

**MILITARISATION AND EMPIRE:
AN ECO-FEMINIST THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE
IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH KOREA**

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August 2022

ABSTRACT

The Korean Peninsula has seen an increase in militarisation since the end of the Korean War. The US military deployed the Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) in Seongju County, South Korea in 2017. The deployment of THAAD confirms the phenomenon of militarisation in the name of national security. Militarisation is seen as linked to the notion of 'empire', and 'empire' has become a new form of sovereignty. The US military is the military empire that promotes hegemonic power in military activities of security. However, the deployment of the THAAD system has come at a cost to residents who are concerned with the damaging effects of THAAD on women's lives and natural resources.

This study interrogates how militarisation of the military empire affects women and natural resources through the lens of eco-feminist theories. The study employs a qualitative research methodology. Semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions were the instruments used to collect data. The data collected were analysed thematically.

From the eco-feminist theories of the West, dualistic thought in the militarisation process by empire influences a division to superior privilege, and inferior degradation. In their argument, Christian triumphalism advocates militarisation. Militarised Protestantism, based on triumphalism, is exposed as militarised patriotism relevant to pro-Americanism in South Korea. However, the eco-feminist perspective from the Global South offers an alternative spirituality to respond to the destruction of the environment and the oppression of women. This alternative spirituality is the notion of Life in East Asian knowledge. Moreover, women's resistance against militarisation as a Western-centred socio-economic and political system is under scrutiny by the eco-feminists of the Global South.

Therefore, this study discovered the subjecthood of Life as an alternative spirituality from the perspective of East Asian knowledge. The subjecthood of Life provokes liberation from militarised masculinity in women's resistance to the THAAD movement. The women's resistance that embraced the subjecthood of Life embodies all living beings and seeks to create a community that lives in harmony with nature.

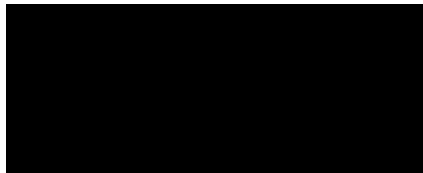
Thus, a women's theology of Life from an East Asian perspective to respond to militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea is suggested in this study.

Keywords: militarisation, empire, eco-feminism, national security, the US military, THAAD, the Korean peninsula, eco-feminist theology, women's resistance, Life theology

DECLARATION

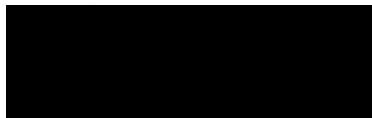
I, Minwoo OH, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work, except otherwise indicated in the text. It has never been presented to any other institution of higher learning other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I praise and thank God for giving me the wisdom and strength that has enabled me to complete this academic journey.

I am indebted to many people who helped me in this academic journey. Firstly, I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Lilian C. Siwila, who supervised my doctoral work at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. She has overseen the planning of this thesis and has given my work minute consideration for over four years. Her academic passion for young women theologians inspired me to be able to reach this stage of my academic journey. Most of all, I appreciate her patience, scholarly guidance, and encouragement.

I express my sincere gratitude to the Council for World Mission (CWM) for providing a scholarship to finance my study at the UKZN. I also, wish to thank the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) for facilitating my engagement with this scholarship program through the CWM. Thanks are further due to my seniors and mentors in the Centre for Ecumenical Studies (CES) in South Korea, for always encouraging and supporting me.

I especially wish to express my gratitude to all members of the community of the anti-THAAD movement in Seongju and Gimcheon for allowing me to conduct the empirical study of my research. Invaluable help was furnished by all the participants I met at the anti-THAAD rally.

I like to thank my study colleague, Knowledge Zinduru, for supporting me with language correction, encouraging me, and thinking about the topic together for over four years. I am also grateful to Dr Sandeep, Dr Mary, and Rev. Upendo for praying with me and encouraging me.

Lastly, I send gratitude to my family. As always, they have been there, providing all sorts of tangible and intangible support. I thank my parents, 오형택 and 박순원, as well as my younger brother 오성록, they have provided with care, physical and emotional support.

