study of the Masters golf tournament, environmental impacts and mediatization – where the media played a role in (re)producing narratives that are detrimental to the environment – we found that many articles reflected the dominant environmental management paradigm of EM, while at the same time conveying messages that would suggest that mass destruction of an ecological habitat for a sport mega-event is either justifiable, or not challengeable. The issue in this case, as with Millington and Wilson (2017), is that it is difficult to “undo the negative effects of [media-sponsored] modernization” (Millington & Wilson, 2017: 152).

Our final contribution pertains to questions about where ‘hope’ can be found in the coverage we studied. Alongside the criticisms of POGOG and others that we found across all media coverage – especially in left-leaning mainstream and alternative media – we also saw examples of hopeful and inspiring actions and engagement by citizens. We are encouraged by this, as we reflect on Gunster's finding (2011a: 491-493) that while mainstream media (in his study) ‘simply accepted’ that climate politics is often a “bureaucratic administration of the status

quo,” alternative media turned the criticisms into “potent fuel with which to energize democratic mobilization” by emphasising the opportunities for collective political intervention.

Similar examples of hope we found in our study are worth noting as examples of what journalists ‘can do’ as a way of not only highlighting problems with status quo responses to environmental problems, but also offering concrete directions for change and reasons for optimism – all features of ‘best practice’ environmental journalism according to scholars like Bourassa et al. (2013), Rögener and Wormer (2017) and Schäfer and Schlichting (2014). In this manner, environmental issues become no longer an entity to be feared or a “spectacle to be observed,” but rather a collective challenge that can be pursued by ordinary people (Gunster, 2011b: 17).

3.6 Conclusion

While we see the sort of coverage offered by many left-leaning alternative outlets as being more environment-friendly, and thus preferable for those concerned with environmental issues – we suggest also that there is a need to remain open to the range of perspectives from differently positioned stakeholders on environmental issues. In the case of Mount Gariwang, those ‘in power’ were not the only ones in favour of the development; as we found out through another part of this larger research project on Mount Gariwang, some local residents near the mountain, including those who had to relocate, were also in favour of building the alpine venue. Remaining vigilant then means also including and considering different stakeholders’ voices, especially those marginalized, *even if those voices go against preserving the environment*. The idea here is that best practice environmental journalism should, in our view, be open to ways that economic, social and environmental issues are intertwined, and to a range of voices (including

right-leaning and marginalized voices) – in hopes that productive dialogue will ensue, and that social divisions are not reinforced.

Of course, there is much left to do on this and related topics. Further research is needed that teases out differences between the conventions of journalists in differently positioned media outlets – and in different socio-cultural contexts – and research that considers how such differences are relevant for understanding how environmental issues might be covered. This study was an attempt to begin to understand how reporting on environmental issues in yet another context might come with context-specific values and interests, as well as more universal ones. In a similar way, questions about how environmental advocacy squares with conventions of ‘objectivity’ and ‘balance,’ according to journalists in different contexts, is also needed (following Tong, 2015). Finally, future research about how such communication is interpreted and/or debated (e.g., in comments sections on news websites) would aid our understanding the implications of different messages, and how they are taken up and acted on (or not) by audiences. Such a study would of course also need to be sensitive to who is, in fact, reading particular news outlets – and how the possible range of differently positioned readers responds to the messages they choose to consume.

Our study was also an attempt to consider how environmental practices are related to sport mega-events – events with their own environmental histories that are themselves inextricably linked with an elite sport culture that is commonly promoted in ways that distract from underlying problems (e.g., corruption in FIFA; concussions in the NFL). Following Tong’s (2015) lead, and with sensitivity to work on sport and activism by scholars like Boykoff (2014a,b), we would argue that this study is only a first step in what we see as an important and

understudied area of research on international media coverage of sport, mega-events and environmental issues.

4. (Study Two) Making Sense of ‘Failed’ Resistance: Exploring Activists’ Emotions following the Development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games

4.1 Introduction

In this paper, I explore the reflections of activists after a ‘failed’ social movement, with a focus on their emotions. This is to inform a broader understanding of how activists *respond and react* to a controversy – including how certain experiences may or may not shape an activist’s outlook, involvement with community, or retroactive evaluation of their actions. This paper is a departure from the existing body of social movement research in that it considers how activists felt throughout and after the movement, based on how they recount their experiences, as a way to tap into the emotional dimensions of social movements. In a broader sense, this focus on emotions aligns with what Patricia Clough has termed an ‘affective turn’ in sociology, indicating a shift away from cognitive understandings of social action to a focus on embodied capacities (Clough & Halley, 2007). Despite increasing calls for this ‘new sociological empiricism,’ Hynes (2013) argues that this call remains largely unanswered in the field of social movement studies. Anderson and Smith (2001: 7) attribute the marginal presence of emotion in social science to the gendered basis of knowledge production, in which “detachment, objectivity and rationality have been valued, and implicitly masculinized, while engagement, subjectivity, passion and desire have been devalued, and frequently feminized.”

In social movement research, on the other hand, there has been increasing academic attention to emotion, particularly in examining emotions that mobilize movements. However, the emotional processes and impacts *after a movement’s decline* (as opposed to emotions’ role in the emergence of a movement) are still understudied (Adams, 2003; Brown & Pickerill, 2009; Flam & King, 2005; Jasper, 2011; Poletta & Gharrity-Gardner, 2014). In addition, according to social

movement scholars Haiven and Khasnabish (2014), exploring a ‘failed’ movement is valuable because these cases provide an opportunity to re-define ‘success’ and ‘failure’ in resistance work. Using activists’ own stories as a gateway to understand their experiences (emotional and otherwise) is important because ‘stories guide action,’ and allow people to make sense of what has happened (Somers, 1994: 614).

The environmental social movement in consideration here is the resistance to the development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games in South Korea. Mount Gariwang had been distinguished as class 1 on the South Korean Ministry of Environment’s ‘Ecological Naturalness Scale’ for over five-hundred years (R. Kim, 2014), warranting the highest degree of protection (Ministry of Environment, 2009). In June 2013, the ‘protected area’ status was lifted from parts of Mount Gariwang in order to allow venue development for Olympic alpine skiing events under the newly legislated ‘Article 34 Special Exceptions to the Forest Protection Act’ (‘Special Act on Support for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games,’ 2013: 13). Many grassroots environmental and social groups voiced their resistance against this development, details of which are outlined in the Methods section. Despite such attempts, construction was completed in September 2015 and the first official event took place in February 2016. It is from this point that this study starts.

With the premise that emotions are key to understanding the sustenance of protest and social movements, this study is guided by the following questions: (1) what stories do activists tell themselves (and others) after an ‘unsuccessful’ environmental social movement and in so doing, what emotions are conveyed?; and (2) what implications do the activists’ emotions have with respect to sustaining future activism and social change at large? Through these questions, I

aim to provoke broader thinking about how activists *respond and react* to a ‘failed’ movement and how certain experiences may or may not shape an activist’s outlook, involvement with community, or retroactive evaluation of their actions. In doing so, I present a need to rethink what ‘success’ and ‘failure’ mean in social movement settings.

4.2 Literature Review and Theoretical Considerations

This section is divided into three parts. The first part is an overview of literature on the role of emotions in social movements, particularly with an interpretive sociological approach that aligns with this research. The second part focuses on literature that speaks to the synergy that lies in combinations of incongruent emotions – a theme that is central to this study. In the third part, I review studies about sport and leisure-related activism centred around environmental issues. Lastly, I identify gaps to which I hope to add, and outline contributions of my study.

4.2.1 Emotions and social movements.

Jonathan H. Turner (2009: 341) notes that it is difficult to define ‘emotion’ because it operates at many different levels (e.g. biological and neurological, behavioural, cultural, structural and situational), leading to different definitions depending on which aspect is most relevant to the researcher. For this study, I adopt the broad sociological view, which states that emotions are “converging forces that activate... states of conscious and unconscious affect that shape thought, behavior, interaction and patterns of social organization” (Turner, 2009: 342). The flexible and wide range of ways to define ‘emotion’ is indicative of the vastness of the sociology of emotions literature, ranging from those focusing on evolutionary/biological theories to those that take interpretive sociological approaches. In this paper, I take an interpretive sociological approach to emotions, as the aim is to explore how activists gave meaning to their

experiences (Donnelly, 2000: 78; Johnson, 1995: 146). Hence, I have chosen to feature literature that also reflects this approach in this section.

Pulido (2003: 47) refers to ‘emotions, psychological development, souls and passions’ as constituting the ‘interior’ dimensions of social movements. Kim (2002: 159) states that overlooking the emotional dynamics when researching social movements ‘risks a fundamental misunderstanding of the dynamics of collective action.’ More scholars are regarding emotion as a “force in its own right,” and as another structural layer in analyses of social movements (Ransan-Cooper, Ercan, & Duus, 2018: 4; Gould, 2009; Clough, 2012). Flam and King (2007) argue that most social movement researchers have focused on emotions as *a resource* that movements can use – specifically, the role of emotion in: mobilizing collective action (e.g. Bergstrand & Mayer, 2017; Bosco, 2006; Holmes, 2004; Jasper, 1998; Juris, 2008; Ransan-Cooper et al., 2018); shaping the boundaries of activist identities (e.g. Goodwin et al., 2001; Reger, 2004; Summers-Effler, 2005); and burnout within activist networks (e.g. Adams, 2003; Kleres, 2005; Svasek & Skrbis, 2007).

As illustrated above, however, most research to date focuses on emotions in the lead up to, and during, rather than *after*, a movement. There is some research that examine what activists do, say, or *feel* after the movement’s conclusion. In a recent study, Driscoll (2018) delves into personal biographies of activists to identify what – beyond organizational membership – influences persistent commitment to environmental activism. Among other reasons, he found that individual relationship with nature was a significant factor that supported many activists’ steadfast devotion to environmental causes. While his research was not an analysis of emotions per se, Driscoll (2018: 15) nonetheless encourages an in-depth examination of how activists give meaning to their previous experiences. With Driscoll’s call as a departure point, this current

study of activists' reflections after their resistance to the development of Mount Gariwang through an emotions lens aims to do exactly that – to examine how activists attribute resonance to their experiences.

Another example of work that focuses on the post-movement is by Jacqueline Adams (2003), who conducted ethnographic research in Chile focused on the emotions of women who participated in the Chilean pro-democracy movement. She found that women who participated were still bitter – despite the movement's successful outcome (i.e. the dictator Pinochet's stepping down) – because they felt disillusioned, abandoned and disconnected. Adams notes that losing a common enemy and goal led to disengagement and a sense of futility and emptiness for the women involved. She thus claims that the emotional impact of social movements on their members is not only strong during the movement, but also when it ends. With this finding, Adams highlights the importance of paying attention to emotions in social movements regardless of the outcome of particular collective actions. In this way, inquiring into the emotions of social movement actors invites a re-consideration of what 'success' and 'failure' of a movement can mean.

4.2.2 Contextualizing emotions in social movements and social change.

Scholars like Gould (2012) and Jasper (2014) have highlighted the dynamism of emotion in movements – in other words, emotions in movements, while patterned, are also mobile, and can thus be transformed into a force for social change. For example, scholars have detailed the utility of anger in particular, claiming that as the dominant response to perceptions of injustice, anger can motivate action more than other emotions can (see Henderson, 2008; Ransan-Cooper et al., 2018). Gould (2012), in her analysis of the movements against the US government's neglect of HIV-AIDS victims in the 1980s, illustrates how emotions such as loss and shame were

transformed and mobilized into pride and anger. Through her analysis, she highlights three characteristics of emotions that influence their dynamism in social movements: 1) emotions are non-static (i.e. they are subject to change due to events, relationships and experiences both personal and collective.); 2) emotions are combinatory (e.g. despair can come bundled with grief and sadness, but also activate anger); and 3) how emotions work is indeterminate and unpredictable (Gould, 2012; 107-8).

These characteristics are underscored in research by Romanos (2014), who conducted a longitudinal analysis of emotional practices of Spanish anarchists under Franco's dictatorship. Romanos (2014) found that the use of hope allowed the anarchists to positively assess the effectiveness of their strategies in challenging the authorities, while invoking indignation in onlookers helped gather support. Hence, Romanos suggests that the movement's political power came precisely from the combination of hope and anger. James M. Jasper (2011: 298) introduced the term 'moral battery' precisely referring to this form of synergy that arises from a combination of "a positive and a negative emotion, and the tension or contrast between them [that] motivates action or demands attention." Jasper (2014) notes that the most studied moral battery is the combination of shame and pride, as illustrated in gender and sexuality rights movements in stigmatized identities are transformed into active pride (cf. Whittier, 2012; Nicholls, 2013).

Another example of a moral battery is the combination of anger and joy. Ransan-Cooper, Ercan and Duus (2018) examined the emotional fabric of the anti-coal seam gas (CGS) movement in rural Australia, and found that while anger was central in mobilizing various people as anti-CSG protesters, it was the combination of anger and joy – specifically through "doing community" – that helped sustain the movement (Ransa-Cooper et al., 2018: 17). Delving

deeper into what ‘doing anger’ looked like in a rural context, they found that values held in high regard in that context such as civility, hospitality, loyalty and inclusivity led movement participants to hold back from confrontation, which helped to build solidarity across difference. This also led to development of new activist skills and strategies around maintaining relationships with others who held different views within that particular setting. As such, the authors highlight ways in which *rural* identities and contextual factors influence emotion in distinct ways, often influencing opportunities and limitations of movement participants.

Although the authors’ focus was on the role of emotions in mobilizing and sustaining the anti-CGS movement (i.e. rather than analysing emotions in the aftermath of a ‘failed’ movement), their use of the ‘affective practices approach’ (Wetherell, 2012) is particularly informative for my study. According to Wetherell (2012, 2013), the ‘affective practices approach’ recognizes that although emotions may be considered typical and familiar, they are also context specific, and they may not be immediately apparent nor communicable. Considering emotions as relational and embodied, this approach focuses on making sense of emotions (e.g. how they are expressed and interpreted), as well as how they physically manifest. Using this approach means examining physical, symbolic, and relational elements of emotions altogether, as well as being sensitive to how contextualized individual and collective experiences shape emotions and vice-versa (Wetherell, 2015: 86). The affective practices approach puts a spotlight on the everyday experiences of emotion, and aims to capture how expressions of emotions both influence and are influenced by particularity of context (Ransan-Cooper et al., 2018: 5).

4.2.3 Sport, activism and the environment.

Sociologists of sport have examined Olympic-related activism and protests mainly with respect to: 1) athlete-led activism (e.g. Tommy Smith and John Carlos’ Black Power salute in the

1968 Mexico Olympics); and 2) actions by political groups that strategically leveraged the mega-event to amplify their message (Boykoff, 2017: 175). Jules Boykoff's (2014a) *Activism and the Olympics* (2014) is an example of the latter, and is helpful for thinking about some unique ways in which the Olympic Games can influence activism, and vice-versa. The Olympics provide a setting in and for which many civil (and non-human) liberties are forfeited, and controversial decisions are fast-tracked. At the same time, the Games' immense popularity worldwide and their media coverage and reach also serve as strategic leverage on which protesters and activists disseminate their message.

In contrast, only a few scholars have examined sport-related activism centred around environmental concerns. For example, Belinda Wheaton (2007, 2008) interviewed the UK-based group 'Surfers Against Sewage' (SAS) and concluded that while there are limitations to political significance and impact, sport-related subcultural groups such as SAS provide a platform through which a "politicized trans-local collectivity" (p. 279) can be formed. Wheaton (2007) calls for more exploration into the relationship between leisure, consumption and new social movements, particularly around environmentalism. Another example is provided by Stolle-McAllister (2004), who examined the conflict over the construction of a golf course in Tepoztlán, Morelos, Mexico, and the resulting movement against the project. More recent works include examinations of relationships between sport and environment-related charity causes (see Bunds, 2016, 2017; Bunds, Brandon-Lai & Armstrong, 2016). Kyle Bunds (2016), through an organizational autoethnography, provides a rich account of the 'messiness of activism from the inside' of a UK-based global water charity that raises funds through the use of sport (e.g. leveraging philanthropist running events). In contrast, in this study, I centre the voices of activists from various South Korean organizations (e.g. sport, environment, or civic

empowerment-related) speaking about how they made sense of their resistance work *against* destruction that was already happening *due to* a sport-related event (as opposed to planning and running events to raise money *for* a cause *using* sport).

Millington and Wilson also provide a golf-related example in their book *The Greening of Golf: Sport, Globalization and the Environment* (2016) and an article (2017) on resistance to a Donald Trump-led golf development in Scotland that led to the destruction of an environmentally rare and sensitive sand dune system. They describe two key groups involved in challenging particular golf-related development projects and the very idea that golf should exist in the first place. In doing so, they outlined the assumptions undergirding each group's arguments, and how their messaging was presented to the public. Their attempt to explain why some anti-golf groups may or may not have been successful in achieving their desired outcome(s) is an example of the ways in which different theories of social movements can be thought through a specific case study – and especially how social and environmental concerns were understood and strategically highlighted (or de-emphasized) for political purposes.

Lastly, while not about an environmental social movement per se, Stoddart (2008) explores the multiple meanings attached to skiing and ski resort mountains in British Columbia, Canada through interviews, field observations and analysis of media discourse. He addresses the tension between different stakeholders' (e.g., ski industry, skiers, social movement groups, and mass-media) interpretations of skiing as an environmental problem versus skiing as an environmentally-friendly practice, the latter of which is challenged by environmental social movement groups. Regarding social movement groups' interpretations, Stoddart (2008: 194) found that they disrupted pro-environmental portrayals of skiing by challenging its ecological and social legitimacy.

4.2.4 Next steps: Budding fissures

There are two main ways in which I aim to contribute to existing literature through this study. Firstly, I examine activists' emotions *after* a movement has ended to see how they make sense of their experience, particularly after a movement that did not achieve its objectives. This point builds on research by Haiven and Khasnabish (2014) who studied the space between 'not-success and not-failure' of social movements in Nova Scotia, Canada. They claim that there is immense value in exploring this space, germane to the ability to dream of different worlds, to live between those worlds and this one, between "not-success" and "not-failure" (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014: 130). In other words, somewhere between the diametrically opposed preconceptions of success and failure exists a possibility for an unexpected outcome – that which represents a departure from the entrenched hegemonic power structure. As Haiven and Khasnabish (2014: 123) claim, studying 'failures' is important as they are "potential sites of rupture and possibility." In doing so, through examining activists' reflections after a movement that did not achieve its objectives, I re-assess what 'success' and 'failure' could mean in (environmental) social movement settings, keeping in mind that most movements dwell in "the gap between success and failure" (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014: 86).

Secondly, I add to the growing literature on sport-related environmental activism. This is an important contribution as the environmental impacts of sport and leisure-related events are increasingly hard to ignore. This is also a way to provide examples of responses to sport-related environmental concerns other than those offered by industry leaders – whom Wilson and Millington (2015) refer to as 'Sport Management Environmentalists' (SME). SMEs could represent a threat to genuine environmental activism surrounding sport, given their status and influence as 'leaders' in the industry and the innocuous ways in which their profit-driven policies

are articulated through their efforts to do and portray their environmental work. To this end, this study is an attempt to learn more about the different responses to environmental issues in sport (mega-events) beyond those offered by the elite. This is particularly important at a time when the industry seems open to improve its environmental practices, and yet, also be limited in what is regarded as feasible.

4.3 Sample and Method

4.3.1 Exploring emotions.

Before introducing literature about how to identify and analyze emotions, an explanation about how emotions surfaced as a topic to analyze in the first place, is necessary. Prior to the interviews with activists, my intention was to explore how the broader concept of post-politics may relate to the activists' experiences and perspectives. Upon completing and reflecting on the interviews, however, what was most striking to me of the data were the emotions conveyed by the activists in recounting their experiences. Thus, I shifted my focus in order to address what seemed to me the most prominent feature of the data. This shift led to an exploration of literature about studying emotions, which I briefly outline below.

In the book *Methods of Exploring Emotions* (edited by Flam & Kleres, 2015), verbs used by contributors to depict what they did include: acknowledging, pursuing, eliciting, releasing, unearthing, unveiling, explicating, exploring, or dissecting emotions (p. 3). As the wide range of these verbs illustrates, researching emotions is not a straightforward task. Flam (2015) outlines two main (and overlapping) positions one can take when researching emotions. Firstly, one may consider emotions as having a physical, expressive and cognitive dimension. Secondly, some suggest that what matters is not what the subject in question *actually* felt (i.e. the interviewee), but how the person interacting with them (i.e. the interviewer/researcher) interpreted the

situation (cf. Czarniawska, 2015). Both of these positions informed my approach to exploring emotional dimensions of activists I interviewed. That is to say, what I considered as emotion ‘data’ was multifactorial: I paid attention to the content of the stories shared by activists I interviewed, their positioning within the activist organization, their personal history with activism, as well as key signifiers throughout the interviews – such as pauses, speed and tone of speech, and facial expressions.