ACRONYMS

ABM	Anti-ballistic missile
BMD	Ballistic Missile Defense
CCK	The Christian Council of Korea
CFC	Combined Forces Command
CWM	Council for World Mission
DARPA	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
DMA	Defense Media Agency
DMDC	US Defense Manpower Data Centre
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FGD	Focus-group Discussion
FMB	Forward-based Mode
ISDP	Institute for Security & Development Policy
KIDA	Korea Institute for Defense Analyses
KMAG	US military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea
MCM	Military Committee Meeting
MIC	Military Industrial Complex
MND	Ministry of National Defense
NCKK	National Council of Churches in Korea
NIMO	New International Military Order
OPCON	Operational Control

PCK	Presbyterian Church of Korea
PMAG	Provisional Military Advisory Group
ROK	The Republic of Korea (South Korea)
SCM	Security Consultative Meeting
SMA	ROK-US Special Measures Agreement
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SSI	Semi-Structured Interviews
THAAD	Terminal High Altitude Area Defense
TM	Terminal Mode
USCC	US-China Economic and Security Review Commission
USFK	United States Forces in Korea
USFK	United States Forces Korea
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCRC	World Communion of Reformed Churches (former WARC)

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a general introduction to the study. The chapter begins with the background of the study, followed by the historical background of the US military presence and the challenge of the THAAD. The background to the study includes the research gap, research aims and contribution of the study. This chapter also presents the general location of the study, both geographical and academic. The motivation of this study is dealt with from both a personal and an academic perspective. The chapter also discusses the statement of the problem. The research questions, the objective, and the study's limitations are highlighted. The significance of the study presents the importance of research, and proves this study has an impact on humankind and the environment. Thus, the study adds value, contributing to society and future studies. Key concepts of the study are presented to help understand the topic of militarisation. The chapter ends by providing a general outline of the study followed by a conclusion.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This study discusses the militarisation process in the context of the US military's deployment of THAAD in South Korea. The Korean Peninsula is in crisis because of the US military presence in South Korea, in the name of national security.

Since the Korean War of (1950–1953), the Korean Peninsula has been divided into North and South Korea. Following the Korean War between North Korea and South Korea, an intergovernmental treaty as the military alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea was signed. On the Korean Peninsula, the Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty¹ (Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Korea) was the first international treaty signed based on military defence in South Korea. Under this treaty, the United States was able to deploy troops on South Korean land, sea, and air force and near

¹*Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Korea* is a treaty between South Korea and the United States signed on 1 October 1953, two months after the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement which brought an end to the fighting in the Korean War. The agreement commits the two nations to providing mutual aid if either faces external armed attack, and allows the United States to station military forces in South Korean upon consultation with the South Korean government. <http://www.mnd.go.kr/mbs/home/mbs/mndEN/>

Korean territory in the name of national security. Based on this background of the US military presence, the United States Forces in Korea (USFK) and the Ministry of National Defence (MND) engaged in installing the THAAD system in 2016. On 20 April 2017, the USFK deployed two THAAD radars and two launchers in the Dalma Mountain, Chojeon Township, Seongju County, and North Gyeongsang Province. The US military deployed four additional THAAD launchers on 7 September 2017. The Korean government supported this deployment. It must be pointed out that in 2017, President Moon Jaein's administration decided to temporarily deploy the THAAD before the conclusion of the environmental impact assessment. The government did not announce the investigation's result nor even clarify whether the THAAD was a temporary deployment or not. Since then, deployment of the THAAD has been at the centre of conflict between USFK-MND and the anti-THAAD installation movement in Seongju County.

The residents of Seongju and activists have been preventing the THAAD and its equipment from moving to the US military THAAD base so far. During this research process, there were physical confrontations between the anti-THAAD protestors and the US military in South Korea. According to the report of the Yonhap News Agency in South Korea on 28 May 2020, it was the biggest forced conflict since the conflict emerged when the US military first operated the land transport for THAAD in 2017. Seonkmin Oh and Soohyang Choi (2020) describe the situation as follows:

The MND and the USFK engaged in a transportation operation in the middle of the night to bring equipment to the Seongju THAAD system in Gyeongsangbukdo Province. The MND said that it supported the land transportation operation by the USFK from the night of the 28th to the morning of the 29th ... This stealth operation in the middle of the night was nevertheless challenged by the residents of the area. 3,700 South Korean riot police had to be deployed as a phalanx to cordon off the roads to enable the operation and to prevent obstruction of the transport. Several residents were reported to have been injured during the clash between local residents and the police Oh and Choi (2020).

In contrast to the anti-THAAD protestors, USFK's former general Vincent Brooks argues that,

We successfully deployed the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) ballistic missile defense system to South Korea, significantly increasing our missile defense capabilities. Additionally, we worked to close or eliminate gaps in critical munitions essential for defense of South Korea. In response to provocation from North Korea, we conducted numerous flexible response options – including the first tri-carrier exercise in ten years. (Bria Howell, 2018:5).

In other words, the purpose of the THAAD deployment was to defend the country of South Korea against ballistic missiles from North Korea.

Although one THAAD battery consisting of six launchers was deployed at the request of the US government and with the South Korean government's consent, the controversy surrounding its purpose – the interception of North Korea's nuclear missiles – has not abated because of this THAAD issue, widely known as a strategy against Chinese influence in the Korean Peninsula since the Obama administration.