Similar to Kleres (2011), Wettergren (2015) and Ransan-Cooper et al. (2018), I worked with the understanding that emotions permeate narrative, and that “emotions are narrative in their character” (Ransan-Cooper et al., 2018: 8). This entailed paying careful attention to how emotions were infused in the activists’ stories – something which was also necessary because emotions were rarely discussed explicitly or directly. That said, following Adams (2003), I recognize that I cannot access the ‘pure’ or ‘real’ emotions of my interviewees – another reason why their stories, and how they tell their stories, are my best basis for understanding their emotions.

4.3.2 Data collection and analysis.

Data were collected through open-ended, semi-structured interviews with fourteen individuals involved in various activities of resistance toward the development of Mount Gariwang. They were all part of the coalition ‘People Against the Deforestation of Mount Gariwang’ (‘가리왕산 벌목을 반대하는사람들의 모임’). The four most prominent groups of the coalition were: one environmental NGO (ENGO) ‘Green Korea’ (녹색연합), two sport-related NGOs (SNGO) – ‘Center for Sport Culture’ (스포츠문화연구소) and ‘Physical Education & Citizens Association’ (체육시민연대); and one civil society group – ‘Cultural Action’ (문화연대).

All four organizations are non-profit, independent bodies separate from governmental structures, and geographically based in Seoul.

The goal of the interviews was to hear what stories and impressions these individuals were left with from their resistance experience. As such, I did not explicitly ask about emotions (e.g. through questions like ‘how did this experience make you feel?’). However, what stood out most across all interviews was, indeed, the affective dimension (i.e. how activists seemed to feel about what they experienced). Because this emotional dimension of their resistance experience seemed to be the most prominent and striking aspect of the interviews, I decided to frame this study accordingly. In this way, hearing the activists recount their experiences was an effective way to understand how activists felt about, and made meaning out of, a movement that did not achieve its original goal(s). As stated above, grasping ‘emotions’ was a multifaceted process, including using lay knowledge about emotional expressions to help select and interpret what I considered as relevant ‘emotion’ data.

A mix of purposive and snowball sampling was used for participant recruitment. Ethical approval for conducting this study was attained through the ethics boards at The University of British Columbia and Seoul National University. Interviews ranged from 45 to 90 minutes in length, and took place in various locations of the participants’ choosing in South Korea between March 2, 2017 and May 31, 2017. All interviews were conducted in Korean, recorded on a digital recorder and later transcribed verbatim and translated for analysis. Quotations included in the paper were translated using Brislin’s (1970) ‘back-translation’ method, in which the input language is first translated into the target language, and then the target language is translated back into the input language. Cultural interpretation was a significant part of this process, as narratives are heavily imbued with cultural nuance (K Kim, 2012). It must be noted, however,

that in a study exploring emotions, translation between languages inevitably hinders the full delivery of affect. In addition to the compromise in emotional conveyance that occurs when speech is translated into written text, converting it from one language to another results in further loss. This translation process was even more difficult because I did not ask the interviewees about emotions explicitly (however, as explained above, I learned through this process that perhaps not asking directly could reveal more about emotions). Rather, as mentioned earlier, I imbued emotional meaning onto which experiences they decided to share, and how they told the story – a process that I can only describe as trying to convert the temperature of the conversation into words – and into words in a language of a different climate. Hence, when translating, I paid careful attention to whether the emotions (that I personally sensed and witnessed) permeated through the conversion of languages.

Data were analyzed based on the conceptual themes that emerged pertaining to emotions experienced and produced throughout the interviewees' participation in the resistance movement. First, I transcribed all the interviews, followed by reading and re-reading the transcripts to become familiar with the data. Multiple readings of the transcripts led to the formation of initial broad indices of themes according to recurring topics, as identifying repeated topics is one of many ways with which to amalgamate a theme (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). I made a separate document with these initial indices of themes and subthemes, and continued to add illustrative quotes under each heading upon each subsequent reading of the interview transcripts. Repeated readings over time led to shuffling, re-naming, and re-organizing of the themes and headings.

4.4. Findings

This section summarizes the main themes that emerged from the interviews organized around the questions of: (1) what stories do activists tell themselves (and others) after an

unsuccessful environmental social movement and in doing so, what emotions are conveyed?; and (2) what implications do their emotions have with respect to sustaining future activism and social change at large? Through these questions, I hope to understand how activists *responded and reacted* to a ‘failed’ movement, and how certain experiences may or may not influence an activist’s worldview or future capacity for action. The findings as presented here are centred around activists’ accounts, with respect to: (1) regrets about, and questioning of, their own practices; (2) frustrations about broader structural constraints; and (3) accepting, overcoming, and utilizing challenges. Because the interviews were not explicitly about emotions *per se*, the findings below are mostly about the activists’ reflections about what took place. The emotions are what I perceived to have surfaced (and continued to surface, marking a prominent presence in the room) when activists talked about specific experiences, and are therefore my own interpretations.

4.4.1 Frustrations and anger surrounding political (mis)affairs.

Most stories told by activists revealed their frustrations and anger about the state of social and political affairs at the time of their collective actions. Non-vocal/verbal cues of emotion – such as sighs, increase in speed and tone of speech, and stern looks in eyes – were most noticeable when recounting events around this theme. Many expressed that they felt as if they were fighting a losing battle when considering the broader political and institutional climate. In particular, they pointed to corruption over private financial interests and a lack of transparency throughout decision-making, and in the process of consultations, as most distressing. Members of a civic action group explained:

A big problem with this controversy was that the political and administrative sides weren’t honest. So many things are run based on personal/private interest and benefit – this controversy made that clear – everyone in power is intricately networked and

they're taking the country to ruin.

Some bemoaned specifically the holes in regulations and special laws that paved the way forward for the development and filled the pockets of construction company owners. Activists conveyed distrust toward procedures that were supposed to serve as 'checks and balances':

The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is the go-to procedure for beginning a development. Rather than actually assessing whether it makes sense for the development to go ahead, it's more of an answer key and a green light, symbolically.

There needs to be mechanisms put in place so that the law can't keep making exceptions for itself – for example, the Ministry of Environment's protection law for Mount Gariwang, and then another law that exempts itself from the former. These cases must be forbidden – we need citizens' democratic voices to create change here.

The mistrust of government extended beyond laws and processes, to those working in related public offices. A civil society group member expressed his discontent with them, through which he concluded that the core problem lies in the structural constraints that shape the actions of civil servants:

Public servants? They should be called private servants! There's no system in place for [safe] internal whistle-blowing. They have no mechanism through which they can say no to powers above. When you meet them personally, sure they're good people, but in the system, they're agents of [systemic] violence. Say one's had enough, stir shit up and take an exit, are they rewarded or applauded? Never!

On a similar note, an ENGO member expressed his frustration and exasperation upon realizing that what his group was promoting was in fact *not* falling upon deaf ears:

When I meet with people from the provincial government, they'll even say, 'I know that this shouldn't happen... but it is, and there is no other way.' I'll hear this kind of thing often in private interactions like over a meal. It's one thing to feel that what we argued was perhaps uncompromising nonsense, but to know that those on 'the other side' also see it as valid and yet, nothing can happen.[...] that brings on a whole other level of helplessness. So yeah, we were pretty drained towards the end. [...] It

felt like we were talking to a wall.

What further contributed to the activists' anger about structural constraints was that there was no way to let those in power know of their grievances. Setting aside this malcontent, many activists wanted to have a discussion with the decision-makers first and foremost about the controversy.

However, their requests were ignored, as stated by a member of a cultural action group:

We wanted a thorough debate so we contacted POCOG and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism often but they ignored us, basically treating us as if we're invisible. If open, productive debates could happen here, it may trigger citizens to think more critically about the Olympics but nope, no chance.

That is not to say that the decision-makers were always shrouded in secrecy – they did, in fact, host press conferences and consultation sessions. But, as one civil society member put it, they often had a foregone conclusion:

When debates or consultations do happen, this concept of 'communication' is already out the door. [POCOG and other decision-makers] invite only those who they know will say things they like, and they call this a debate.

Such repeated negative encounters, however, may have led activists to be more resistant to accepting 'solutions' (or compromises) offered by those in power. A case in point is the activists' dismissal of POCOG's self-promoted collection of Certified Emission Reduction (CER) credits in order to 'offset' greenhouse gas emissions resulting from the Games. In this way, having felt frustrated with, and disappointed by the actions and antics of, the elite in a way served as an additional mechanism by which activists were able to critically assess the motivations behind offers of these material solutions – 'solutions' that do not actually address deeper issues of power and inequality.

It is possible that the frustration and anger played a role in pushing the activists to see the purpose – rather than the pain – of their actions. Akin to how ‘apocalypse’ means a disclosure of knowledge or revelation, the sense of gloom that frustration and anger elicited could have reminded the activists that what they were resisting was much bigger than Mount Gariwang alone. Another possible interpretation is that there may be a sense of satisfaction in the fact that the resistance was challenging, because there could be a shared belief that ‘worthy causes are not supposed to be easy.’

4.4.2 ‘Would’ve, could’ve, should’ve’: Questioning strategies used.

While looking back upon their work around the Mount Gariwang controversy, rather than focusing explicitly on how they *felt*, many activists reflected upon, and questioned, strategies they used – from which I gathered a sense of regret and reflexive questioning. For example, many talked about the limits of using ‘only the environmental frame’ (i.e. emphasizing the issue of Mount Gariwang solely, or over issues related to sport mega-events):

I’ve wondered if we should’ve perhaps hidden our true intentions [to save Mount Gariwang] and started with the [negative issues associated with] PyeongChang Games in general (Member of Green Korea).

Sure, people’s awareness of climate change and other environmental issues has increased, but the economic development logic still triumphs (Member of Green Korea).

Reflecting upon their strategies – and particularly, feeling regretful about some – also led activists to consider what assumptions they had held. In this case, thinking about the ineffectiveness of their environment-focused framing revealed their (perhaps cynical) assumptions about what the broader public’s priorities are, and how the public may perceive the salience of environmental issues. In this vein, an activist from the citizen group Cultural Action

questioned whether their movement's focus on non-human species was conducive to their goal of encouraging people to think more critically about development activities:

One of the things activists get scolded on the most is putting animals and plant species at the centre and not [local] humans. Their response is often, 'so the sheep can live, but we should die?!' Basically, what was supposed to be a discussion of a specific environmental issue becomes an endless battle of values and ideologies.

Other activists questioned their focus on affective dimensions (as opposed to 'hard facts') in their campaign efforts. As ENGO activists put it:

I think environmental activists are emotionally more in-tune or sensitive to begin with [...] but coming up with arguments based on their concern for nature alone is useless for people who think they're getting neglected from [economic] prosperity due to prioritizing nature.

When activists mulled over the 'would've, could've, should've' moments in this manner, empathy seemed to surface. Empathy, defined as "the act of imaginatively experiencing the feelings, thoughts and situations of another" (Chabot-Davis, 2004: 403), is most commonly linked to self- and social transformation (Pedwell, 2017). In this light, the questioning of their own practices and the empathy it elicited could lead to a change in their outlook and strategies for future resistance work.

Other activists were less precise when outlining their regrets, expressing instead their tendency to question the broader value system that surrounds 'nature.' For example, a photographer (who does not identify himself as an activist, but has been involved with the resistance) pointed out that the affective dimensions of nature are undervalued. When explaining why he did not include names of each species in his book of photographs from Mount Gariwang, he said:

I think our education system has made people always yearn for facts and answers. Like, when you look at a flower, you *need* to know its name. So when people look at my book, their first comment is, ‘why are these not labeled?’ rather than ‘wow they are beautiful!’ This need to satisfy the cerebral is dominant, and that can hinder getting across things like the invaluable worth of nature.

In these ways, activists’ reflections seemed to provoke thinking, especially about what constitutes strategic, persuasive communication for a successful movement. These moments seemed to serve as a way for the activists to slow down and practice mindfulness – crystallizing the intention of their actions, and reflexively asking what values overarch their objectives.

Lastly, many activists attributed the lack of support or interest to the timing of the controversy. South Korea in late 2016 and early 2017 was deeply enveloped in the impeachment scandal of the former President Park Geun-hye. Activists acknowledged ‘bad timing’ as a significant factor that hindered their resistance. At the same time, given the sheer impact of the impeachment scandal, particularly in motivating citizens to voluntarily assemble and speak out, an ENGO activist reflected on her group’s activities and the desire to have ‘piggy-backed’ on it:

Timing was uncanny. When this scandal was slowly breaking, we had been investigating unrelatedly into real estate investments in PyeongChang and noticed that [Choi Soon-sil, a figure involved in the impeachment scandal] was the owner of a bunch of land designated for development [for the Games], and her name kept coming up in the Games’ budget documents. So had everything about the scandal fully been revealed just a year earlier and we connected the dots, things may have turned out differently.

However, while many activists regretted the inopportune coinciding timing of their campaign efforts and the impeachment scandal, they acknowledged that some things were ‘just outside their control’ and therefore could not be fussed over. In doing so, they seemed to come to terms with, or find a way to utilize, challenges they faced. As will be discussed in the next section,

what appeared necessary in this process were acceptance and a summoning of empathy and love for those with whom they disagreed.

4.4.3 Accepting, overcoming, and utilizing challenges.

A civic activist articulated how the anger resulting from the above challenges sometimes led to a sense of dejection and loss that made it difficult to carry on:

Whenever this kind of controversy happens, those who actively oppose and speak up are just a handful of environmental and civic groups. Almost every time, winners and losers are already decided from the get-go. We know that too, so sometimes when we encounter an issue, we feel a sense of rage and despair at the same time... we lose our self-regard a little bit and often feel lonely.

What further added to this sense of ‘loneliness’ was that there was not much support from local residents. In fact, a prevailing sentiment across the activists was that the resistance against the development of Mount Gariwang was ‘a movement only of/by activist groups’ as opposed to collectively led by various members of the public who do not necessarily identify themselves as ‘activists.’ Most activists expressed dismay at the locals’ hostility and/or apathy, identifying this as the main reason behind why the movement did not grow past organizational boundaries. ENGO activists explained that garnering local support was nearly impossible as the sentiment of the locals – at least that promoted by the local representatives – was pro-development. They added that the lack of local support was not only from having an opposite stance, but also, from apathy and indifference. Talking about this in particular was usually accompanied by a look of resignation in their eyes.

At the same time, however, the lack of local support pushed the activists to think about why many locals support the development – and this process seemed to involve summoning empathy and love for those with whom the activists disagreed, and who had displayed hostility

towards them. As a result, it is possible that this challenge presented an opportunity for the activists to think about whether one can be exceptionalist when it comes to empathy and love required in activism. In other words, even though activists portrayed exasperation towards the locals who advocated for the development as well as the Games' decision makers, the feelings of frustration they felt towards the locals seemed to have a different feel, colour, or temperature to them than those they felt toward the decision makers in power. This complicated set of both similar and contradictory emotions directed at different groups seemed to present a tricky emotional space for the activists to navigate.

Further, the lack of local support led to activists joining forces with other organizations. Many mentioned that they were happy about the coalition that formed – specifically, the banding together of groups unlikely to have interacted with one another otherwise. Even though the protests and rallies they held together were never 'massive' in scale, the synergy resulting from the banding of 'unlikely' partners was claimed by many interviewees as a valuable asset to carry forward into future social movements. Reflecting on the activities of the coalition provided in turn an opportunity for each organization to reflect on their own practices as well. An ENGO activist stated:

My perspective has changed. Environmental activist groups have a particular identity that they approach issues with. But this Mount Gariwang case has shown us the limits of that identity and perspective.[...] our intents and claims wouldn't have any clout without those also from sport and civic groups. Our senior members have told us that 'social movements are all [about] coalitions and partnerships' and we really felt that this time.

Revealed in this reflection is the need for a critical review of their own strategies to date. Other ENGO activists reconsidered concepts they had previously dismissed, such as the idea of 'environmental economics':

There's a lot of taboo about 'environmental economics' among environmental activists.' Yet, if [nature] isn't quantified, its value can't be measured, rendering it impossible to decide whether to conserve or destroy something. So I think activists may benefit from being more open to [environmental economics] – especially when trying to convince citizens – to boil it down to 'would you rather take this much now from developing' versus 'you can get a lot more later by conserving.'

In this manner, reflections and regrets seemed to open up avenues activists had not previously considered, paving new possibilities for future campaigns. For some of the activists interviewed, this reckoning seemed to reveal a humble parting with some of the ideas they long held as right and true.

The stories the activists I interviewed were telling themselves after this movement had not only to do with themselves and their organizations, but also about the public. For example, many activists indicated that there was a lack of platform through which people could speak up about injustices – both personal and otherwise – and in this way, some activists seemed to express empathy for the locals who were often unsupportive of the activists' work. As a critical sport action group member said:

[Controversies like this] would turn out differently if civil society's responses included regular people... more so, the space for people to say what they need – [this creation of space] is probably what we as an organization should be after. That may lead to people realizing that this is supposed to be a participatory democracy, and that if we don't act it out, current and future lives will be more desolate.

In this manner, undergoing challenges fueled activists to ask bigger questions. Specifically, through their reflections, activists pondered the ways they could contribute to enabling a more emancipatory and participatory public sphere for those powerless and most directly affected.

4.5 Discussion

What is interesting here is that the emotions portrayed in the interviews were neither explicitly hopeful nor optimistic. In fact, the dominant emotions portrayed were frustration,

anger, disappointment and regret. Yet, interviewees had not given up and felt compelled to continue their resistance even though Mount Gariwang had already been developed. In this section, I attempt to explain (this contradiction –) how it is that activists still felt compelled to continue their resistance efforts despite having had mostly negative emotional experiences, and not having achieved their goal. Firstly, it seems from their accounts that the combination of frustration and anger with a reflexive humility to learn from challenges charged the activists’ ‘moral battery’ (Jasper, 2011). Second, in addition to the role of emotions, however, a significant reason why activists were not deterred from continuing their efforts may be because, ultimately, the results (i.e. the failure to stop the development on Mount Gariwang) did not directly impact their lives. With the understanding that one’s emotions are informed by the setting in which one is embedded (Brown & Pickerill, 2009; Peterson, 2006), I discuss why activists I interviewed may have been resilient against the negative experiences and emotions they encountered.

4.5.1 Synergy in frustration and humility: ‘Moral battery’ in action.

Frustration, anger, as well as reflexive humility (e.g. empathy with pro-development locals, acknowledgment of shortcomings, and questioning of strategies used) were the predominant emotions portrayed by the activists. At the same time, the humility with which they reflected upon their strategies and relatively privileged status seemed to give rise to a sense of empathy with the pro-development locals. In this way, the combination of anger, frustration and humility seemed to remind activists that a better strategy would be one that would also resonate with pro-development locals as well. For instance, rather than dismiss the pro-development locals’ desires for economic growth as greedy or shortsighted, they acknowledged that it would be better to introduce the question of whether Olympic-related developments are the only way to obtain growth. In this way, the juxtaposition of dissimilar emotions encountered in activism can

create space to accentuate the broader *raison d'être* of their activism – that is, to hold those in power accountable, and to address the broader, deeply entrenched issues of inequality underlining socio-political-environmental issues.

Echoed here is the claim that emotions often appear in combinations, and that it is the interaction of these emotions that influence action (Jasper, 2012, 2013; Romanos, 2014; Ransan-Cooper et al., 2018). Similar to the anti-Francoist activists in Romanos' (2014) study, frustration and anger provided directionality for seeking who should be held accountable for the destruction of Mount Gariwang and its social and ecological consequences. In this way, 'negative' emotions like anger may actually be useful for motivating punitive and preventative demands against injustice (Henderson, 2008: 32). Moreover, looking back upon the movement led way to a critical and reflexive assessment of their tendency to blame locals (i.e. for making them feel isolated and unsupported throughout the movement), and to re-consider who should be held accountable for the injustices, and what root causes needs to be redressed.

Another example illustrative of the synergy in a combination of incongruent emotions can be found in how activists felt toward the local residents. On one hand, activists voiced their resignation and resentment about the lack of local support that rendered their efforts fruitless. On the other hand, however, they also understood why the locals may not want to stand behind them – considering the historical socio-political currents that led them to yearn for economic development over environmental protection. Thus, the activists simultaneously felt lonely and helpless in their efforts while they also empathized with the locals. Perhaps for this reason, for many activists, the lack of local support often led to comments about broader structural constraints that led to this situation, and reflections on how they may navigate around similar challenges in the future. In this way, this combination of emotions may contribute to a broader

perspective of the issue, as well as inform their future resistance work by providing directionality for actions.

However, there is research that also indicates a surprising inverse relationship between ‘positive’ emotions (e.g. empathy) and outcomes in social movements (De Rivera, Gerstmann & Maisels, 1994; Kruks, 2005). De Rivera et al. (1994) found that while sympathy for those in unfortunate circumstances may motivate action in a direct personal relationship, it does not seem to fuel political action in movement contexts. Instead, what was more effective in motivating action was anger and moral outrage at injustice. Nonetheless, in my study, the fissure between the emotions of anger and empathy served to create an outcome the activists did not explicitly have in mind – which was, to think about and challenge the larger structural factors that led the (pro-development) locals to adopt the position they did. In this way, rather than breaking down with a sense of isolation and despair from the lack of local support, they found direction and purpose in competing emotions.

As such, perhaps it is in defining ‘success’ differently that the key to sustaining activism may lie. The wide range of – and at times conflicting – emotions portrayed by activists when telling their stories invites a reconsideration of what ‘success’ and ‘failure’ in a movement could mean. Even though the goal of protecting Mount Gariwang from development was not achieved, the stories told and emotions embedded within did not necessarily convey pure ‘failure.’ In other words, there is generative capacity in falling short of a goal in activism by eliciting activists to interfere with their own understandings of structures and relationships that constitute successful movements, and in doing so, creating a space in which new approaches can emerge.

4.5.2 Not having a direct stake in failure as a shield.

While the ‘moral battery’ may explain how activists are looking back upon, and making meaning of, their experiences with a sense of optimism, what must be acknowledged is that they were in a privileged position to address the issue. In other words, the outcome of the controversy (e.g. whether the mountain was bulldozed to make way for the ski development) ultimately did not directly impact the lives of these mostly young, urban activists based in Seoul. To explain how this privilege may have shielded them from burnout, I compare my findings to Adams’ (2003) study of the Chilean women’s protest, with particular attention to the difference in contexts.

In contrast to the Chilean women whom Adams (2003) interviewed, the activists interviewed in this study were not left hopeless after the movement was over. This is all the more surprising because the women in Adams’ (2003) study were part of a successful movement, whereas the activists I interviewed did not achieve their objective of stopping the destruction of an ancient forest on Mount Gariwang. Specifically, although the Chilean women felt less politically oppressed when Pinochet stepped down and democracy returned, they nonetheless felt bitter and disillusioned. This was for several reasons: 1) they felt that their everyday (economic) lives had not much improved; 2) serious social problems persisted; and 3) values like individualism had replaced solidarity. In addition, they no longer felt important nor connected to the “collective effervescence” (Adams, 2003: 104). On the other hand, even though activists in my study did not achieve their goal and shared considerable frustrations and resignations over what happened, the most salient sentiment seemed to be about empathy (towards the locals who did not support their cause) and carrying forward with important lessons learned.

There are significant contextual differences that can explain these divergent findings. Firstly, the activists in my study were not direct stakeholders in the movement, which would make the consequences of failure less immediately dire. In other words, the development going ahead did not impact the lives of the almost exclusively Seoul-based activists in any direct manner. This also has to do with what the movements were centred around: the Chilean movement was to advocate for democracy, which impacts people's lives directly and immediately – while the movement in Korea was surrounding a mountain, and for a 'temporary' (notwithstanding its consequences) sport-related event. Perhaps it is no surprise that a people-centred movement resulted in a more 'viscerally' felt emotional impact – though such anthropocentric rationale is a limitation in itself.

Secondly, and on a related note, the activists in my study were in much more privileged positions compared to the Chilean women. Many were activists by profession, which meant that: a) they had an (modest) income; b) movements failing was a routine occurrence with which they are familiar as part of their job, which could have 'lessened the blow'; and c) the established activist organizations in the Korean case provided the social sense of belonging, which many of the Chilean women felt sad about losing when the movement ended. While this is not to say that they would not have otherwise jumped into the cause if they were not activists by profession, their status as Seoul-based activists by profession nonetheless privileged them with more flexibility to accept and deal with 'failure.'

The Korean activists may have been able to avoid the sense of deprivation and isolation the Chilean women felt because even after the movement ended, they still had their co-activist colleagues by their side, moving onto the next causes. Therefore, there was no erosion of community. Not only that, but they had in fact gained additional like-minded allies from

establishing coalitions with other groups – thus bolstering their sense of unity and solidarity, which are vital in sustaining activism (Jasper, 1998). In contrast, the social network that constituted the Chilean movement disintegrated when the movement ended, leaving its members feeling disconnected and atomized.

Lastly, all but one were male among my interviewees. While this is not to make normalizing assumptions between gender and emotion, it should be noted that, as males, my interviewees started out from a less marginalized position. Specifically, as Adams (2003: 107) notes, the Chilean women were, at the time, subverting norms in the Latin American cultural context in which it was unusual (and frowned upon) for women to work outside the home or to engage politically. Therefore, the end of the movement, despite its success, also signaled the end of an activity which made them feel empowered, leading to a lost sense of agency. Meanwhile, a sense of agency with respect to gender was never a consideration the almost all-male activists in my study had to contemplate.

These explanations bolster Adams' (2003) claim that the outcome of a movement does not predict whether the affective effect of the movement will be positive or negative on its participants. Instead, what activists felt at the end of this movement had largely to do with how dire and direct their stakes of 'failure' were, which were in turn determined by larger structural factors such as their preexisting social capital (or lack thereof), cultural norms and expectations. A cynical way to interpret this would be to say that resilience is merely an effect of relative privilege and distance (i.e. the activists' both physical and figurative distance from Mount Gariwang and the implications of its development). Another interpretation, however, is that if distance is indeed an advantage in sustaining activism, it foments an argument for those not directly impacted by an issue to get involved. In other words, resistance is stronger and more

sustainable when driven not only by the immediate stakeholders, but also peripherally supported by those on the ‘outside’ – despite the difficulties of such a coalition.

4.6 Conclusion

The stories told by activists – and the emotions revealed through them – convey the “dissonance and noise, the confusion and the contradiction, the joys and sorrows of the mess” of social movements that Haiven and Khasnabish (2014: 239) claim are important to assess and capture their true potential. Attending to the emotions embedded in the stories told by activists sheds light on what supports their persistent commitment despite not achieving their goal, the lived realities that make up the fabric of resistance work, as well as fissures created for imaginaries of alternative societies and ways of life. While the movement against the development of Mount Gariwang could be deemed unsuccessful with respect to achieving its goal, it was considered neither a success nor a failure by activists. It is this space between ‘not-success and not-failure’ that Haiven and Khasnabish (2014: 131) argue is fertile for recognizing “unrealized expectations, and unexpected openings and possibilities.”

This study also adds to the growing literature on sport-related environmental activism. This is important particularly in light of the growing “light-green consensus” (Millington & Wilson, 2016: 153) emerging in the sport industry (e.g. golf green maintenance practices), led by sport management environmentalists who have incorporated environmentalism in a way that *appears* more environmentally friendly than its actual impact. Seeking out resistant voices against this light-green consensus led by powerful sport industry and governing bodies – as illustrated here through the activists’ accounts of their resistance against the development of Mount Gariwang and POCOG’s ‘green promises’ to justify, and make up for, the destruction – is therefore all the more important. Beyond adding a critical questioning voice onto claims of

environmental leadership in sport, studying sport-related environmental activism also provides an opportunity to think about issues of inequality underlining liberties (both human and non-human), how decisions are made (and fast-tracked), and whose voices are valued.

A limitation of this research is that my sample of interviewees did not include those who had, in fact, ‘burnt out’ and left the resistance movement. Future studies could focus explicitly on those who have left behind their involvement in activism, as well as those who returned after a hiatus – with an emphasis on the emotional dimensions of their decisions to better understand burnout and resilience in social movements.

In light of previous research about the inversely valued outcomes of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ emotions, more research examining this disjuncture would be beneficial. Specifically, the implications of the “slippery slope of sympathy” potentially providing activists with disincentives to “cancel the suffering that provides the ride [of compassion]” (Spelman, 1997: 158) should be examined further – in conversation with activists and activist-academics. To this end, the disconnect between the academe and the grassroots requires frank and continued consideration, with the understanding that anger is a luxury for some, while not an option for others.

To conclude, there is generative capacity in the uncertainty that follows a disaster – particularly when the luxury of labeling a movement ‘complete’ was not granted. The activists who resisted the development of Mount Gariwang transformed this ‘lack of success’ into an opening for continued interference with broader structural issues that underlined the Mount Gariwang controversy, and an opportunity to reflect and reassess their resistance strategies carrying forward. More than a year after these interviews were conducted (and after the 2018 Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games have concluded), they are still voicing concerns about the

residues of the development, stating that problems will only get more dire especially as media spotlight has come and gone after the spectacle of the Games has concluded. For example, a coalition of activists is taking advantage of POCOG's decision to forego the final Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study by publishing their own assessment – particularly of areas they consider would have been overlooked by POCOG (SC Kim, 2018 – personal communication). In this sense, the activists' endeavours are far from over.

5. (Study Three) ‘That ski hill? That used to be my home’ vs. ‘This is overdue development’: Understanding Local Residents’ Responses to the Development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games

5.1 Introduction

This paper explores the experiences of local residents who live(d) near Mount Gariwang, a formerly protected area that was developed into the official alpine ski venue for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics in South Korea. This study takes a different approach from existing literature on Olympic-related impacts in two main respects. First, I shift the lens through which impact is assessed away from decision-makers and spectators, onto the citizens residing in the host city themselves. Understanding the impacts from their perspective is important particularly because the organizing committees often claim to act on their behalf. Second, I explore the impact felt by different groups of ‘locals’ and demonstrate that the so-called ‘locals’ experience’ is not monolithic. In doing so, I hope to contribute to contextualized understandings of the “everyday textures” (Kennelly, 2015: 4) associated with negative impacts of Olympic-related developments.

There are many ways the term ‘social impact’ can be understood, but the definition most fitting for this study is: ‘short term consequences that become apparent in the form of immediate and noticeable changes in the quality of life of the host communities... and long-term changes in social relationships and norms and standards in the host community’ (Ohmann, Jones & Wilkes, 2006: 130). This study is needed because, with the exception of a few studies (cf. Kennelly, 2015; Kennelly & Watt, 2011, 2012, 2013), research about how such transformations and inequalities are felt and experienced by Olympic host-city inhabitants is rare. This is a surprising gap given the increasing acknowledgements of negative impact on marginalized populations,

such as loss of housing through gentrification and displacement (COHRE, 2007; Hiller & Moylan, 1999; Horne & Whannel, 2012; Kennelly, 2015; Lenskyj, 2000, 2008).

A central question driving this study is, ‘how did the local citizen stakeholders of towns around Mount Gariwang perceive, and respond to, the controversial development?’ ‘Local citizen stakeholders’ refer to those living in three towns of various proximities (at the base to 20km) to Mount Gariwang, and as a result, with their lives interwoven in varying levels with the mountain. More details of these towns are provided in the Method section, but it is important to note that the difference in people’s spatial/locational relationships to the mountain seemed to be a factor in how they made sense of the controversial development.

This study is at the intersection of the sociology of sport, environmental sociology, and environmental politics. In what follows, I first introduce theories of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (Harvey, 2004) and ‘crisis of imagination’ (Haiven, 2014) as concepts that guide my attempt to understand processes of exploitation around a sport mega-event, and reasons for this exploitation. I then provide an overview of relevant studies from each field (including Korean literature) that inform this research – namely, research on (eco-)social impacts of sport mega-events, and the phenomena of ‘Not In My Back Yard’ (NIMBY) and ‘Please In My Back Yard’ (PIMBY). Of focus especially here, is how these literatures relate to local perceptions of land use and controversial land development projects in South Korea, and how they might lend an analytical lens to the conflict around Mount Gariwang. Afterwards, I describe my data collection and analysis procedures, and subsequently present themes that emerged from the interviews – with an assessment of the relationship between locals’ experiences related to Mount Gariwang and the Olympic development. I close with a discussion of these themes in the context of existing literature and theory.

5.2 Literature Review and Theoretical Considerations

In this section, I first briefly describe how David Harvey's (2004) theory of 'accumulation by dispossession' can inform this study, as it is a mechanism that characterizes many development processes. I then introduce Max Haiven's (2014) concept of the 'crisis of imagination,' which can help illuminate the broader socio-political predicaments underlying the local residents' experiences. I then provide a brief overview of literature on sport mega-event-related social impacts, with a focus on the experiences of host-city inhabitants (specifically, of the 2010 Vancouver and 2012 London Olympics) who had to re-locate as a result of the Games. Afterwards, I introduce the concepts of 'NIMBY' and 'PIMBY,' before describing examples of NIMBY/PIMBY-oriented responses to sport mega-events. I then provide studies of similar cases around the world and in South Korea in which people were impacted by infrastructure developments (both sport-related and otherwise) in their neighbourhood.

5.2.1 'Accumulation by Dispossession.'

A theoretical concept that lends well to understanding Olympic-related 'development' projects – like Mount Gariwang in South Korea – and their consequences is David Harvey's 'accumulation by dispossession' (2003). Harvey (2003: 152-3) provides the example of 'flipping houses' as an example of accumulation by dispossession, where a house in poor condition is bought at a low price, renovated, then sold at a much higher price, mostly to low-income earners with the help of mortgage packages arranged by the seller. Should the buyer have trouble sustaining the mortgage payments, then the house is repossessed by the buyer. This is a legal process that is premised upon the control of assets by those in power over those without. In this way, accumulation by dispossession provokes political and social struggles and inequalities as it is a devaluation of assets of certain groups of people in certain parts of the country/world over

another. As Hannah Arendt put it, “[t]he original sin of simple robbery, which centuries ago made possible the ‘original accumulation of capital’ (Marx) and had started all further accumulation, had eventually to be repeated lest the motor of accumulation suddenly die down” (Arendt, 1968: 28).

Harvey (2003: 156) asserts that attempts to accumulate by dispossession arose in part and in parallel to the inability to accumulate through expanded reproduction, particularly after 1973. The rise of neoliberalism and the associated proliferation of privatization were integral to this process. The ‘spatio-temporal fix’ explains ways in which capital surpluses may be absorbed. Harvey identified the following ways in which surpluses were absorbed through spatio-temporal fixes: (a) temporal displacement (e.g. investment in long-term capital projects or social expenditures); (b) spatial displacements (e.g. through opening up new markets, production capacities and social and labour possibilities); and (c) combinations of (a) and (b) (Harvey, 2004: 64). As the title of Harvey’s book – *The New Imperialism* (2003) – suggests, he claims that accumulation by dispossession is underlined with imperialist logic that arises from the inability (or the political refusal) to find internal, domestic solutions to problems associated with overaccumulation. He dates this phenomenon back to the beginning of the 20th century in Britain – illustrated, for example, by the annexation of Witwatersrand (present day South Africa), motivated by gold and diamond resources coupled with the internal class structure that prevented social reform (Harvey, 2003: 180). He also cites the Bush administration’s military intervention in the Middle East as a way to better procure control over the region’s oil resources (Harvey, 2003: 180). Beyond military interventions, however, hegemonic state power is the salient form in which unequal and inequitable power relations, domestically and internationally, are established. Asymmetries in trade relations are an example of a means by which advanced capitalist countries

continue to gain and perpetuate their advantage in having monopoly over the rules by which every participating nation plays.

This lens of ‘accumulation by dispossession,’ with its association with imperialist logic, is helpful for understanding how state-led land and infrastructure developments for sport mega-events may also be a way in which inequalities manifest. The Olympic Games are a prime opportunity to further economic gain in ways that commonly lead to the displacement of people, as well as social and labour possibilities. They serve as the perfect tool with which to stretch the limited spatial and temporal horizons of capital (Gruneau, 2017). Sport mega-events are run like capitalist firms where executives (organizers) externalize costs, and focus on the profit potential in the present. The common result is social and economic violence to current and future communities and generations, both human and non-human (Boykoff, 2014b; Stoddart, 2008; Wilson, 2012).

Gotham (2016) explains this process when he outlines how the logic of accumulation by dispossession manifests in mega-events. Gotham states that in circumstances like sport mega-events, creative new spaces are established (e.g. institutions, infrastructures, tourist-oriented spectacles) in pursuit of capital accumulation – much of which requires socio-spatial restructuring, and are only “appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time” (Harvey, 2001: 246). The Olympics, therefore, represent a form of a ‘spatio-temporal fix’ – that avoids, or postpones, the inherent cyclical crises of capitalism. It requires that capital must constantly move to create new markets after exploiting old markets, which involves destroying fixed social relations and institutions that supported former investments – a pattern which Gotham (2016: 33) describes as “creative destruction,” following Joseph Schumpeter’s use of the term. Schumpeter (1950) coined the term to describe how the drive for profit leads to expansion

of markets and labour-saving technologies, a process that then destroys existing economic activity and relations. In turn, the loss of ability to compete leads displaced capitalists to strive for new innovations, thus continuing the cycle of this ‘creative destruction.’

What this study adds to the understanding of how these processes of accumulation by dispossession and creative destruction manifest in sport mega-events is through my focus on how consent is sought and secured. Specifically, I focus on how people (including those who would eventually be dispossessed and displaced) come to agree – or acquiesce to the idea – that, for example, hosting a mega-event in their city, is a good idea. For this ‘buy-in’ to work, there must first be a well-established, taken-for-granted vision of what ‘development’ and ‘progress’ look like. In the next section, I elaborate on a ‘crisis of imagination’ that shape (and limit) such assumptions and visions.

5.2.2 ‘Crisis of Imagination.’

In his book *Crises of Imagination, Crises of Power: Capitalism, Creativity and the Commons*, Max Haiven (2014) introduces the concept of ‘crisis of imagination.’ Haiven claims that there is a crisis of imagination at the heart of the current neoliberal paradigm, now under threat in the face of massive economic, ecological and social crises (p. 3). He argues that various forms of oppression ranging from nationalism, racism, sexism, and homophobia to specific issues such as the brutal repression of workers are all reliant on “conscripting our imaginations” (p. 4).

The claim underlining the book is that “the idea that capitalism has ever *not* been in crisis is a privilege afforded to the privileged” (Haiven, 2014: 2-3). In other words, that one is unable to, or feels no need to imagine a different system and a way of life is emblematic of this crisis of imagination. Haiven’s concept is helpful in finding various dimensions of crises of imagination

in how we assign value, how people's wants, needs and desires arise and are fulfilled, and how "the value of the market itself has become the overarching and unquestionable arbiter of almost every aspect of human existence today" (p. 2).

This concept is particularly relevant for thinking through the reasons why the local residents I interviewed supported or opposed the ski development at Mount Gariwang. The confines of what the residents could imagine 'development' to mean, how they viewed 'nature,' as well as their place and role as citizens – and what the political economic structure rendered as feasible options – are all influenced by the larger 'crisis of imagination.' The crisis of imagination is akin to viewing the status quo as the "natural expression of human nature," and believing that it is "too powerful to be changed, or that no other system could ever be desirable" (Haiven, 2014: 4). In this way, crisis of imagination represents the result of a depoliticized vision of what society could and ought to be.

As conveyed above, the concept of crisis of imagination represents a form, and an outcome of, post-politics. While theories of ideology and hegemony of course do play a foundational role here (i.e. post-politics is contingent upon manufacturing consent for hegemonic ideology[ies]), I see crisis of imagination as an especially useful concept for depicting an *outcome* of post-politics – the limited range of what local residents perceived to be possible futures – which, I argue, facilitated the development of the alpine venue. In other words, while the locals were not explicitly discouraged or prohibited from envisioning alternate ways of life, the parameters of 'alternative' had already been determined, inevitably resulting in a limitation (i.e. crisis) in imagination. In fact, the development went ahead *because* it represented many locals' vision of a desired future – which was possible because having a ski hill on Mount Gariwang aligned with what many recognized as economic progress.

While Haiven's concept is helpful in exploring the 'why' behind the interviewees' answers (outlined in the Results section), I inquire further by contextualizing this 'crisis of imagination.' In other words, I explore events and circumstances specific to this region and demographic that led to the crisis of imagination. It is important to note that 'imagination' is not an isolated entity – instead, it is heavily informed by the cultural and historical context of the system in which the 'imager' is embedded.

5.2.3 NIMBY and PIMBY.

The phenomenon of 'Not In My Back Yard' (NIMBY) and 'Please In My Back Yard' (PIMBY) are often part of discussions surrounding local opposition to, or embracement of, land-use proposals such as human service and energy facilities (e.g. Dear, 2007; Dokshin, 2016; Sowers, 2006). NIMBY is a pejorative characterization of opposition by residents who want to protect their turf from unwelcome land-use proposals (Dear, 1992: 288). On the other hand, PIMBY is the opposite attitude, in which residents advocate for development to be on their turf (Boudet, 2011).