Furthermore, in terms of the safety of local residents, there are concerns by the residents in the Soseong village of Seongju County that the THAAD system damages the human body and contaminates the environment. Their argument was predicated on the US military's operating manual for THAAD, stating that 3.6 km in front of the THAAD radar are off-limits to the general public. The THAAD battery was deployed on the hill of the Dalma Mountain in Seongju. Around 3,000 residents live in three villages within 3.6 km from the THAAD.

In particular, it was revealed that many women residents in Seongju voiced their opposition against the installation of the THAAD system. The women's resistance members in Seongju emerged to protect the village against the THAAD deployment by themselves. They argued that to monitor the missiles from China, the THAAD system utilises radar emitted electromagnetic waves that are harmful to the human body and crops.

Furthermore, the deployment of the US military THAAD system in South Korea has received relatively little attention from the Korean Church.² The ecumenical body, the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK), has issued a statement against the THAAD installation. In contrast, the conservative church denominations endorse the US military behaviour, including the THAAD deployment.

This study assumes that this phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea is a process of militarisation. This research topic will namely be investigated as the militarisation phenomenon of the US military. As Catherine Lutz (2006; 2009) claims, 'militarisation' refers to an extension of military influence to civilian spheres, including economic and socio-political life. The US military presence in South Korea comprises

² This study utilises a term 'Korean Church' to represent Protestant churches in South Korea.

sovereign and hegemonic control over the military activities of South Korea by the US. This aspect is based on the notion of empire in this study. There is no doubt that empire is the new imperialism by militarisation due to the US military hegemony.

When it comes to the challenge of the US military presence in South Korea, a number of disciplines and theories related to the militarisation on the Korean Peninsula lend partial insight into human rights (Suh, 2007; 2014), peacebuilding (Yi and Hayes, 2015), reconciliation (Noh, 1991; 1995; 2016), and international security in terms of policies/politics (Shin, 2017). Recently, there have been increasing approaches from the perspective of feminist theology in terms of decolonisation regarding the issues of military conflicts (Kim and Joh, 2016). The perspective of critiquing masculinity and gendered militarism pays attention to addressing the problem of militarisation focused on the US military-based affairs in South Korea. This perception critically contributes to changing the view of the US military bases in South Korea and leads this study to focus on women's experience of militarisation.

However, these studies frequently neglect the wrath and injustice that militarisation has brought upon women and natural resources in the context of US military activities. The likelihood of addressing the challenge of a militarisation phenomenon focused both on women and nature is treated in this research. This creates a research gap for this study, which will adopt an eco-feminist theory in addressing the problem of militarisation in South Korea.

Focusing on the crisis of women and natural resources in the THAAD deployment process, this study deals with an eco-feminist theory as a theoretical framework. Hence, the aim of this study is that eco-feminist theological perspectives respond to this militarisation phenomenon in the process of the US military THAAD system. Indeed, to prove the influence of the US military THAAD system on women and natural resources by militarisation, this research conducts field research in the form of an empirical study into the area of the THAAD deployment to collect data from informants' experiences of the US military.

In addition, this study attempts to provide and recommend spirituality as a new theological perception of militarisation and empire in highlighting an eco-feminist theology within the Asian context to address this challenge of militarisation. Particularly, regarding an eco-feminist theology in the Asian context, Aruna Gnanadason (2017:524) contends that Asian women understand Life in cosmology, which affirms the interdependence of all forms of Life. In her

argument, eco-feminist theologians in Asia endorse a concern for Life in a cosmological perspective that can use an alternative theory of Western dualistic discourse in theology. Moreover, according to Youngsil Choi (2013), the Korean feminist theology has developed in response to the patriarchal culture and the structure of imperial invasion, military regime and domination by the South-North division. In other words, Korean *Minjung*³ women have been suffering the most from the reality of foreign powers' rule and division. Hence, the Korean feminist theology has been seeking a Life-saving 'interpretation of life' based on understanding the reality of Korean women's Life and the Bible as a context. Therefore, seeking 'life-giving' in the Bible from the perspective of Korean feminist theology helps this study in terms of the interpretation of the context of the militarisation of the US military in 'life-centred' theology. This argument will contribute to establishing a discourse on Korean ways of doing eco-feminist theology to respond the US military empire of militarisation.

1.3 GENERAL LOCATION OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 Geographical Location

This study is located in the Seongju County of the southwest region in the North Gyeongsang Province in South Korea (see Figure 1). Seongju is famous as a farming area of the Chamoe; Korean yellow melon is cultivated with an environmentally friendly farming method. The farming is supplied with clean water from the Gaya Mountain National Park, famous for its picturesque scenery and heavenly natural environment, with optimum weather conditions (Seongjugun, 2020b). The Seongju area comprises ten townships and a population of 42,842. Most of the population is aged between 60 and 69, distributed at around 25%. The THAAD system is located in Chojeon township at the northern end of Seongju. This township consists of 12 small villages surrounded by the Dalma Mountain, and 4,439 residents live there as peasants (Seongjugun, 2020a).