Sowers (2006) sought to better understand the PIMBY dynamic in Iowa's windfarm landscape. Through interviews with major stakeholders, Sowers found that the motivation behind resident support was mostly due to the economic benefits the windmills would bring in the form of lease payments paid to the landowners. Similarly, Dokshin (2016) investigated what factors drive local decisions to allow or to prohibit industrial land use – specifically, for hydraulic fracturing in New York state. In addition to finding that communities that had the highest likelihood of benefitting from the project showed the highest levels of support for the project, Dokshin found that ideological differences among local residents formed an "essential lens that colored residents' perceptions and contributed to local land use decisions" (p. 942). In addition,

proximity to the proposed gas wells was a key predictor of whether residents embraced or opposed the project.

Based on an extensive literature review, Conde and Le Billon (2017) identified factors affecting the communities' likelihood of either resisting or supporting mining projects in their neighbourhoods. They found that dependency on mining companies, political marginalization, and trust in institutions hindered the likelihood of resistance – while large environmental impacts, lack of participation, extra-local alliances, and distrust toward companies increased resistance. Factors such as economic marginalization, corporate social responsibility activities, remoteness and attachment to place had mixed effects (Conde & Le Billon, 2017: 691). These concepts are helpful for understanding where the tensions and disagreements within local communities may emerge. People mobilize for different reasons based on multiple conceptions of the risks and rewards of industrial projects (Dokshin, 2016: 942).

5.2.4 The politics of NIMBY, PIMBY, and other responses to sport mega-events.

There are select studies of NIMBY and PIMBY related to sport that are especially pertinent to the current research. Scherer and Sam's (2008) examination of the politics of the debate over the decision to renovate or rebuild Carisbrook stadium in Dunedin, New Zealand is particularly informative for this dissertation. Even though the debate was about a stadium that existed (rather than debating whether to build a structure that was not already a part of the local region), the (post-)politics that underlined the consultation process is informative for what took place for Mount Gariwang. The authors hone in on the power relations and tensions that underlined the public consultation process, revealing ways in which the public meetings in five regions were also paradoxical to democracy, and may lead one to question the legitimacy of the debate and the deliberations that took place. For instance, four out of five meetings were held in

the middle of the workday, which resulted in a limited number and demographic of participants (i.e. in this case, white male seniors who were generally in favour of upgrading the stadium). Further, the role of the Dunedin City Council (DCC) in the process was questionable, considering its dual role as both the state actor with a vested interest in, and funding power for, refurbishing the stadium, as well as the principal over the consulting firm (MWH) hired to oversee the public consultation process. In other words, the contours of the consultation process were defined in advance by this semi-autonomous public-private partnership, which undermined the legitimacy of the checks and balances put in place to uphold democratic decisionmaking processes. Kearns and Paddison (2000: 845) note that in the neoliberal policy-making context, institutional leaders “have had to become more entrepreneurial, a role which potentially conflicts with local welfarism.”

During the meetings, prominent business people (most of whom were men) often acted as a “first mover,” asserting their belief in the development project, postulating and naturalizing the supposed economic and cultural impact of Carisbrook as in the interests of the community (Scherer & Sam, 2008: 451). This indirect display of power by those with a vested interest is paradoxical to the consultation process, as it may influence other participants to take for granted what on the surface appear as neutral. As Schimmel (2002) notes, this obscuring of power relations masks private interests in processes designed with the proffered aim of protecting the public good. Moreover, participants were asked to raise their hands, which – beyond being a questionable method of measuring the public’s opinion – established the options available (e.g. “do nothing,” “progressive upgrade,” and “build a new stadium” as legitimate) (Scherer & Sam, 2008: 448). Again, the possible parameters of the debate were already determined in advance, leaving no room for alternative solutions or questions. When little information is available to the

public, viewpoints presented first, and most prominently, matter in shaping public discourse – undermining what is supposed to be an unbiased deliberative space.

Another way in which the power and coercion of individuals and groups with a vested interest manifested in the public consultation process was in the subtle ways those against refurbishing the Carisbrook were understood and portrayed by advocates of the refurbishment. For example, when the Mayor of Dunedin said, “We have to look after our own patch” (Scherer & Sam, 2008: 452) to express his support, those opposing the refurbishment were portrayed as disloyal, and uninterested in the betterment of the region. The framing of those who express critical views against such sport-related infrastructure projects as ‘shortsighted naysayers,’ ‘special interest spoilsports’ and ‘opponents of the community’ is common (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; Scherer, 2001; Silver, 1996 as cited in Scherer & Sam, 2008: 454). This is due in part to the well-established notion that public entertainment and community promotion go hand in hand, with a record of popular support for civic provision of land and subsidies (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993).

Another example of a NIMBY/PIMBY-oriented response to sport mega-event (and associated environmental issues) can be found in David Whitson’s (2012) examination of the controversy surrounding the construction of a four-lane highway connecting Whistler to Vancouver for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games. This highway project was contested due to its environmental impact on the protected habitat in the Eaglebluffs area, particularly in the context of a Games that promoted itself as the ‘greenest Olympics ever.’ Another controversial aspect of this project was that the resistance came mostly from affluent homeowners whose views and property values would be compromised by the new highway,

leading to the question of whether opposition to mega-event related projects led by privileged groups undermines its potency.

While not directly focusing on ecological destruction, O'Bonsawin (2010) also examined controversial use of land related to the 2010 Vancouver Games. The focus of her research was the 'No Olympics on stolen native land' campaign calling for the cancellation of the Games on unceded Indigenous land. This resistance network, comprised of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist groups, claimed to work in solidarity with Indigenous communities across British Columbia. In this sense, this network embodied a more diffuse sense of 'Not In *My* Back Yard' as not everyone involved were Indigenous peoples – a parallel that can be found also in the controversy around Mount Gariwang, as the resistance against the development came from not only (some) local residents, but also 'outsiders' (e.g. Seoul-based activists). O'Bonsawin's work introduces the important layer of historical, neocolonial tensions and issues of sovereignty into discussions of contested spaces for sport mega-event hosting. While the dispute over use of land is not along the lines of 'indigeneity' in South Korea, the unequal power relations underlining the tensions above are applicable to the case of the Mount Gariwang development.

Beyond the framework of NIMBY and PIMBY, scholars have examined other forms of community responses to sport mega-events – taking, for example, a critical look at the reality of the often-grandiose 'legacy' promises made by event organizers. Jacqueline Kennelly and Paul Watt together examined transformations of urban and public spaces for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics (Kennelly & Watt, 2011) and the London 2012 Games, and their implications – particularly on homeless youth in East London (Kennelly & Watt, 2011, 2012, 2013). From their study of marginalized youth's experiences in Vancouver (Kennelly & Watt, 2011), they conclude

that the claims made by Olympic organizers and proponents that the Games would ‘benefit the young’ are questionable.

To examine the impact of the 2012 London Games on low-income and marginally housed youth in Newham, they gave the youth participants cameras to take photographs of how they saw the Olympics’ impact on their neighbourhood and their lives (Kennelly & Watt, 2012). The photos illustrated how the neighbourhood was changing in ways that mainly excluded the youth, and overall suggested a loss of a sense of place. In their 2013 study, the young people interviewed conveyed that the beautifying and embellishing of their neighbourhood was for the visitors, while the youth themselves were being subject to over-policing and Olympic-related dispersal orders – in other words, they felt unwelcome in their own neighbourhood. Through this study, Kennelly and Watt suggest that the benefactors of (re-)generating public spaces for sport mega-events are rarely the local residents. Guided by their work, in this study, I also seek to delve into the “everyday textures” (Kennelly, 2015: 4) of the consequences of Olympic-related development projects, centering the voices of those directly impacted.

5.2.5 Responses to contested infrastructure developments in South Korea.

There have been other similar incidences (albeit not sport-related) in South Korea for comparison to the Mount Gariwang controversy studied here. Specifically, two cases appropriate for comparison are the construction of: 1) the Hantangang Dam and 2) the Cheonseongsan Tunnel. The Hantangang Dam is a gravity dam in Yeoncheon, South Korea, originally planned to be a multipurpose dam but scaled down to a flood control-only dam due to the concerns of nearby residents. The conflict ‘resolution’ process to address the eco-social implications (e.g. the displacement of 300 families and destruction of wildlife habitat), and the dam’s construction, spanned over a decade, coming to completion in 2016 (CW Lee, 2007). Choi, Hong and Joo

(2003) investigated the conflict surrounding the dam construction by interviewing stakeholders on opposite sides of the debate – namely, staff from the Korea Water Resources Corporation and the office overlooking the construction of the dam versus residents of the high flood-risk area, a local NGO, and municipal councilors. They found that at the centre of the conflict was a distrust and lack of perceived efficacy of those on the opposite side, which led to confrontation and an unwillingness to consider the issue from the other side's standpoint. The representative of locals residing in the high flood risk area said they were against the dam for reasons such as loss of lifestyle, loss of income due to impact on agriculture, ecological consequences, and impact on the already developed tourism infrastructure around the Hantangang River (Choi et al., 2003: 178).

The construction of the Cheonseongsan Tunnel was controversial for similar reasons. It was a state-planned project to build a bullet-train tunnel through Mount Cheonseong, a mountain also formerly legally protected by the government. The issue gained prominence when the famous Buddhist nun Jiyul filed a lawsuit against the construction due to the negative consequences on the mountain ecosystem and wildlife, including the endangered salamander and wetlands (Glionna, 2009). She also suggested that the environmental impact assessment done turned out to be insufficient (OR Cho, 2008; JM Lee, 2009). It was the first time in South Korea's legal history wherein the principal agent of a lawsuit was 'nature' – ergo, non-human (CS Kim, 2008). The resistance was ultimately unsuccessful, as the construction went ahead and the tunnel was completed in 2010. According to Yoo and Ku (2016), environmentalist protestors were labelled as 'stubborn fundamentalists' and often excluded from popular discussions that valued the economy (and economic rationality), law and institutional processes. The ecology-focused discourse and value system of Jiyul and environmentalist groups were unsuccessful in

mobilizing consistent public support due to their uncompromising radical and fundamentalist discourse on the intrinsic values of life and nature – which also further distanced these actors from realist environmentalists.

5.3 Method

To better situate and explain the data, I first provide an overview of the different towns near Mount Gariwang relevant to this study. Following that, I describe the process of data collection and analysis undertaken while I was in South Korea from March 2 to May 31, 2017.

5.3.1 What is this ‘place’ and what is the issue? Setting the scene.

Mount Gariwang is located in Jeongseon county of the northeastern province of Gangwon in South Korea, about 50km from the city of PyeongChang. With a total population of around 39,000 (about 0.07% of the total South Korean population), Jeongseon has five counties, three of which were of particular interest in this study for their vicinity to Mount Gariwang. They are: 1) Sukam, the area at the base of Mount Gariwang, where (some) residents were financially compensated to move to make way for the development; 2) Bukpyeong, from which two people were local representatives for the PyeongChang Olympic Bid Committee; and 3) Jeongseon, with a population of ~10,500 people, the capital town of the county. The geographic location of, and distances between, each place with respect to Mount Gariwang is visualized in Figure 1.

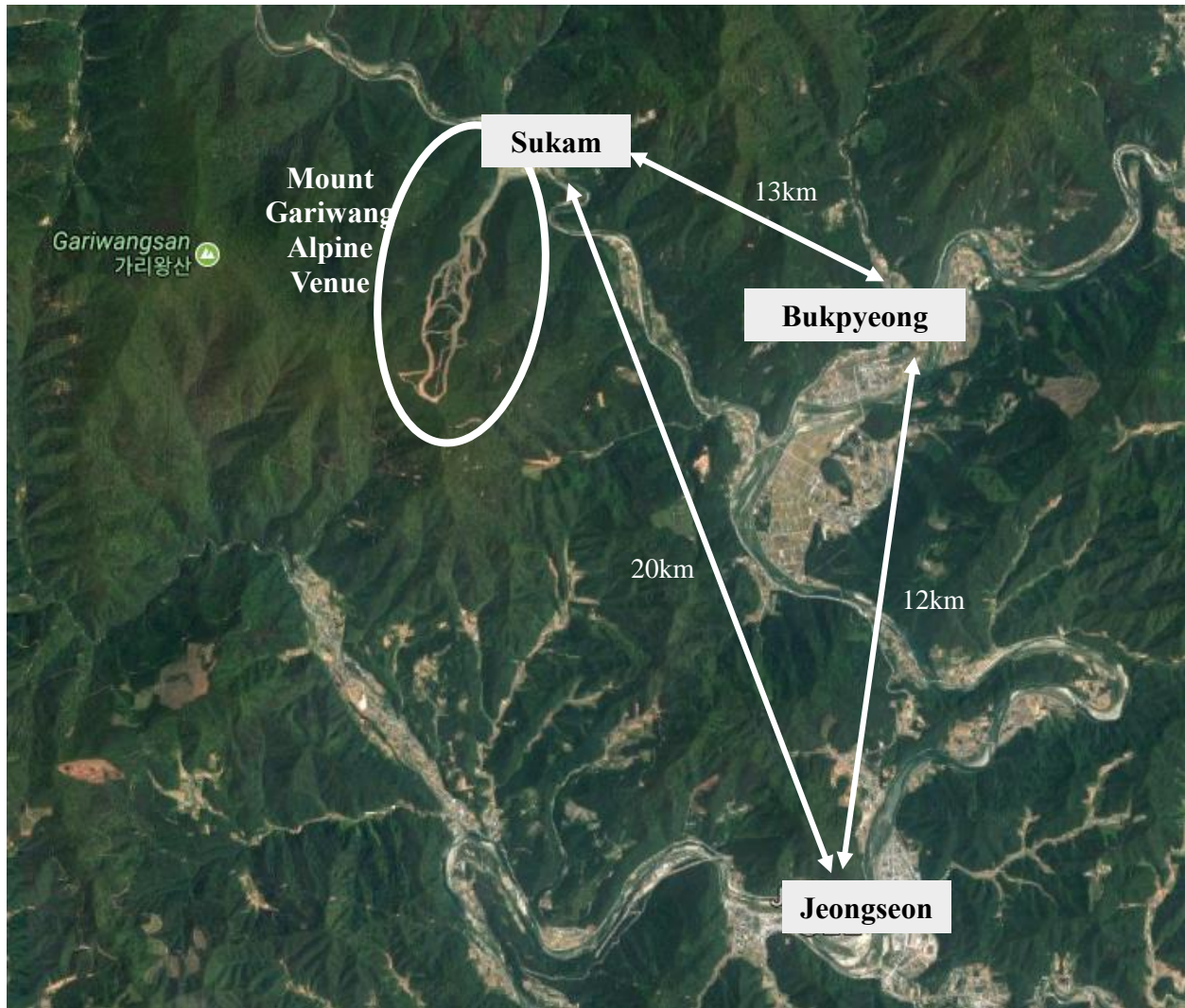


Figure 1. Map overview of Mount Gariwang and surrounding towns in which interviews took place. Google (2017) Imagery ©2017 DigitalGlobe, Map data ©2017 SKTelecom. [Google Maps directions between the Mount Gariwang alpine venue, Jeongseon and Bukpyeong]. Retrieved July 19, 2017, from [Google Maps](#). Reproduced according to Google's permission guidelines.

Mount Gariwang was chosen as the official alpine ski venue for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games despite its long-standing status as a protected area. It was home to both people and non-human life forms, such as endangered animal and plant species. Responses to this decision varied from different stakeholders. Resistant voices came from some local residents (e.g. those who were to be adversely impacted) and urban Seoul-based

environmental activist groups. On the other hand, many locals of the greater PyeongChang county area were reported to embrace the decision, particularly because of POCOG and the Province of Gangwon's promises of economic development and job growth through hosting the Games (Park, 2018; Hyundai Research Institute, 2011). Despite disputes over three years, POCOG went ahead with the development, and the venue came to completion in September 2015. In this process, residents of Sukam, a small community of about 14 households at the base of mountain, were asked to move out of their homes to pave the way for development. Those who owned land registered under their names were compensated to relocate to the new community that would be built adjacent to the hill, while tenants with no land ownership (including those who had transferred over their land titles to their children's names) were only given nominal moving fees (JM Park, 2014; HJ Kim, 2017). As the interview excerpts below will reveal, many who all of a sudden found themselves homeless – including compensated landowners – moved to a cheaper area as land value around Mount Gariwang had skyrocketed due to the Olympics, or took on additional debt to build their new homes in the new community (HJ Kim, 2017).

5.3.2 Data collection: Interviews.

Open-ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve individuals – seven female and five male – who live in towns near Mount Gariwang. Three were from Bukpyeong, two from Jeongseon, and seven from Sukam. While this number of interviewees may seem less than ideal, my goal was not to compare and contrast an equal number of interviewees from each region, or to have 'enough' to claim generalizability. Rather, what is of importance is that the interviews reflect different experiences, and nuance in varying perceptions around notions of development, progress, and civic duties. As Sandelowski (1995: 183, as cited in Smith &

Sparkes, 2016: 116) suggested, sample size should be small enough to manage the material and large enough to provide “a new and richly textured understanding of experience.” In addition, logistical limitations (e.g. such as those outlined in Chapter 2 regarding participant recruitment) also played a role in determining this sample size.

A combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling was used for recruitment. A local journalist provided me with the phone number of the ‘The Greater Jeongseon Area Association for Prosperity’ (정선군번영회), from which I was able to schedule two interviews with one current, and one former town council member (who was also the town representative on the PyeongChang Olympic bidding committee). As I walked around the towns and the development site during my visits, I was able to connect with, and recruit, local residents for ad hoc interviews on the spot, particularly in Sukam, the site of the development. These ad-hoc interviews often started with one person, but grew to include more as passersby showed curiosity and joined the conversation. Conversations ranged from thirty to sixty minutes in length, and took place in various locations of the participants’ choosing, and/or on the spot we met. All interviews were conducted in Korean, and whenever possible, recorded on a digital recorder and later transcribed verbatim for analysis.

All participants but two were over sixty years old, reflecting the aging demographic trend of Gangwon Province. I recognize that there are many other socio-demographic variables in addition to age (e.g. gender, length of residence in the area, income level, and educational background) that influence one’s experience. However, because my focus was not on categorizing answers according to these factors, I did not obtain this information. In addition, in this setting wherein I was interviewing those much older than myself, asking such questions would have been inappropriate and/or considered rude. However, conversations with people in

the area and activists who were familiar with the communities around Mount Gariwang as well as my field observations align with the census data that indicate that the population is aging¹¹, and that the core source of income is agriculture.

Ethical approval for conducting interviews was attained through the ethics boards at The University of British Columbia (approval number H17-00030) and at my host university for field work, Seoul National University (approval number 1702/003-014). As per the ethics guidelines from both institutions, oral consent was obtained from each participant after I explained the research process and ethical guidelines (e.g. that they are free to withdraw at any point without negative consequences) by which I adhered, or after the participants had a chance to read the forms themselves.

5.3.3 Data analysis.

I first transcribed all the interviews verbatim, followed by reading and re-reading the transcriptions to familiarize myself with the data. Given the significance implied by the geographical base of the interviewees, attributes identifying each region were assigned to each – otherwise anonymized – interview transcript. I also transferred over my field notes to a digital version by typing them out. This process allowed me to once again immerse myself in the data and be reflexive about identifying themes. Multiple readings of the transcripts led to the formation of initial broad indices of themes mostly according to recurring topics. I made a separate document with these initial indices of themes and subthemes, many of which were eventually amalgamated. This process also involved drawing out mind-maps to consider

¹¹ Census data shows that 24.4% of the population of Jeongseon county (which includes Jeongseon City, Bukpyeong, and Sukam and two other communities) is 65 years or older (Gangwon Statistical Information, 2018). In comparison, this number is 14.3% for the population of South Korea as a whole (Korean Statistical Information Service, 2018).

connections between multiple themes. Illustrative quotes were added to the document of themes and subthemes upon each subsequent reading of the interview transcripts. Repeated readings over time, including throughout the writing process, led to periodic re-organizations of themes and headings, which contributed to more rigorous methodological reflexivity.

Interview excerpts included in this dissertation were translated using Brislin's (1970) 'back-translation' method, in which the input language is first translated into the target language, and then the target language is translated back into the input language. Underlining this method is a "decentering" (Brislin, 1970: 186), wherein both versions of the text in the back-and-forth process are considered equally important (K Kim, 2013). This resembles the approach taken by Kim (2012) in her doctoral dissertation work, in which she analyzed South Korean print media narratives of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour.

5.4 Findings

In this section, I present interview findings organized into the different geographic bases of the interviewees. I start with themes that emerged from interviews with those living in Bukpyeong and Jeongseon, most of whom advocated for the development – despite knowing that the benefits they hoped for were neither concrete nor guaranteed, and that they would come at a cost. This is followed by accounts of those in Sukam (i.e. at the base of Mount Gariwang) – which stand in stark contrast to the opinions of those in the two towns farther away from the mountain.

5.4.1 Residents of Bukpyeong and Jeongseon (i.e. not immediately near Mount Gariwang) mostly ‘for’ the development.

a) The alpine venue as a means to ‘catch up’ to the ‘Republic of Seoul.’

For many living in Bukpyeong and Jeongseon – 13km and 20km away from Mount Gariwang, respectively – building an Olympic alpine venue on Mount Gariwang represented a means for an overdue economic and infrastructural ‘catch up’ for their region to the rest of South Korea. While this sense of economic marginalization seemed to resonate with all interviewees, the varying degrees to which this factor was prominent in people’s reasoning for or against the development was noteworthy. For instance, mostly for those living in Bukpyeong and Jeongseon, the chance to ‘catch up’ to the rest of South Korea that the alpine venue would supposedly provide was the dominant reason for supporting the development. Some did not hesitate to express their indignation at the fact that the Province of Gangwon was left behind the rest of South Korea with respect to economic development. As one put it:

‘Let’s build something’ – is basically what was on people’s minds. From being near the border [with North Korea] and having to provide water for Seoul-ites, there have been so many reasons why we’d been prohibited or limited in growth. So there’s anger, a sense of alienation and deprivation there. So people thought, ‘with the Olympics, we can build anything we want!’ (male, 60s, former bidding committee representative and current council member and business-owner, from Bukpyeong)

Another said they were living in the “Republic of Seoul,” referring to the Seoul-centred economic growth that occurred since industrialization began in the 1970s. Therefore, they perceived the building of a ski hill as a chance to deviate from, and escape, this trend.

b) 'But we're aware that the OGs aren't a panacea.'

Even among proponents of the Games, many were also aware that the 'benefits' of hosting the Games were neither concrete nor guaranteed. One of the former council members and a supporter of the development stated:

The locals had this nebulous hope [in the beginning] that through the Olympics, Jeongseon would get all its hopes and dreams achieved. That hazy, vague expectation was pretty big. But we need to be more realistic... having Olympic-related facilities themselves won't directly enhance people's quality of life here (male, 60s, store owner, from Bukpyeong).

Some locals were also aware of how the sense of economic marginalization many feel may tint their views and hopes for the Olympics, and prevent them from 'objective' analysis:

[The province of] Gangwon has been an alienated and secluded area, so people here in general distrust outsiders and have a sense of 'victim consciousness'... I think that gets in the way of seriously considering the cost-benefits [of hosting the Games] (male, 60s, farmer from Jeongseon).

The tourism office staff also acknowledged that the proposed 'benefits' come at a cost:

I think the pros and cons are about 50/50. For example, the pros include getting better highway infrastructure, and economic benefits. ... On the other hand, the ecological damage is a shame. Gariwang is the most beautiful mountain around here with all those old trees and rare species so, it's really too bad. Jeongseon's most prominent reputation is its 'pristineness' and that's mostly thanks to Mount Gariwang. But as you saw, [pause/sigh]... yeah... the one side of it now looks unrecognizably different – so that's a shame (female, 50s, tourism office staff member, Jeongseon).

On the other hand, a resident of Jeongseon 'on the fence' about the development offered a reason why some may not see the bulldozing of Mount Gariwang as a big deal:

I think there's this sense of 'relative abundance' here. Those from Seoul may think it's a tragedy to destroy Mount Gariwang but people here may think, 'what's the big deal with using a bit of one of many, many mountains?' (male, 60s, priest, Jeongseon).

In this way, the abundance of mountains and forests that gave this area its ‘pristine’ label also served as justification for some to endorse the development of Mount Gariwang.

5.4.2 Residents of Sukam (at the Base of Mount Gariwang) mostly ‘against’ the development.

a) Compensation-related misconceptions and conflicts.

At the base of Mount Gariwang used to be a small town of about 50 households, most of whom were older than 60 years of age and were farmers or living a self-sustaining lifestyle with food harvested from their backyards and acquired from Mount Gariwang. While pointing this out is not to romanticize their rural lifestyles, the interwoven nature of their lives with the mountain is noteworthy. Of those who used to live here, only those who owned land under their names were compensated to relocate. Those who were renting, or had transferred their land titles to their children or relatives, were given only nominal moving fees. For these reasons, only eleven out of the fifty households who used to live at the base of the mountain were able to relocate to the newly constructed residential area on the adjacent hillside.

For those who were compensated to relocate, their transition experience was not smooth. This is particularly important considering how many outside Sukam thought that those who were asked to relocate ‘got a great deal’ (i.e. moving to a more modern-style home). In fact, the difference in recounting this transition by observers at distance (e.g. those in Bukpyeong and Jeongseon) and by those directly impacted (i.e. residents of Sukam) was striking. For instance, some of the relocated residents commented about the ‘misconception’ around the compensation they received for relocating:

People [who didn’t go through this] think we got better homes and everything through all this but nope – we now also have debt. We are literally living in[side]

debt. (female, 70s, self-employed).

Compensation? As if! Sure, people who had more land may have gotten more, but most of us who just had old, simple places didn't get much at all because our houses weren't considered much by today's standards. But then with that money we had to find a new place – new homes are expensive and out of the question, so our only choice was to buy small patches of land and build (female, 60s, self-employed).

Many among those who relocated had to take on debt in order to have a home again. One local added that the ongoing construction causes significant damage to her newly built home, such as cracks in walls from frequent rock blasts – problems the province and the construction companies have done nothing about, despite the many formal complaints she has filed.

As such, the damage to these residents was not only fiscal. The difference in compensation seemed to have caused a rift between some members of this small, formerly tight-knit community. Residents of Sukam recounted what they experienced and saw:

There may be two or three people who got enough in compensation but the rest of us had no access to info or any other investments. People who had info earlier planted a whole bunch of things everywhere and made the land seem more valuable and in use and got more money for it. What does that make us if not just idiots? (female, 70s, self-employed).

People have been ruined because of the Olympics. We used to share everything but now that's nowhere to be seen. There's a huge difference in some people's compensations... Some people who had a lot of land and nice houses walk around all proud and confident and people like us who's always lived small... not so much. At least we had space to grow our own vegetables back then and put food on the table but not anymore. It's a struggle (female, 70s, self-employed).

Many also commented that this new location is inconvenient because it is perched atop a steep hill, making it difficult and dangerous for seniors and those with mobility issues to get around – a reality compounded by the fact that the closest bus stop is now twenty minutes away on foot, rather than five as before.

b) Relocation meant a disruption to (sustaining) everyday life(styles).

Even though there was (minimal) financial settlement for their old habitat, a relocated resident of Sukam said that there was no compensation – or ‘even the slightest bit of consideration’ – for their continually decreasing quality of life post-relocation. Prominent on her mind was the loss of her family’s source of income. Most of the Sukam community were farmers, so the relocation process meant that they lost their source of food, income, and style/tradition/way of living. In fact, she highlighted that the loss of farmland drove out the relatively younger residents (i.e. those who can still do farm labour). A former resident who lost his farmland and had to move elsewhere now commutes to where his home and farm used to be for a temporary contract-job as a janitor in one of the new ski hill facilities. He commented:

If we were to keep farming, we’d at least earn and have enough to eat and live on. But now we don’t have that land anymore. Economic opportunities? Ha! They don’t hire old people like us! It’s all the outsiders who are making money off this, not the locals. If they’re starting something here, they should of course hire locals first but nope. There are age stipulations for jobs they’ve put out here but the entire town here, like any other rural town, is above that age. We can’t even get hired as security (male, 60s, former farmer and resident of Sukam).

Another also highlighted the irresponsible and unreasonable nature of the (lack of) plans by those in power who made them move:

If the government made us move, they need to also provide a way for us to keep living but that didn’t happen. What good is a free gondola ride gonna do? (female, 70s, self-employed).

Demonstrated here is that the economic benefits and job opportunities promised by POCOG and the Gangwon Province deserve a closer look. In fact, one resident commented that many of them were in favour of the development before they started seeing the reality of what it would (and would not) bring. She recounted:

It's not like we said, 'no way are we moving!' but they didn't even host one meeting with us on what the process [of moving, of development] will look like, or what will happen after the Olympics end. One higher-up person just came one day and said that we'll be fined if we don't move quickly. Before we moved, he came by a lot but afterwards, not once! What does that say about how he perceives us? (female, 70s, self-employed)

On this note, many Sukam residents portrayed disappointment with the public system that 'was supposed to protect them.'

c) 'Mount Gariwang was/is nothing grandiose... just part of everyday life.'

Although residents of Sukam did not convey the skepticism shown by those of other towns about the environmental activists' claims about how exactly ancient Mount Gariwang is, their views also differed from those of the Seoul-based activists. While the activists often used the term 'sacred' to emphasize the importance of protecting Mount Gariwang, some of the local residents against the development had a different perception of the mountain:

It was just a mountain... If we wanted something to eat, we just went and got some there, like just simple greens to make soup with. It was also a great place to just walk around. But we can't do either of these things anymore because there's no more access and we're prohibited [from entering] (female, 70s, self-employed).

Demonstrated here is a representation of the different meanings made of the mountain depending on social locations. The mundanity in the very familiarity of the mountain is what made Mount Gariwang special for the locals who lived with it every day and night for decades – and it is this 'everyday-ness' that made its loss even more viscerally felt. Another resident commented: "[Mount Gariwang] was like a mother's quiet and warm hug – knowing that it's there just made a difference." Hence, what they mourn was not the loss of ecology or wildlife, but rather, the mundane day-to-day interaction with the mountain that was a part of their everyday fabric.

5.5 Discussion

Revealed through the interviews was a ‘crisis of imagination’ (Haiven, 2014) regarding: 1) the Olympics representing yet another case of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (including a limited and anthropocentric vision of what ‘development’ looks like); and 2) the locals’ perception of their place and role as citizens. In this section, I contextualize these ‘crises of imagination’ with historical and cultural nuances.

5.5.1 Olympics as a tool for ‘accumulation by dispossession.’

While this development was considered a positive economic opportunity by some, this does not change the fact that those benefiting the most – without having to make any concessions (i.e. relocating) – did so by way of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (Harvey, 2004). It seems that in the Games organizers’ view, the residents of Sukam who used to live at the base of Mount Gariwang were physically and symbolically in the way of building the venue. Harvey (2004) asserts that capitalism is not only about taking away people’s control and rights over natural resources, but also dispossessing them of their ways of life. Likewise, the organizing committee, the construction companies and financial investors in the new alpine venue accumulated capital by taking away others’ rights and ways of life. The same was the case when homeless youth in Vancouver and London had to make adjustments to their daily lives (e.g. new restrictions and permissions around where they could be) due to the 2010 and 2012 Olympics, respectively (Kennelly & Watt, 2011, 2012, 2015).

It is important to highlight that this process of dispossession and displacement was not entirely coercive, but rather, transpired via (manufactured) consent – though it is questionable what information was made available that led to this consent, and from whom the consent was obtained. There were, in fact, consultation processes in place that, according to the interviewees,

the ‘town leaders’ attended¹². Similar to the public debates around the Carisbrook Stadium in Dunedin, New Zealand, however, scholars have questioned public consultation processes as ‘discursive political spaces’ in light of claims of institutional dynamics characterized by unequal power relations (Barnes, Newman, & Sullivan, 2007; Cheyne & Comrie, 2002; Harrison, Munton & Collins, 2004; Hendriks, 2005; King, 2003). While the differing opinions were not as visible (or, would not emerge until later on), nor clearly along the binary division of ‘business elites versus community members’ in the controversy over Mount Gariwang in comparison to the public debates around Carisbrook Stadium, what is nonetheless clear is that these consultation processes were not much more than ‘politics proper’ reduced to “social administration” (Taşkale, 2016: 33).

What enables this effective practice of post-politics surrounding sport-related projects is the taken-for-granted association between the Olympics, ‘modernity’ and ‘development.’ As Darnell and Millington (2016) argued, sport mega-events continue to reinforce dominant notions of development through promises of modernization. This association renders events like the Olympics as an efficient tool for the process of ‘accumulation by dispossession.’ Of course, not all local residents were ‘victims’ of this growth mechanism. In fact, the ‘accumulation by dispossession’ framework is limiting when considering the fact that many locals still yearned for Mount Gariwang to be developed into a ski hill even though they were aware of the compromises. Words that the local residents – both pro and against the development – frequently used when talking about the Mount Gariwang venue were ‘roads,’ ‘facilities,’ ‘better living,’ ‘money,’ ‘buildings,’ ‘attractions,’ and ‘new.’ That these words represented what they perceived

¹² While data gathered from interviews as well as news articles over this time period do indicate that public consultations took place, it is unclear how many public consultations there were, or who attended them – and whether they were by invitation only, or whether they were open to the public.

to mean ‘progress’ and catching up with the rest of South Korea denotes a bounded vision of ‘development,’ which both influences, and is influenced by, the status quo of the production and consumption driven neoliberal market economy. Depicted here is a crisis of imagination; for the locals to see a future in and through the alpine venue, there had to have been an already established discourse that invited them to associate the venue with development and progress. These findings also echo reasons stated by local residents of the PIMBY mindset, such as those in Iowa who supported the development of windfarms for the promised economic benefits (Sowers, 2006) – and as Dokshin (2016) reaffirmed, those likely to benefit from an infrastructure project are often its most avid supporters.

Another way in which this vision of ‘development’ is limiting – and thereby represents a ‘crisis of imagination’ – is in its anthropocentric approach. The pro-development local residents perceived (or were convinced by the Games organizers) Mount Gariwang as a means for economic benefit, which reveals an unequal relationship between humans and non-humans – specifically, that economic development comes first, and that nature was something to be sacrificed to serve that purpose. Upholding this status quo in which nature is but a commodity to serve human (i.e. mainly economic) needs was evident in many pro-development locals’ statements. This anthropocentric trend is certainly not without precedent, as was evident in the aforementioned controversial construction of the Hantangang Dam and the Cheonseongsan Tunnel in South Korea.

Illustrated here is Haiven’s claim that the crisis of imagination “works by transforming what we imagine is valuable in ways that see us orient our actions towards activities that will reproduce the status quo” (2014: 3). The Games transformed Mount Gariwang from an emblem of the area’s pristine nature to a means for economic growth – and in doing so, some local

residents were convinced that what the community needed was, indeed, more money, even if derived from destroying ecological habitat. But what the local residents were given was a binary choice between ‘destroy nature and get the development you feel you are due’ or ‘nothing changes.’ Echoed here are Kennelly and Watt’s (2011, 2012, 2013) findings that the low-income and marginalized youth in Newham were left with no choice but to witness their neighbourhood change for the London 2012 Olympics in ways that excluded them.

Explaining pro-development: Lifetime in an era in which ‘development’ was noble and necessary.

To delve into why many local residents saw the mountain as a means for economic gain – and at the same time, to prevent painting pro-development locals as selfish or naïve – the historical trajectory of how South Korea has developed must be considered. South Korea underwent rapid industrialization between the 1960s-1980s, but this development was largely centred on Seoul and other urban centres. Gangwon Province, the most mountainous region of South Korea, was ‘left behind,’ largely due to the mountainous geography that rendered it physically difficult into or around which to build.

Park Jung-hee, a former military dictator President of South Korea from 1963 to 1979, also known for leading the country into and through the industrialization process, said in 1962: “[the] dark smoke arising from factories is symbolic of our nation’s growth and prosperity” (SH Lee, 1999: 90). The local residents – and by extension, most of the population of the PyeongChang county as a whole who also share similar demographic characteristics – spent the majority of their adult lives with these messages prominent in the media environment and elsewhere, so it is not difficult to see why they would yearn for such development. Indeed, they did see concrete positive results (e.g. rapid growth in GDP) during those years of aggressive

development – so why not more now? Thus, memory of the system they know to be (or to have been) effective seemed to influence their vision of ‘progress.’

This background can shed light on why it is that the pro-development locals were firm in their belief that the alpine venue would be beneficial for their community. In addition to this historical context specific to the PyeongChang region and its demographic, the increasingly neoliberal trend in policy-making also could have played a role. For example, community leaders may feel compelled to become more entrepreneurial, which may compromise their pursuit for local community welfarism. This potential conflicting relationship reveals the paradox in the participatory institutional spaces for debate (Kearns & Paddison, 2000: 845). Although at first glance, the town leaders of Jeongseon who claimed they represented the community’s interests at the consultation meetings may come across as narrow-minded or short-sighted, what they had to navigate (whether conscious of it or not) was their belief of what constitutes ‘progress’ – a belief that is shaped by history and memory, as well as the broader structures in place that guide policy-making.

5.5.2 Crisis of imagination in the locals’ perception of their place and role as citizens.

Challenging the limited sense of ‘development’ may have been particularly difficult for local residents as there existed another separate, but very much related ‘crisis of imagination’ in how they seemed to perceive their place and role as citizens. Of course, there was not much room for locals to have their say to begin with, as the Games organizers already decided what the options were (i.e. ‘raze the mountain with the justification that it will bring economic gain vs. do nothing and the locals get nothing’) – and set the parameters of what were feasible ways forward (i.e. ‘follow our rules, get compensated and relocate if you own land,’ or ‘get minimal moving

fees and get out of our way’). According to the interviewees, never was there any discussion (that they knew of) about ways all local residents could ‘win’ by getting the promised benefits of economic gain through ways other than razing Mount Gariwang, losing and/or moving homes. The locals simply had to stay within the boundaries already set for them.

As illustrated in the Findings section, that many of those who relocated were unhappy and yet felt that they could not vocalize their opposition is indicative of how they perceived their place as citizens. One of the former town leaders said, “a good citizen should simply follow [what’s laid out for them] and help make the [bigger vision] happen – that’s ideal.” As demonstrated here, the dominant sentiment in this rural conservative area was that a good citizen is to get out of the way of the nation’s pursuits, and to follow the orders of those who are more educated and in positions of power. Haiven’s claim that this kind of self-disempowering sentiment “relies on each of us imagining ourselves as essentially isolated, lonely, competitive economic agents” (2014: 4) especially resonates here.

Similarly, the findings in this case are reminiscent of Conde and Le Billion’s (2017) finding that those who feel politically marginalized and at the same time have a (blind) trust in institutions are less likely to resist. However, in the case of Mount Gariwang, what the local residents who were against the development felt may be more akin to ‘embodied reliance’ on institutions than blind faith alone. To better explain what I mean by ‘embodied reliance’ – and in order to avoid portraying these local residents as ‘mindless dupes,’ it is important again to consider the context through which the respondents in this study (almost all 60 years of age or older) have lived.

Context: Memories of life under authoritarian rule.

While Park Jung-hee's regime did significantly advance South Korea's economy, this era also symbolized a dark period of oppression with respect to civil rights and democracy. Hence, the fact that almost all the local residents near Mount Gariwang (and in PyeongChang county at large) lived under this regime may have influenced how they view their place and duties as citizens. SH Park (2017) notes that residents of Gangwon Province at large have never been at the centre of matters that concerned themselves. Rather, the province and its people have only served as sacrificial platforms for politicians who wanted to leave a 'legacy' trail in the form of construction and infrastructure projects (SH Park, 2017). Local residents I spoke to – both pro and against the development – seemed to embody this sentiment that 'nation' triumphed over citizens, rather than citizens constituting the nation. Under Park's authoritarian rule, anything dictated by 'the state' (i.e. the authoritarian leader) was *the* rule, and voicing opposition was not an option. Although Park's rule ended with his assassination, South Korea's transition into democracy throughout the 1980s was a bloody one that left scars and trauma-based fear in a large part of this demographic, who continue to live with a vivid memory of it all.

In rural regions of Korea, much of which is known to be socially conservative, and with most of the population over 60 years of age, this sentiment of 'nation over individual' remains palpable, and has transformed into what some interviewees called 'small town mentality politics.' Especially in isolated rural small towns such as Sukam and Bukpyeong, one local said, there is an archaic cultural tendency wherein it is frowned upon to have a different opinion from the authority figure in town. Most residents of all three towns grew up and lived with this mindset for the majority of their lives, and are "not used to criticizing authority figures or voicing opposition," according to one of them. Based on the information gathered from different

interviewees, it is questionable whether the town leaders (some of whom served as ‘local representatives’ on the bidding committee) genuinely represented the diversity of opinion – or gathered a range of opinions in the first place. The two former town leaders I spoke to voluntarily asserted, without prompt, that they represented “100% of all residents’ opinions.” While I do not wish to portray any of my interviewees’ claims as untrustworthy, this statement is worth a double take – particularly given the historical context many of the local residents lived through. Consider, for example, that those in Sukam said no one had come to consult development plans and processes with them, let alone get their opinion; rather, they were simply told what was going to happen, and their roles to facilitate the plan (i.e. vacating and moving).

5.6 Conclusion

In this study, I explored how the development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games was perceived and experienced by the local residents of the area. The reflection by Kennelly and Watt (2012: 159) that it is difficult to make “sweeping statements about the winners and losers” of an (urban) ‘regeneration’/gentrification process certainly resonates in this Mount Gariwang case as well. The interviews revealed that local residents had different understandings of, and feelings about, the development – with the most apparent axis of difference appearing to be how close to/with (physically and metaphorically) the mountain they lived. Varying geographical distances to the mountain are of course not the only variables that explain the difference in perception of the development. Rather, the geographical location represents other factors – such as the presence or absence of business interests, as well as the presence or absence of the ‘feeling’ that the impact of the development was direct and tangible.

That the pro-development locals viewed the ski hill as beneficial to their community, and that those opposed to the development felt that they were powerless to resist it, both illustrate a crisis of imagination. Specifically, the rhetoric of the Olympics as a route to ‘development’ was contingent upon an assumed consensus around the essential nature of modernization, as well as how locals understood their place and duties as citizens. I considered these views in historical and regional context in order to reveal the manifestation of post-politics that resulted in a crisis of imagination. In doing so, I found that the locals’ opinions and feelings were entangled with their relationship to the mountain, their views of the state (influenced by their memories of having lived through authoritarian rule), and the history of South Korea’s rapid industrialization process and the inequities that underlined it (and also resulted from it).

6. General Discussion

Taken as a whole, the three studies outlined in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 represent various responses from different groups to the controversial development of Mount Gariwang, and also demonstrate the (partial) success of the Games organizers (i.e. dominant groups in power) in projecting their particular interests and ways of seeing the world that get taken up as ‘common sense’ (King, 2005: 25). In this sense, weaving through the various responses from journalists, activists and local residents are issues of inequality – across and within different sets of groups, such as: technocrats in power versus civic activists; urban-based activists versus rural local residents; and among local residents, those who were directly impacted (i.e. forced to relocate) versus those who were not; and between humans and non-humans. Each study demonstrated ways in which inequalities manifest and are perpetuated – ways that, on the surface, often appear innocuous, or are absent from view, as in the case of inequalities between humans and non-humans. In other words, overarching these issues of inequality was the manifestation of post-politics in rendering these inequalities as ‘natural.’

In this chapter, I discuss in more depth the overarching themes and questions that span across the three studies, focusing especially on the relevance of the concept of ‘post-politics.’ I first discuss the implications of representing Mount Gariwang as ‘space’ versus ‘place,’ particularly for promoting development. Following this, I examine how the rhetoric of ‘development,’ beyond exploitation, also serves as a tool for *partial* and *strategic* erasure of cultural specificities – thus perpetuating unequal (global) power arrangements. Taken together, this chapter aims to answer, ‘*how is it that consent was obtained for this destruction?*’ by pointing out various ways in which post-politics and power inequalities manifest. Afterwards, I point out openings for hope as illustrated in the three studies – namely, that hope lies in

challenging taken for granted understandings – through re-articulating relationships and advocating for heightened attention to the problems associated with environment-related inequalities and ways to address these through more open and inclusive public debate and consultation. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of limitations of this dissertation, and possible future directions for research.

6.1 Mount Gariwang as ‘Space’ versus ‘Place’

Through the lens of post-politics, attention can be drawn to the implications of representing Mount Gariwang as ‘space’ versus ‘place.’ Cresswell (2004: 7) defines ‘place’ as “space which people have made meaningful.” ‘Place’ is distinguished from ‘space’ by having social interaction and history associated with it, making it meaningful – specifically, meaning is imbued through a given location being “interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined,” rendering it into ‘place’ (Gieryn, 2000: 465).’ In other words, ‘space’ becomes ‘place’ with “unique gathering of things, meanings and values” (Gieryn, 2000: 465).

This tension between Mount Gariwang as ‘space’ or ‘place’ was evident in news media discourse, and how local residents and activists talked about the mountain. POCOG, the IOC, and those with vested economic interests (e.g. construction company owners, owners of land that was used for the Olympics, as well as pro-development locals) communicated Mount Gariwang primarily as a space full of resources and potential for economic gain. On the other hand, the way in which activists and locals who resisted the development talked about Mount Gariwang conveyed it as a place that is full of intrinsic value in itself. Such conflicting meanings imbued onto one geographic area have political implications – namely, that the dominance of one designation of meaning will benefit some social actors over, and at the expense of, others.

As illustrated above, the distinction between Mount Gariwang represented as ‘space’ as opposed to ‘place’ is an example of depoliticizing discourse that renders this issue post-political. Reckoning Mount Gariwang as a resource-rich and vacuous ‘space’ in which profit-driven initiatives can be established represents the deeply embedded desire for development, and further, an attachment to the narrow perception of ‘progress’ limited to economic measures. Reducing the Mount Gariwang controversy down to ‘development versus no-development,’ as often seen in media portrayals, obscures the idea that development is, above all, an “extrapolated expression of exploitation, gaze that sees everything as a natural resource: land, human bodies, animal bodies, plants, dirt, water” (Hern & Johal, 2018: 123). This notion of development as exploitation takes on additional layers of significance due to the context in which it is embedded. I discuss this idea in more detail below.

The rendering of a host location as ‘space’ that is empty, and can therefore be filled with visions of hegemonic values of modernity and progress, represents a manifestation of post-politics. Revealed in this process is how sport mega-events fulfill capitalism’s need to “accelerate the processes of production, circulation and consumption” (Gruneau & Horne, 2016: 19). Darnell and Millington (2016: 65-66), drawing on Boykoff (2014b), add that neoliberal globalization and the corporatization of the Olympic spectacle reinforce “seductive promises of modernity” ascribed to sport mega-events, “fully integrat[ing] the relationship between sport, development, corporatization and ‘celebration capitalism.’”

What happened on and around Mount Gariwang is an imposition of a particular worldview – an imposition that was possible *because* the area was erased of its social and cultural particularities, rendering it a space to fill with capital interests and aspirations of domestic and international economic and political elites. As stated in the Introduction (Chapter

1) to this dissertation, there exists a pressure on mega-event host cities to conform to the global expectations of modernity (Gruneau & Horne, 2016; Broudehoux, 2016). This process of conforming involves various strategies, such as place promotion, image re-branding or building new infrastructure; Shin (2014: 2963) notes that the key here is to “make sure mobile assets become ‘sticky’ to a locale through enacting development projects.” The alpine venue on Mount Gariwang was thus a concrete way to attract and accrue mobile capital.

As noted in the Introduction to the dissertation, development and globalization are intricately linked. Graham Hayes and John Karamichas, in their edited collection *Olympic Games, Mega-Events and Civil Societies: Globalization, Environment, Resistance* (2012), state that sport mega-events “crystallize, or reveal, the processes at the heart of contemporary globalization” (p. 3). For instance, as entities increasingly promoted by corporate, media and political elites who are primarily focused on profit, sport mega-events serve as effective and seemingly benign vehicles to propagate hegemonic western neoliberal visions of ‘development’ – whether they be in the form of building new infrastructure and venues, or promoting paradigms like sustainable development.

One of the areas Hayes and Karamichas (2012) focus on is the relationship between sport mega-events and the promotion of both cultural standardization and universalizing value systems. They point out that sport mega-events project western, liberal models of social relations on local host cities – specifically through a universalizing rights-driven discourse and the erosion of cultural particularity. As this dissertation demonstrates, this (partial) erosion and erasure of cultural particularity was reflected in the controversy surrounding Mount Gariwang. Namely, the building of an alpine venue in a rural region of South Korea (where skiing or other winter sport do not hold significant status) represents an imposition of, and consent to, the idea of ‘becoming

a world-class city’ by standard measures set out by international sport structures. By taking up this homogenized view and standard of a ‘modern city’ to strive towards, Jeongseon (a county of PyeongChang where Mount Gariwang is located) inevitably had to make compromises, both ecological and cultural – that together led to the loss of particularity.

At the same time, however, the transformation of Mount Gariwang and its surrounding area simultaneously hinged upon the preservation of the particularities that made the region ‘palatable’ to the prospective global audience for its geographical and cultural specificities. I elaborate more on this tension below.

6.2 Development as Strategic and Partial Erasure and a (Global) Power Arrangement

As the three studies illustrated, for those who were ‘pro-development,’ to be ‘developed’ and ‘modern’ entailed building a ski resort that would continue to attract tourists beyond the 2018 Olympics. It also meant improvements in infrastructure (e.g. better roads) for this rural area, that would help PyeongChang county (and the Province of Gangwon more broadly) ‘catch up’ to the rest of South Korea. Depicted here is a move away from the ‘traditional’ – which Cullather (2000: 644) observes to be an integral part of ‘development.’ Below, I introduce Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) as an example of a ‘traditional’ set of practices and/or visions from which global spectacles like the Olympics cause a rift. As I will subsequently discuss, however, this rift is a complex one because global media spectacles like the Olympics also require a local specificity that is palatable to a worldwide audience.

6.2.1 The place of (or lack thereof) Korean Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK).

Specifically, destroying parts of a mountain to build a structure is at odds with the traditional “harmony with nature” approach to architecture and landscape long practiced in

Korea, premised on the recognition of nature, architecture and humans as one (DY Kim, 2006: 1905). Under this approach, mountains were a fixed setting around which humans built their dwellings and other necessary structures. Hatfield and Hong (2017) illustrate how this orientation around harmony can be found in traditional Korean housing called ‘Hanok,’ noting that Hanok houses are structured around ‘fitting in’ with the surrounding environment without causing resource destruction. It is noteworthy that this traditional Korean practice is contrary to a promethean and western Enlightenment approach, where non-humans are viewed as entities to struggle against, and by extension, history viewed as a “struggle that, in a colonial sense, destroys civilizations, languages, species, and geographies that are on the side of tradition” (Hern & Johal, 2018: 145-146).

In contrast, the harmony-oriented approach represents a central tenet of Korean traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), and remains an important cultural part of contemporary Korea. TEK refers to “legacies inherited across thousands of years of interaction between humans and their surroundings” (Kim, Li & Son, 2017: 1; Berkes, 1993). Kim, Vaswani and Lee (2017) note that ecological connectivity – the interrelationship between ecological and social systems – is deeply embedded in Korean TEK. In their research, they analyzed traditional Korean proverbs as a way to explore TEK that has been passed on through generations. For example, “When the mountain cries, the field smiles, and when the field cries, the mountain smiles” is a proverb that paints a (formerly) typical landscape of a traditional Korean village – situated with a mountain range in the back and a field and a water source in the front, and depicts the interaction of different landscape components. The synergy in this proverb refers to heavy rainfall-induced runoffs or landslides that may bring nutrients to the fields, and more broadly, that what may be considered ‘bad’ (e.g. heavy rains or drought) must be considered in the

grander landscape (Kim et al., 2017: 11). Hence, indicated here are ecological connectivity, and a window into the culturally embedded ecological wisdom about landscape configuration and social-ecological resilience.

That said, however, while Indigenous culture and knowledge play a role in Canadian pipeline politics as illustrated in Hern and Johal's (2018) book, Korean TEK was not prominently featured in voices against the development of Mount Gariwang. As illustrated in the interviews with activists discussed in Chapter 4 (Study Two), the activists' desire to preserve Mount Gariwang was not explicitly informed by Korean TEK. Nevertheless, although never explicitly declared, one way in which the activists' visions could have been informed by Korean TEK can be explained by the proverb, "Even trees get sick for three years when transplanted to another place." Illustrated here is a caution against inappropriate ecological management practices, which reflects the activists' apprehension¹³ around the organizers' plan to replant uprooted trees as a forest restoration promise. However, as the interviews with activists, local residents, as well as media portrayals demonstrated, the discourse of this controversy was, for the most part, focused on the immediate and surface-level events, decisions, and conflict, rather than a probe into the rifts caused in traditional practices and value systems due to the Games. Put another way, TEK was rarely considered nor featured as an alternative to the hegemonic narrative of development and modernization through the Games.

6.2.2 Strategic erasure and translation of tradition and specificity into capital.

With this background, the fact that some of the residents nonetheless wanted the alpine venue on Mount Gariwang is indicative of the extent to which 'progress through development

¹³ Of course, this uneasiness surrounding mismanagement of nature – or the idea of 'managing' nature in the first place – is not unique to Korean TEK. In fact, a parallel can be seen in concerns around the faith in human ingenuity that underlies ecological modernist practices to environmental management, as explained in Chapter 3 (Study One).

and expansion’ narratives – and the resulting spread of western values and norms as default, or a goal to strive towards – have manifested. In other words, the locals’ desires for development that represents a break with Korean TEK must be understood in the broader context of sport mega-events and their role in globalization – specifically, in disseminating a universal vision of modernity. This role is a dynamic one, however, in that sport mega-events both erase *and require* local specificity in order to be successful – a point on which I elaborate below.

As Hern and Johal (2018: 122) put it, an assumption underlying development rationalities is that all societies ought to “converge on the same ultimate goal” – a goal largely defined by western norms and standards – erasing cultural specificities along the way. Working in conjunction with this assumption is the tendency to equate communities that are either not yet ‘developed,’ or are not striving towards the taken for granted sense of development, as ‘backwards.’ Once this presumption is established, it is much easier for those in power to prescribe and implement what they perceive as necessary for “these poor people’s own good” (Hern & Johal, 2018: 124). In this way, Lummis’ (1996: 46) description of development as a “disciplinary performance... a way of organizing power in a society, and of simultaneously concealing this power arrangement – more accurately, of concealing that it *is* a power arrangement” (*italics in original*) is reflected here.

At the same time, however, it must be said that the development was not a simple, top-down occurrence that those in power *forced upon* the rural local residents. As statements from locals who advocated for the ski venue showed, those on the ‘receiving end’ – who had to make compromises to their homes, lifestyles, and/or community landscape – have come to believe and embody this desire and need for development. At play here, again, is post-politics and hegemony. The point in this case is that the Olympics were promoted as the *only* way the local

residents could get what they saw as necessary for their community's benefit, such as better road infrastructure and tourist attractions for economic gain. In this process, the exploitative characteristics of development are shielded from view, while the economic uptick around the Games was promoted. In doing so, thinking about other ways to improve communities that have nothing to do with global sport spectacles were deemphasized or ignored.

On the other hand, it must be noted that sport mega-events do not simply, nor entirely, erase local specificity. In fact, internationally staged mega-events – particularly those like the Olympics that are as much media spectacles as they are about sport – *require* the specific 'exoticism' of a particular location to be considered valuable (Gruneau & Horne, 2016; Roche, 2000; Compton, 2016). As mentioned in the Introduction (Chapter 1), while sport mega-events are often considered an opportunity to modernize (Roche, 2000, 2003), they are unique in the strategic emphasis placed on the specificity of the different locations. In other words, there is a need for host cities to reconcile and balance their modernization projects to meet the global expectation of the 'modern' while retaining and highlighting characteristics specific to their locale. That each subsequent mega-event is in a different place, as well as the place-specific marketing strategies per event, demonstrate the value placed on the specificity of each host location as a scintillating factor for global spectator- and viewership. Part of the allure of sport mega-events like the Olympics and the FIFA World Cup is that they are held in different locations around the world each time, providing global audience members with a taste and experience of another culture. The host city location becomes a commodity for the global audience, and culture becomes a performance to be consumed by those in and outside the host nation. In this sense, spectacle functions on the specificity value of a location; a host city that is devoid of local specificity would not carry value as a mega-event host.

Thus, while the Olympics did play a role in razing the forest as well as the local specificity of the PyeongChang area in doing so, the characteristics specific to this area were still paramount in ‘selling’ this location as ‘worthy of viewing’ by the global audience. Put differently, the particularity of this region was *translated* – rather than destroyed outright – into a quality that is palatable to the global audience. This strategic erasure and translation of local specificity into capital occurs simultaneously as the homogenization of values around urban planning and notions of ‘development’ and ‘progress.’ This *strategic* way in which cultural imperialism manifests is distinct to sport mega-events, and is facilitated by the widespread promotion of these events as a joyous occasion that can ‘bring people together.’

6.3 Resisting Post-Politics through Challenging Taken for Granted Understandings

Illustrated above are the different ways in which post-politics have manifested in this controversy surrounding Mount Gariwang, mainly in framing ‘development’ – a concept constituted by many troubling forces and consequences, which should be contested – as a desirable pursuit. The implication here is that the various ways in which post-politics have manifested contributed to obtaining consent (or making it appear as so) for the destruction of a forest on Mount Gariwang. Obscured from view in this post-political process are forces like globalization and the resulting universal proliferation of hegemonic narratives, such as those of neoliberalism and capitalism, all of which carry a colonizing power. The danger here is this: when different communities’ futures collapse into a monolithic version of development, other possible visions for alternative societies and ways of life are foreclosed.

This is not to say that those in power are all after one vision of the future; in fact, they often tout hope and change as collective goals. However, the parameters of what is possible are often already demarcated within the status quo when driven in a top-down manner, leaving no

room for other ways of transformation. As was the case for refurbishing the Carisbrook Stadium in Dunedin, New Zealand using public funds, the consultation processes for the ski hill development on Mount Gariwang were little more than “discursive promotional platforms” (Scherer & Sam, 2008: 454) rather than political spaces for democratic deliberations to take place, where real alternatives might emerge. When opinions are presented as ‘objective’ facts, it paves the way to push predetermined solutions as ‘natural’ outcomes. This, in turn, prescribes citizen participants as subjects of authorities with decision-making power – in other words, convincing citizens (i.e. by way of presenting the desired outcome as the only reasonable option) rather than hearing from them, becomes the objective of the consultation process. Jones (2003: 587) states that in this manner, public participation becomes a “discursive form of governance,” rendering ‘participatory’ processes as paradoxical in this context.

What resonates in both cases of the Carisbrook Stadium and Mount Gariwang is Mouffe’s (2005: 10) assertion that “[p]roperly political questions always involve decisions which require us to make a choice between *conflicting* narratives” (italics added). Considering what took place on Mount Gariwang through this lens, it is evident that while POCOG’s PR campaigns and cursory public consultation processes may have provided the veneer of choice, the options on the table were not ‘politics proper’ (Mouffe, 2005). In other words, the ‘options’ local residents were given were not between *conflicting* alternatives (e.g. build an alpine venue or not), but rather, within an already confined parameter (i.e. the venue *will* be built).

It is against this background of an abounding sense of inevitability and predictable narrow visions from which the need for creative forms of hope and generative visions of alternative futures emerges. As Hern and Johal (2018: 29) put it, there is a need for “different ways of being in the world,” which would entail, for example, articulating new ways to relate to

non-human entities such as land, place, space, animal and plant species. It would also entail ruptures with hegemonic notions of ‘development,’ ‘progress,’ and ‘value.’ Particularly in the context of how pervasively post-politics has manifested – to the point that solutions to environmental crises (including that of Mount Gariwang) themselves are demarcated and colonized by hegemonic worldviews – the very act of articulating possibilities for radical change and alternative futures can be an act of resistance. I explore some strategies for doing this, below.

6.3.1 Challenging taken for granted understandings through rearticulating relationships.

An approach to rearticulating taken for granted understandings of ‘development’ and ‘exploitation’ would be through *focusing on and foregrounding* relationships of humans to other humans and non-humans. The three studies in this dissertation illustrated how different groups (e.g. POCOG and related decision makers, journalists, activists, and local residents) perceive their relationships to other humans and non-humans. For instance, as the first study (Chapter 3 – media portrayals of the controversy) illustrated, POCOG and the Provincial government promised that they had thought out ways to restore the forest after the Games. Underlying this promise is the presumption that ‘they had a handle on the important issue of forest restoration, which the public cannot thoroughly understand, and hence, ought to be left in the hands of the sophisticated, technical and scientific elites.’ While this could be viewed as decision makers being responsible, the aftermath¹⁴ reveals that not only was the decision post-political – but

¹⁴ As of April 2019 (more than a year after the PyeongChang Olympic & Paralympic Games concluded), the future of the razed forest remains unclear. The area where the venue is located has been returned to the Federal Government’s ownership as of December 31, 2018 after having been leased to the Province of Gangwon since 2011. The maintenance of the venue as a ski hill has been ruled out due to the extreme gradient that even Olympic skiers deemed ‘too difficult,’ as well as the fact that there is not enough demand for skiing in the region, forcing existing ski hills nearby to close (SW Lee, 2018). Korea Forest Service and the Ministry of Environment advocate for the originally promised restoration, a prospect also supported by environmental activist groups. On the other hand, the Province of Gangwon demands ‘revamping’ the venue, or at the very least to keep the gondolas, in order to use the

perhaps also a representation of the condescending view the decision makers may have had about the public.

There is also a general need to expand the dominant understanding of ‘exploitation’ to include non-humans as well, and to focus on and foreground human and nonhuman relationships, and the importance of nonhuman life in its own right. Hern and Johal (2018: 27) point out that our current understanding of exploitation as a “lack of consideration of others as agents themselves, and a corresponding lack of informed consent to the power relations that affect them” is based on a largely anthropocentric and Marxist-oriented understanding of human labour. Including non-human entities when thinking about exploitation would be a step towards building non-dominating relationships and establishing new ways to relate to land and other non-human entities without defining value by the measure of how useful they are to humans. It would also bring attention to the fact that non-human entities are absent from decision making processes – contributing to a more thorough democracy in which those with lesser or no voice are also represented and heard, particularly when the matters at hand affect them directly.

Using traditional ecological knowledges (TEK) that centre relationality, responsibility, beneficial reciprocity and respect among human and non-human life forms could be a response to this need (Atleo, 2004; Menzies & Butler, 2006). Some Indigenous scholars like Charles R. Menzies and Caroline Butler (2006) have attributed failures of mainstream environmental management to the lack of attention to holistic and long-term implications of current practices (e.g. resource extraction) – which are core tenets of many streams of TEK, such as the Ayaawk

venue as a tourist destination, adding that restoration cost of USD\$71 million is too steep (HJ Kim, 2019). Meanwhile, in the summer of 2018, heavy rains led to mudslides on the bare ski slopes, damaging local residents’ properties. Geologists warn that similar events will continue to happen due to the exposed gradient, lack of trees, and loose soil (JH Kim, 2018).

and Adaawk of the Gitxaala Nation (Battiste, 1998; Griffith, 1999; Sillitoe, 1998; Menzies & Butler, 2006). The Nuu-chah-nulth worldview of tsawalk is another example of TEK, based on the premise that ‘everything [inclusive of all reality, both physical and metaphysical] is one’ (Atleo, 2004: xi). Similar to the principles of tsawalk, Indigenous TEK often are narrative stories containing the “affective legacy of [Indigenous people’s] experiences” (Manson & Manson, 2014: 17). While there are questions to be asked about whether it is appropriate to use TEK for an issue geographically and culturally based in Korea, the value of Indigenous perspectives in recognizing small connections and relationships previously not considered must be acknowledged (Nadasdy, 2007). Furthermore, incorporating Indigenous perspectives and Korean TEK can also be an antidote to the colonizing propensity for western hegemony in environmental theory (Million, 2014).

6.3.2 Linking hope and democracy

This desire for more democratic forms of decision-making and consultation was notable in each group’s response to the controversy. This speaks to the power relations and issues of inequality that underlined the Mount Gariwang controversy. In fact, the process through which counterhegemonic voices were carried – or at times, outright overlooked (e.g. activists’ requests for dialogue with the Games organizers, and the voices of the negatively impacted residents in conservative news media) via the post-political order and other means – reveals that environmental conflicts are rooted in social injustice and unequal power relationships.

‘Hope’ offers a unique lens through which to think about this need for better democracy. The three studies illustrated that no definition of ‘hope’ can be neutral; there were competing visions of ‘hope’ between those who supported, and those who opposed, the development. On the one hand, we have POCOG’s vision of ‘Green Games,’ that everyone ‘wins’ via this

development and its resulting economic prosperity, and therefore, everyone should get on board. However, their hopeful vision (or rhetoric) of the ‘Green Games’ can be understood as a pacifying discourse, signaling moral and intellectual leadership (and superiority), with the goal of indirect construction of, and coercion into, consent. On the other hand, ‘hope’ envisioned by many who opposed the development was one that had room for disagreement and dialogue that was often denied or ignored by the organizers. The position taken in this dissertation – aligned with Haiven (2014) – is that generating hope and envisioning preferred futures needs to be a more inclusive process, which means not just opening doors, but building from the bottom up. This is a process only possible through democratic dialogue and disagreement.

6.4 Limitations and Future Directions

Even though inequities between humans and non-humans were pointed out as an often overlooked dimension in most groups’ responses, non-human responses to this issue are missing also in this dissertation. This is a significant limitation, and attempts to remedy it would represent an important and crucial challenge to a viewpoint and assumption that humans are, in fact, detached from the ‘natural’ world. What was brought to my attention after the first committee review of the dissertation was that even my critique of anthropocentrism included features of anthropocentrism. For instance, I point out in multiple places throughout the dissertation that ‘non-humans like animals and plants that have no voice should not be dismissed.’ However, my thinking that they had no voice was because the only form of ‘voice’ I recognize was that of humans; in other words, other-than-human lives *do* speak, but many of us (humans) are ignorant or unaccustomed to recognizing and respecting communication from other-than-human life forms. One member of my supervisory committee who works with Indigenous communities in Canada relayed a story he heard from an Indigenous land-based

educator – a story that led me to diagnose my anthropocentric assumptions. Namely, animals’ movements or lack thereof (e.g. changes in migration patterns of birds) could be understood as a way for them to communicate their needs to humans. Coming to this understanding requires not only observing and paying close attention to the ‘more-than-human’ environment, but also by seeking advice from those who have been on, and known, the land for longer, as this land-based educator had in consulting the Elders in his community (M. Norman, personal communication, November 18, 2018). This approach upholds the importance of observing, communicating with, and learning from both human and ‘more-than-human’ relations. Furthermore, such Indigenous conceptualizations¹⁵ of land recognize it as animate, rather than a passive, inert ‘backdrop’ to human activity. Understanding land and other natural entities as subjects rather than objects could have implications because it is more difficult to destroy (while calling it ‘development’) something that is animate (M. Norman, personal communication, November 18, 2018).

Employing visual and other multisensory methods may be conducive to challenging anthropocentric approaches as research suggests that different sensory perceptions affect each other, resulting in an integrated information experience (Van Leeuwen, 2011). Particularly in the context of research related to the environment, multisensory methods can be helpful as there are limitations to what written language can convey. For example, non-verbal senses such as visual and auditory could better deliver the *affective* dimensions of ‘nature,’ which may not only better explain the values people associate with, and imbue onto, their surroundings, but also offer a sense of communicating and understanding nature in non-verbal ways – ways that would be default for non-humans.

¹⁵ There is, of course, a range of Indigenous Traditional Ecological Knowledge. My intention (nor that of the committee member who told me the story) is not to generalize diverse Indigenous epistemologies, but rather, to point out what seems to be overlooked in dominant, ‘rational’ western approaches to the environment.

Carolina Caycedo's documentary *Yuma: Land of Friends* (2014) is an example of video-based visual storytelling that challenges dominant anthropocentric paradigms. She provides a perspective *on* humans from the perspective of the waterways of the Magdalena River in Colombia – where a construction of a dam required disrupting the natural water flow of the river, displacing the Indigenous population of the region. Through the documentary, she illustrates the devastating ecological and sociocultural consequences of the anthropocentric desire to 'master' nature. Using this 'reverse' point of view is effective in demonstrating how different vantage points affect perspectives. The scene completely inverts at the end of the film, which, as the visual effects scholar Gómez-Barris (2015: 31) points out, pierces the presumed safety in viewing nature from a distance. Gómez-Barris (2015: 31) explains that the shift hints at a rupture of the viewer's perspective, leading them to question, challenge, and literally invert their "intelligent approximation to the river." Sarah Pink (2013) argues that visual methods offer a form of continuity between fieldwork and applied research contexts that other methods cannot. As illustrated in *Yuma: Land of Friends*, such visual methods and strategies – often jarring – would be effective in explicitly unveiling and identifying the anthropocentric, extractivist positioning to which we are all complicit to a certain extent.

I acknowledge that the methods employed in this dissertation – thematic analysis of data collected from interviews and media analysis – are what Braun, Clarke and Gray (2017) would point out as 'conventional.' They point out that many researchers have "clung to the comfort and possibility of the interview... [and] share our slight sense of despair at seeing *yet another* interview study... or... 'thematic analysis' of qualitative data" (p. 243-234). While they affirm that they are not dismissing interviews, discourse analysis or thematic analysis, they call for researchers to remain more "cutting edge in our thinking around the ways and whys of our data

collection,... analysis, the potentialities and purposes of our research” (p. 244). They call for innovations in qualitative methods, such as visual methods (e.g. photography, art and drawing), and spatial methods (e.g. maps or mobile methodologies, or walking interviews) in order to recognize that human experience is “complex and multi-modal” (p. 248). A visual, multi-sensorial methodology inspired by non-anthropocentric approaches to the issue as performed in Caycedo’s documentary described above would be an exemplary response to this challenge, that would extend the work done in the studies I have conducted.

Another limitation has to do with the timing of my research. By the time I was in South Korea to conduct interviews (March 2017), construction at Mount Gariwang was all but complete. In other words, the damage was already done and there was no turning back. As Jackson (2017) states in his analysis of media coverage of the Flint water crisis, the timing of investigation influences how local citizens’ agency gets portrayed, if at all. In the case of the Flint water crisis, national press only began reporting on it close to a year after the water source changed for Flint (from Lake Huron to the corrosive Flint River). Jackson (2017: 6) claims that arriving late to the story results in missing the voices and actions the community had been taking up to that point, undermining their agency. Featuring community agency, especially in disenfranchised places, serves to challenge stereotypes (e.g. who is in charge, who is capable or incapable of addressing issues) and hegemonic power relations. It is possible that delayed investigations (whether they be media coverage or other forms of research) could result in a monotone of despair and lost agency, which may appeal to audiences for the effect of ‘spectacle and shock,’ but will not provoke a sense of empowerment for response.

The late timing of my fieldwork relative to the timeline of events could have had similar implications in my research. In other words, my collection of data after the ‘point of no return’

had passed meant that I was more likely to encounter despair and a sense of forfeited agency. I tried to account for this possibility by asking questions about what actions people had already taken leading up to that point. Especially for media coverage of controversies (including interviews with stakeholders), prompt attention is more likely to capture the ‘rawest’ scope of a community’s response. However, this is not to say that the ‘rawest’ data (i.e. collected most immediately following an event) is the ‘best’ data. Rather than attributing ranks to data according to when they were collected relative to the timeline of events, I wish to acknowledge that interviews conducted at different points may yield different data.

Lastly, it is important to return to the question of whether parts of this research were *on* the disenfranchised (e.g. those displaced) rather than *for* or *with* them. Put another way, I continue to feel troubled by thoughts about whether I am perpetuating depictions of the local stakeholders as lacking agency by ‘speaking for them.’ My intention was never to convey that ‘I have all the answers’; rather, I wanted to shift the attention and the light so that marginalized groups get their due attention. There are surely ways to have conducted this research more collaboratively. Future studies would benefit from employment of methods such as feminist participatory action research (FPAR) (see Genat, 2009; Frisby, Reid, Millar & Hoeber, 2005; Frisby, Maguire & Reid, 2009; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2013). Regardless of what the emerging findings are, pursuing such methods that disrupt the hegemonic researcher-participant power dynamic would be invaluable.

7. Conclusion

“To be truly radical is to make hope possible, not despair convincing”

– Raymond Williams, *Resources of Hope* (1989: 118).

This succinct but powerful statement accompanied me through this research. I aimed to ‘make hope possible’ in this dissertation by not only dissecting the post-political maneuvers that enabled the destruction of Mount Gariwang, but also by highlighting examples of hope in the various ways journalists, activists, and local stakeholders responded to the issue. Critique itself can be an act of hope as it represents a refusal to accept the status quo (or dominant portrayals of what the status quo is). To critique can mean to shine a light on injustice – because after all, nothing can be broken down and disposed of, if it is out of sight. Doing so also makes visible the cracks and fissures from which alternative views and approaches can stem and flourish – many of which already exist, as illustrated in the views and actions taken by the different stakeholders. Hope, in this way, challenges the ‘crisis of imagination’ that would otherwise have the public believe that the status quo is “immutable, inevitable, and invulnerable” (Solnit, 2004: xix).

In addition to highlighting such examples of hope through my case studies, this dissertation has multiple scholarly contributions. Exploring a sport mega-event related controversy is a unique contribution to literatures pertaining to: environmental politics, sociology and communication; social movements and emotions; political theory; and infrastructure development-related experiences (e.g. N/PIMBY). Application of various theories and conceptual frameworks (e.g. post-politics, de-/politicization, ‘crisis of imagination,’ and ‘radical imagination’ – and the understanding of ‘crisis of imagination’ as a manifestation of post-politics’) in exploring a sport mega-event related environmental issue is an advancement made possible through this dissertation, and a novel contribution to the field of sociology of sport.

Within socio-cultural studies of sport, this dissertation goes beyond the use of macro-theoretical underpinnings and takes into account the micro-level lived experiences of individuals (e.g. of local residents as well as activists), and ties them to macro-forces, such as globalization. Lastly, adding empirical case-studies of non-western contexts is another important contribution to all of the fields noted above, and adds to the continued challenge to the ‘western hegemony’ of academia, with the West serving not only as the model system for (‘modern’ or ‘developed’) societies, but also as the ‘standard’ case in empirical inquiry (Krause, 2016).

In a recent article entitled, ‘Pessimism of the will, optimism of the intellect: endings and beginnings,’ Lawrence Grossberg (2018: 2) argues, “[o]nly when you have reached the pits of intellectual despair can you see the cracks, the openings, that make optimism of the will earned rather than simply dreamed.” While not dismissing Gramsci’s appeal for ‘pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will,’ Grossberg’s claim is situated particularly in the recent sociopolitical context of the United States under Donald Trump’s presidency, in which Grossberg claims, “knowledge and ideas no longer seem to matter in the ways we have assumed” (p. 3). In this way, Grossberg’s reconfiguration of the Gramscian entreaty is aimed at fighting back against currents that reject the value of critical intellectual work, and in doing so, build optimism of substance. Furthermore, he argues that despite the exponential increase in opposition and activism in the recent decades, that they are constituted more by desperation, anger and absolutism than by “real optimism” or a different way forward (p. 3). He specifically emphasizes the utility of cultural studies in challenging this trend, and (re-)building optimism – optimism that is inseparable from knowledge (p. 3). It is this spirit that I have sought to capture through this dissertation.

In that sense, I do not wish to reduce ‘hope’ to opposition, nor to offer a hollow narrative and promise that ‘everything will be okay.’ Hope is necessary, but hope alone is insufficient. As Naomi Klein (2017) stated, we need to have ‘yes’es – concrete visions of what an alternative world looks like – as much as we need ‘no’s (opposition and resistance). Grossberg (2018) makes a call for reinvigorating critical cultural studies work to offer these alternative visions. Such visions offered in this dissertation include: examples of ‘excellent’ sport-related environmental journalism that challenge dominant paradigms and carry marginalized voices; ways in which activists can claim small yet significant ‘wins’ from what on the surface was a ‘failed’ movement; and domestic and transnational alliances (e.g. with anti-Olympic groups of Tokyo 2020¹⁶, Beijing 2022, and LA & Paris 2024) that have formed.

I do not intend to romanticize or aggrandize what will emerge from this Mount Gariwang controversy, nor to disparage the fact that for some, there is absolutely no silver lining to what happened. My aim is not to naïvely present hope as an ‘antidote’ to the post-political order and the resulting ‘crisis of imagination,’ but rather, to suggest hope as a vehicle to carry us in the right direction – in other words, *hope as counter-hegemony*. As David Solnit (2004: 137) put it, hope certainly does not mean forgetting about injustices and injuries – the key is to not “gloss over the ugly damage... but [to not] portray it as all there is either.” Specifically in the case of Mount Gariwang, hope would mean to trigger envisioning of more democratic decision-making processes, and a concept of ‘justice’ that goes beyond equal distribution of harms. It would also mean a world devoid of binary choices between environmental protection and economic development in the first place.

¹⁶ Forming partnerships with Japanese allies may be perceived by some as particularly unusual, given the turbulent history between Korea and Japan, and the violent legacies of colonialism that continues to this day in Korea.

A statement that one activist said to me in a follow-up trip to Korea often echoes in my mind: “*we should trust the public.*” This felt punctuated particularly because it followed a discussion about how difficult movements can be when there is no local buy-in. She was highlighting the danger in getting swept up in the ‘doom-and-gloom’ tide when movements do not go well; she mentioned that critiquing and resigning (as an end rather than a means) are the ‘easy way out.’ She said that monolithically labeling the public as unengaged and apathetic just because they are not on the frontlines of activism would be a grave mistake. She referred to the recent collective victories such as the impeachment and imprisonment of the former President Park Geun-hye and the imprisonment of the Vice Chairman of Samsung, Lee Jae-yong, in 2017 – two extremely powerful individuals – as examples of momentum that can build with collective anger, of course, but also empathy and trust that one’s fellow citizens are neither naïve nor idle.

After the conclusion of my data collection as well as the PyeongChang Games, there continues to emerge more examples of substantive hope. Examples include: media coverage of the relocated locals to highlight, and renew attention to, their ongoing struggles; grassroots groups that have formed because of the Olympics (e.g. Citizens’ Press Center¹⁷) that have documented injustices and are making their documentation and other resources publically available with the aim of preventing future injustices; and a coalition of activists working on publishing a publically accessible critical review of the 2018 PyeongChang Games, just to name a few.

¹⁷ A group of citizens critical of the issues leading up to the Games formed this organization to document critical voices they felt were not sufficiently portrayed in mainstream media. Ranging in age from teens to sixties, and professions from students to professional media producers, members of the Citizens’ Press Center have documented a wide range of issues surrounding the Games, including the stories of residents of Sukam-ri who were forced to move. Their resources are available for public viewing and use through [YouTube](#), [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#), [Instagram](#), and their [Blog](#). Their activities have continued after the conclusion of the Games as well.

These are reminders that hope is not a one-time event. They are also a reminder that the unpredictable nature of hope is fertile for its unanticipated directions and potential. An example of this would be a short documentary¹⁸ that emerged from this dissertation, and is a product of collaboration among people in different professions (e.g. academics and filmmakers) who were concerned about issues of inequality related to sport mega-events. One of the objectives of producing the documentary was to offer a piece of accessible knowledge translation¹⁹ and (what we hope is) ‘excellent’ environmental journalism based on ‘best practices’ identified through related research. In other words, it was to provide another example of an ‘alternative vision,’ or, to borrow the concepts of Naomi Klein and Lawrence Grossberg, a concrete vision of a ‘yes,’ and ‘substantiated optimism.’ Of course, the impact of the documentary or this dissertation is hard to predict, but both are endeavours toward a preferred future, for which an optimism of the critique is inexorable from optimism of the will.

¹⁸ *‘Mount Gariwang: An Olympic Casualty’* (Yoon, Wilson, Lang, Wade & Gauthier, 2018) was released in November 2018 and will be available to the public on The University of British Columbia’s Centre for Sport and Sustainability website in 2019. The trailer is currently available on the website (css.ubc.ca).

¹⁹ This process of knowledge translation was a fruitful one with a steep learning curve, and deserves a closer look of its own. Dr. Brian Wilson – the other main co-director, writer and producer – and I plan to write a reflexive piece about this process, revealing the messy process we underwent as we tried to implement what we perceived to be ‘best practices’ in environmental journalism. On a separate note, specifically with respect to the on-site portion that took place in South Korea, this collaboration between an academic and media producers must be understood with nuance. Namely, the collaboration (on-site in South Korea) was between a non-white, female academic and three white male journalists, all from a globally powerful country (Canada) in a more peripheral country (South Korea) with a colonial history and its remnants.

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Appendix A: Information Letter (English version for UBC Ethics Board review)



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

School of Kinesiology

Project title: Communicating Environmental Realities and Possibilities: The Contested Development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games

Investigator: Liv Yoon (PhD Candidate, University of British Columbia)

Supervisor: Dr. Brian Wilson (Professor, University of British Columbia)

Dear participant,

I am a PhD student in the School of Kinesiology at the University of British Columbia. Under the supervision of Dr. Brian Wilson, I am conducting a qualitative research project on the communication surrounding the development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study if you: (1) have either challenged or advocated for the development of Mount Gariwang into the official alpine ski venue for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games; (2) have been affected in any manner by the development; and/or (3) would like to discuss how the contested development has been communicated by different groups.

Your participation would involve one interview of 30-90 minutes in-person at a location that is most convenient for you. If you prefer, meeting either via phone or online through Skype is also possible. All interviews will be digitally audio-recorded, unless requested otherwise, and you will have an opportunity to review the transcript, make corrections, withdraw or add comments and use a pseudonym.

Potential risks and benefits

There are no known risks of physical harm, discomfort or inconvenience. Some of the questions, however, may cause distress depending on the nature of your experiences. I will not coerce you to disclose any information that is not offered voluntarily. If at any time, you feel uncomfortable during the interview, you are free to refuse to answer questions, stop the interview, or withdraw from the study without penalty. If you withdraw, I will immediately destroy all audio recordings and/or transcripts. I will also provide you a list of referrals for counseling, should you so require.

Although the findings in this study will not benefit you directly, your participation will add to existing research, and potentially inspire other questions for researchers to pursue in the future. You may gain some satisfaction in furthering knowledge, and from the opportunity to share and reflect upon your experiences. Your stories will add to understandings of how particular issues are characterized through different forms of communication, and in turn, how various means of communication may constrain or enable possible solutions to environmental problems.

Compensation

There will be no compensation for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality

All digital data will be stored as encrypted files on a password-protected computer. All other physical data such as consent forms will be locked in a secure place at the researcher's office. Only my

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a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

School of Kinesiology

supervisor and I will have access to the data. If you wish, you may choose to use a pseudonym, and obvious identifiers of you and your affiliated group will be changed. Only excerpts that have been approved by you will be used in future presentations or publications. Transcripts and interpretations will also be available for you to read in order to confirm accurate transcription, representation and interpretation. You may request a copy of the findings or final report at any time. All data will be destroyed approximately ten years after the research has concluded.

Who can you contact if you have complaints or concerns about the study?

If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at 604-822-8598 or if long distance, e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

After you have approved all transcript excerpts and the final draft is complete, I would be happy to provide you with a summary of findings from the study.

Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me with any concerns you may have.

Sincerely,

Liv Yoon, PhD Candidate
School of Kinesiology, UBC
1-604-785-1257
liv.yoon@ubc.ca

Dr. Brian Wilson, Principal Investigator
School of Kinesiology, UBC
1-604-822-3884
brian.wilson@ubc.ca

Appendix B: Consent Form (English version for UBC Ethics Board review)



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

School of Kinesiology

Project title: Communicating Environmental Realities and Possibilities: The Contested Development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games

Investigator: Liv Yoon (PhD Candidate, School of Kinesiology, Faculty of Education)

Supervisor: Dr. Brian Wilson (Professor, School of Kinesiology, Faculty of Education)

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your reference, is part of the process of informed consent. Please feel free at any time, to ask questions if you need clarification or more information. Please take this time to read this carefully.

This is to certify that I, _____, agree to take part as a volunteer in this project given that my participation will be confidential. I acknowledge that the research procedures described in the information letter have been explained to me and that any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that, as a participant in this study, I will take part in an interview ranging from 30 to 90 minutes in duration, and that I will be asked questions about my perceptions of the communication surrounding the development of Mount Gariwang, as well how I make meaning out of Mount Gariwang.

I understand that I am under no obligations to participate in this study, and that I may refuse to answer any questions, stop the interview or withdraw from the study at any time. I understand that neither my name, nor the name of my affiliated group, will be used in any report or presentation that may arise from this study without my permission unless required by law.

I understand both the potential harms and benefits. I know that I may ask now, or in the future, any questions I have about the study or the research procedures and that I may request a copy of the findings or final report at any time. I understand what this study involves and agree to participate. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

If you have any questions/concerns about this study, please contact the investigators:

Liv Yoon, PhD Candidate
School of Kinesiology, UBC
1-604-785-1257
liv.yoon@ubc.ca

Dr. Brian Wilson, Principal Investigator
School of Kinesiology, UBC
1-604-822-3884
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a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

School of Kinesiology

Hello, I am Liv Yoon, a PhD candidate from the University of British Columbia's School of Kinesiology. I am conducting a research study on the communication of the controversial development of Mount Gariwang for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games.

Today you will be participating in an interview which should take approximately 30-90 minutes. Your participation is voluntary and there is no monetary compensation for your participation. All interviews will be anonymous and digitally audio-recorded, unless requested otherwise, and you will have an opportunity to review the transcript, make corrections, withdraw or add comments and use a pseudonym.

There are no known risks of physical harm, discomfort or inconvenience. Some of the questions, however, may cause distress depending on the nature of your experiences. I will not coerce you to disclose any information that is not offered voluntarily. If at any time, you feel uncomfortable during the interview, you are free to refuse to answer questions, stop the interview, or withdraw from the study without penalty. If you withdraw, I will immediately destroy all audio recordings and/or transcripts. I will also provide you a list of referrals for counseling, should you so require.

Although the findings in this study will not benefit you directly, your participation will add to existing research, and potentially inspire other questions for researchers to pursue in the future. You may gain some satisfaction in furthering knowledge, and from the opportunity to share and reflect upon your experiences. Your stories will add to understandings of how particular issues are characterized through different forms of communication, and in turn, how various means of communication may constrain or enable possible solutions to environmental problems.

All digital data will be stored as encrypted files on a password-protected computer. All other physical data such as consent forms will be locked in a secure place at the researcher's office. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the data. If you wish, you may choose to use a pseudonym, and obvious identifiers of you and your affiliated group will be changed. Only excerpts that have been approved by you will be used in future presentations or publications. Transcripts and interpretations will also be available for you to read in order to confirm accurate transcription, representation and interpretation. You may request a copy of the findings or final report at any time. All data will be destroyed approximately ten years after the research has concluded.

If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at 604-822-8598 or if long distance, e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598. After you have approved all transcript excerpts and the final draft is complete, I would be happy to provide you with a summary of findings from the study.

Do you have any questions or would like any additional details? Do you agree to participate in this study knowing that you can withdraw at any point with no consequences to you?

[If yes, begin the interview] | [If no, thank the participant for her/his time]

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Appendix C: Information Letter (in Korean)

IRB No. 1702/003-014

유효기간: 2018년 2월 26일

연구참여자용 설명서 및 동의서

연구 과제명 : 환경문제 현실과 가능성의 커뮤니케이션: 2018 평창 동계올림픽 가리왕산
스키장 건설에 관하여

연구 책임자명 : 윤지혜 (브리티시 콜럼비아 대학 박사과정 학생 및 서울대학교 사범대학
스포츠과학연구소 객원연구원)

본 연구는 2018년 평창 동계올림픽 개최를 위한 가리왕산 개발의 환경문제에 대한 커뮤니케이션 방식과 인식에 대한 연구입니다. 귀하는 가리왕산 개발에 대한 견해를 공개적으로 표명하셨거나, 평창지역 거주자로서 가리왕산 개발과정에서 의하여 직간접적인 영향을 받으셨기 때문에 연구에 참여하도록 권유 받았습니다. 이 연구를 수행하는 서울대학교 소속의 연구원(윤지혜, 010-3473-8567)이 귀하에게 이 연구에 대해 설명해 줄 것입니다. 이 연구는 자발적으로 참여 의사를 밝히신 분에 한하여 수행 될 것이며, 귀하께서는 참여 의사를 결정하기 전에 본 연구가 왜 수행되는지 그리고 연구의 내용이 무엇과 관련 있는지 이해하는 것이 중요합니다. 다음 내용을 신중히 읽어보신 후 참여 의사를 밝혀 주시길 바라며, 필요하다면 가족이나 친구들과 의논해 보십시오. 만일 어떠한 질문이 있다면 담당 연구원이 자세하게 설명해 줄 것입니다.

1. 이 연구는 왜 실시합니까?

이 연구의 목적은 특정한 환경문제가 상이한 유형의 의사소통을 통해 다양하게 특징지워지는 방식을 이해하고 또한 의사소통 해석에 따라 환경문제의 가능한 해결책이 제한되거나 반대로 권장되는 방식에 대한 이해를 도모하는데 있습니다. 보다 넓은 의미에서 본 연구는 권력과 집단적 책임에 의문을 제기하고 대안적인 사회적, 정치적, 그리고 환경적 미래 구상을 위한 의사소통의 역할에 대하여 탐구하는데 그 근본적인 목적이 있습니다.

2. 얼마나 많은 사람이 참여합니까?

가리왕산 개발에 대한 견해를 공개적으로 표명하셨거나, 평창지역 거주자로서 가리왕산 개발과정에서 의하여 직간접적인 영향을 받으신 약 30명의 만 19세 이상 성인남녀가 참여할 것입니다.

3. 만일 연구에 참여하면 어떤 과정이 진행될니까?

만일 귀하께서 연구 참여에 동의를 하시면 다음과 같은 면담과정이 진행될 것입니다.

- 1) 귀하께서 면담하시기 가장 편하신 장소와 시간을 정하십니다. 원하신다면 전화나 스



카이프를 통한 면담도 가능합니다.

- 2) 약 30-60분간의 면담이 이루어 집니다. 면담을 통하여 가리왕산 개발, 그리고 가리왕산 개발에 대한 여러 매체의 의사소통에 대한 귀하의 인식과 의견을 묻고자 합니다. 저의 질문과 상관없이 면담 중 귀하께서 말씀하고 싶은 내용이 있으시면 언제든지 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다.
- 3) 면담내용은 디지털 방식으로 녹음되고 추후 전사될 예정입니다.
- 4) 전사된 면담내용은 추후 귀하와의 확인과정을 통하여 정확성과 적정성을 위한 검토, 수정, 철회 기회를 가지게 됩니다.
- 5) 면담 참여 후 추가 또는 새로운 정보제공을 원하신다면 언제든지 전화나 이메일로 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

4. 연구 참여 기간은 얼마나 됩니까?

참여기간은 2017년 3월 2일 부터 2017년 5월 30일 입니다. 1회의 면담이 이루어 질 것이며 약 30-60분이 소요될 것입니다.

5. 참여 도중 그만두어도 됩니까?

예, 귀하는 언제든지 어떠한 불이익 없이 참여 도중에 그만 둘 수 있습니다. 만일 귀하가 연구에 참여하는 것을 그만두고 싶다면 담당 연구원이나 연구 책임자에게 즉시 말씀해 주십시오.

6. 부작용이나 위험요소는 있습니까?

연구 참여와 관련하여 귀하의 신체적 상해, 불편함, 또는 기타 알려진 위험은 없습니다. 그러나 일부 면담 질문이 귀하의 경험과 신념에 따라 약간의 불편함을 느낄 수 있습니다. 만약 면담 중 불편함을 느끼신다면 언제든지 질문에 대답하지 않거나 면담을 중단하셔도 됩니다. 그리고 귀하의 자발적인 동의가 수반되지 않는 정보제공을 강요하지 않을 것입니다. 필요하시다면 전문적 상담을 받으실 수 있는 곳을 추천해 드릴 수 있습니다.

7. 이 연구에 참여시 참여자에게 이득이 있습니까?

본 연구의 결과가 귀하께 직접적으로 이익을 드리지는 못하지만, 귀하의 참여는 기존 연구 업적을 더욱 확장하고 추후 관련 연구 수행에 중요한 기여를 할 수 있습니다. 연구참여를 통하여 귀하의 소중한 경험공유와 지식 발전에 기여함으로써 개인적 만족감을 느끼실 수 있습니다. 귀하의 연구참여는 다양한 유형의 의사소통으로 특정한 이슈와 쟁점이 어떤 식으로



규정되는지, 그리고 결과적으로 환경문제에 대한 다양한 해결책이 어떠한 가능성으로 형성되는지, 나아가 환경문제가 보다 폭넓은 사회적, 정치적 현실을 어떻게 반영하는지는 이해하고 그 대안적 현실을 조망해 보는데 큰 도움이 될 것입니다.

8. 만일 이 연구에 참여하지 않는다면 불이익이 있습니까?

귀하는 본 연구에 참여하지 않을 자유가 있습니다. 또한, 귀하가 본 연구에 참여하지 않아도 귀하에게는 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다.

9. 연구에서 얻은 모든 개인 정보의 비밀은 보장됩니까?

개인정보관리책임자는 브리티시 콜럼비아 대학교의 브라이언 윌슨 교수와 (1-604-822-3884) 서울대학교의 권순용 교수 (02-880-7703)입니다. 저희는 이 연구를 통해 얻은 모든 개인 정보의 비밀 보장을 위해 최선을 다할 것입니다. 이 연구에서 얻어진 개인 정보가 학회지나 학회에 공개 될 때 귀하의 이름과 다른 개인 정보는 사용되지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 만일 법이 요구하면 귀하의 개인정보는 제공될 수도 있습니다. 또한 모니터 요원, 점검 요원, 생명윤리심의위원회는 연구참여자의 개인 정보에 대한 비밀 보장을 침해하지 않고 관련규정이 정하는 범위 안에서 본 연구의 실시 절차와 자료의 신뢰성을 검증하기 위해 연구 결과를 직접 열람할 수 있습니다. 귀하가 본 동의서에 서명하는 것은, 이러한 사항에 대하여 사전에 알고 있었으며 이를 허용한다는 동의로 간주될 것입니다.

10. 이 연구에 참가하면 댓가가 지급될까?

죄송합니다만 본 연구에 참가하는데 있어서 연구참여자에게 어떠한 금전적 보상도 없습니다.

11. 연구에 대한 문의는 어떻게 해야 됩니까?

본 연구에 대해 질문이 있거나 연구 중간에 문제가 생길 시 다음 연구 담당자에게 연락하십시오.

이름: 윤지혜 전화번호: 010-3473-8567

만일 어느 때라도 연구참여자로써 귀하의 권리에 대한 질문이 있다면 다음의 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회에 연락하십시오.

서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회 (SNUIRB)

전화번호: 02-880-5153



Appendix D: Consent Form (in Korean)

IRB No. 1702/003-014

유효기간: 2018년 2월 26일

동 의 서

1. 나는 이 설명서를 읽었으며 담당 연구원과 이에 대하여 의논하였습니다.
2. 나는 위험과 이득에 관하여 들었으며 나의 질문에 만족할 만한 답변을 얻었습니다.
3. 나는 이 연구에 참여하는 것에 대하여 자발적으로 동의합니다.
4. 나는 이 연구에서 얻어진 나에 대한 정보를 현행 법률과 생명윤리심의위원회 규정이 허용하는 범위 내에서 연구자가 수집하고 처리하는데 동의합니다.
5. 나는 담당 연구자나 위임 받은 대리인이 연구를 진행하거나 결과 관리를 하는 경우와 보건 당국, 학교 당국 및 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회가 실태 조사를 하는 경우에는 비밀로 유지되는 나의 개인 신상 정보를 직접적으로 열람하는 것에 동의합니다.
6. 나는 언제라도 이 연구의 참여를 철회할 수 있고 이러한 결정이 나에게 어떠한 해도 되지 않을 것이라는 것을 압니다.
7. 나의 서명은 이 동의서의 사본을 받았다는 것을 뜻하며 연구 참여가 끝날 때까지 사본을 보관하겠습니다.
8. 나는 면담 내용이 녹음된다는 점을 알고 자발적으로 동의합니다.

연구참여자 성명	서 명	날짜 (년/월/일)
동의서 받은 연구원 성명	서 명	날짜 (년/월/일)
연구책임자 성명	서 명	날짜 (년/월/일)
만일 있을 경우		
법정 대리인 성명(참여자과 관계)	서 명	날짜 (년/월/일)



Appendix E: Interviewee Information – Activists

Table 2: Interviewee Information – Activists

Date	Location	Position/Organization	Geographic base	# of people	Gender
March 13, 2017	Participant's office	Professor of sport-related studies and activist	Seoul	1	Male
March 15, 2017	Café on campus	Administrator in a sport-related activist group	Seoul	1	Male
March 17, 2017	Participant's office	Professor of environment-related studies and director of an environment-related institution	Seoul	1	Male
March 20, 2017	Participant's office	Professor of sport-related studies and activist	Busan	1	Male
March 22, 2017	Participants' office	Activists in an environmental activist group	Seoul	2	Female and Male
March 24, 2017	Participants' office	Activists in a civil society group	Seoul	2	Male
March 24, 2017	Café in Seoul	Professor of literature and former editor at a progressive mainstream newspaper and former high school gym teacher	Seoul	1	Male
March 25, 2017	Participant's office	Professor of botany and former director of a forest protection group	Seoul	1	Male
April 21, 2017	Participant's studio	Photographer	Seoul	1	Male
April 28, 2017	Tour of Mount Gariwang	Activist in a forest protection group	GangNeung	1	Female
May 10, 2017	Participants' office	Activist members in a civic society group	GangNeung	2	Male

Appendix F: Interview Guide for Activists

With activists:

- Tell me about how you perceive the development of Mount Gariwang into the official alpine ski venue for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games
- How does this development affect you?
- Why did you decide to challenge this development?
- What were the goals (your own and/or the activist group's) in challenging this development?
- In what ways have you challenged the development?
- Would you consider your efforts successful? If so, why? If not, why not and what would you do differently?
- Tell me about your experiences with activism and communicating about activism
- What makes an environmental activist communication campaign 'successful'?
- What role does/can environmental activist communication play in overcoming cynicism and mobilizing the public?
- What sort of communication have you seen or heard regarding this development?
- In your opinion, have these materials accurately portrayed the views of those opposing the development?
- If you could, what would you change about these materials?
- What is your relationship to Mount Gariwang? Has it changed over time? If so, how?
- How can environmental controversies like that surrounding Mount Gariwang act as a gateway for exploring our ability to envision alternative social, environmental and political futures?

환경활동가:

- 가리왕산의 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽 공식 알파인 스키장 개발에 대하여 어떻게 생각하세요?
- 이 개발은 귀하에게 어떤 영향을 미칩니까?
- 왜 이 개발에 대하여 반대활동을 펼칠 결정을 하셨나요?
- 귀하의 개인적인 또한 귀하의 단체의 반대활동의 최종 목적은 무엇이었나요?
- 구체적으로 이 반대활동을 위하여 무엇을 하셨나요?
- 반대활동을 성공적이었다고 보시나요? 혹은 다시 하신다면 어떤점을 다르게 하고싶으신가요?
- 환경운동 및 환경운동에 관한 홍보활동에 대하여 어떻게 생각하시나요?
- 환경 운동가 홍보 및 커뮤니케이션 캠페인을 성공적으로 만드는 것은 무엇인가요?
- 환경운동이 냉소주의를 극복하고 일반 대중을 모아 동원할 능력에 대한 역할은 무엇이라고 생각하시나요?
- 이 개발에 관련하여 어떤 언론 및 홍보활동을 접하셨나요?
- 위 커뮤니케이션이 이 개발에 대한 논의를 정확하게 구사하였나요?

- 할 수 있다면 위 커뮤니케이션 자료들에 대해 무엇을 바꾸고 싶으신가요?
- 귀하의 가리왕산에 대한 태도와 관계는 어떤가요? 시간이 지남에 따라 바뀌었나요?
- 이러한 환경논쟁이 사회, 환경 및 정치적인 대체사회를 구상하는 우리의 능력에 대한 출입구 역할을 할 수 있다고 생각하시나요?

Appendix G: Interviewee Information – Local Residents

Table 3. Interviewee Information – Local residents

Date	Location	Occupation/Position	Geographic base	# of people	Gender
April 3, 2017	Participant's store	Small business owners, former town council member, and former town representatives on the PyeongChang Olympic bidding committee	Bukpyeong	2	Male
April 3, 2017	In front of one of the participants' house	Home-keeper	Sukam	5	Female and Male
April 3, 2017	On the sidewalk by the participants' house	Home-keeper	Sukam	1	Female
April 14, 2017	Tourist Info Centre	Tourism Bureau Officer	Jeongseon	1	Female
May 4, 2017	Participant's office	Former town council member	Jeongseon	1	Male
May 22, 2017	Tourist Info Centre	Small business owners	Jeongseon	2	Female, Male

Appendix H: Interview Guide for Local Residents

- Tell me about how you perceive the development of Mount Gariwang into the official alpine ski venue for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games
- How does this development affect you?
- What sort of communication have you seen or heard regarding this development?
- In your opinion, have these materials accurately portrayed what has been unfolding here?
- Was your voice, or those of your family or friends, represented in these materials?
- If you could, what would you change about these materials?
- What is your relationship to Mount Gariwang? Has it changed over time? If so, how?
- How can environmental controversies like that surrounding Mount Gariwang act as a gateway for exploring our ability to envision alternative social, environmental and political futures?

가리왕산 근처 주민들:

- 처음 유치와 개최가 결정되었을 때 어떠셨나요?
- 올림픽 유치 및 가리왕산 개발 찬성 혹은 반대 활동에 직접적으로 참여하신 적이 있나요?
- 찬성 혹은 반대하신 이유가 뭔가요?
- 이 개발에 관련하여 어떤 정보를 누구에게 받으셨나요? (어떻게 들으셨나요? 어떤 얘기들이 오갔나요?)
- 조직위원회나 정부관계자가 왔나요? 정부와 조직위원회와 소통이 원활하게 잘 이루어졌나요? 어떻게?
- 가리왕산 개발에 대한 주민들 사이에서의 갈등이 있었나요?
- 마을에서 이 개발에 대한 토론이나 상담회 같은게 있었나요? (중봉주민대책위원회?)
- 개발로 인해 보상금을 받고 나가신 전 주민들의 입장은 어떠셨나요? 그분들은 지금 어디에?
- 이 개발은 귀하께 어떤 긍정적인 혹은 부정적인 영향을 미칩니까? 얻는 것 중 제일 필요한 것?
- 주민들의 목소리가 언론에 반영이 되었다고 생각하세요?
- 시민단체나 환경단체의 개발반대 운동을 어떻게 인식하시나요?
- 언론에서 이 논쟁을 다룬 것을 보았을 때 할 수 있다면 무엇을 바꾸고 싶으신가요?
- 마을주민들에게 가리왕산의 의미?
- 시간이 흐르면서 생각이 바뀌신 점이 있나요? (올림픽 관련해서, 가리왕산 관련해서)
- 요즘 경기후 시설사용에 대해서, 그리고 빙에 대해서 말이 많던데 어떻게 생각하시나요?
- 지금까지 보셨을 때 바꾸고 싶은 점? 앞으로 나아가는데 있어 중요한 점?