As shown on the map, despite the US military camps of Camp Carroll, Camp Walker, and Camp Henry already having been garrisoned in this region for the past half century after the Korean War, the USFK wanted to install a high-tech military weapon system, THAAD.

³ *Minjung* means people who are politically oppressed, economically exploited and culturally alienated. The *Minjung* theology emerged during the first generation of *Minjung* theologians who were political activists against the socio-political dictatorship in the 70s and 80s. *Minjung* theology is defined firstly and foremostly as contextual theology (Küster, 2010).



Figure 1: Geographical map of the THAAD deployment site (Reutersgraphics, 2017).

1.3.2 Academic Location

From an academic perspective, the study is located within the discipline of an eco-feminist theology and its relation to militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. This study took a multi-disciplinary approach, in the sense that it addressed issues of geopolitics, feminism, and religion. The study uses eco-feminist theory to analyse the phenomenon of militarisation on the issue of THAAD deployment and rethinking national security.

1.4 MOTIVATION

I come from a city called Daegu in South Korea, in neighbouring Seongju County, where the THAAD system is located. I have grown up obtaining food resources such as vegetables and fruits, particularly Korean yellow melon, from agricultural fields in Seongju. This county also has a mountain valley that attracts visitors. Recently, my parents moved to Gumi City, 30 minutes by car from the hill where the THAAD system is installed. My family and I live close

to the US military base where the THAAD is deployed. Hence, I have been asking myself the reason for the THAAD deployment in Seongju.

In addition, most of the population in Seongju protested against the THAAD deployment, because they were worried about the effects of the electromagnetic waves from the THAAD system on human health and crops. I participated in the anti-THAAD rally in front of the Seongju County office in July 2016. I personally saw the residents and activists arguing that the THAAD X-band radar was harmful to humanity. There was a reason to protest against the THAAD deployment, not only because of the electromagnetic waves, but also for fear of these militarised areas where people live. Furthermore, at the time, regarding the protesting rally of anti-THAAD, I have watched a documentary movie titled *Blue butterfly effects* (Park, 2017), which sheds light on the situation of the anti-THAAD movement, focusing on women residents in Seongju and the reasons for their protest. Women protestors in Seongju strongly claim that the THAAD deployment in Seongju is a threat to children's safety. In this sense, older women farmers protest against THAAD deployment to protect the fields and their inherited land against the damage caused by the THAAD installation. Witnessing the arguments of women residents and their concerns about natural resources was for me a personal motivation to analyse militarisation in terms of the US military THAAD system in South Korea. In view of this, this study seeks to investigate how the presence of the US military in South Korea has affected women and nature through their advanced technology in the name of protecting South Korea from North Korea.

Moreover, the academic motivation for this study emerged from my experience in participating in the conference of the Council for World Mission (CWM) in 2018 with the theme, *Resisting Empire and Militarization: Reasserting the Sacredness of Seas, Lands and Lives*. At this conference, issues were discussed on how the land, environment and sacred sites are affected by militarisation that results from the influence of the empire. This project of 'militarisation and empire' in CWM has been addressed during the past years by diverse voices from different regions. The book, *Faith in the Face of Militarization: Indigenous, Feminist, and Interreligious Voices* (Fernando, 2021) published by CWM, directly addresses the challenge of militarisation in the world within diverse theological perspectives. In the face of theoretical and empirical studies in the Christian faith, there remains a large piece of uncharted terrain. The book even covers the Korean Peninsula and militarisation by Kim Yongbock. Fernando presents a mapping of reflections on the spiritual and political dynamics of *Zoography* (Story of life). He

explores the role of spiritualities in liberating empire and militarisation on the Korean Peninsula and beyond the country (Kim, 2021:132). In the face of theoretical and empirical studies on international ecumenism, there remains a large piece of uncharted terrain in approaching militarisation from an eco-feminist theological perspective. My academic motivation for this study has emerged from the viewpoint of ecumenical theology in the CWM. This ecumenical theology pays attention to the concept of empire. The use of the 'empire' concept is one perspective to view the world in the ecumenist movement. The concept of empire is represented by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (2000). The key argument of the concept of empire is that the contemporary world order operates by force of an empire, similar to Roman imperial regimes. The term 'empire' is a dominating power that provokes oppression in humankind. To focus on the empire as a phenomenon of militarisation in South Korea assists in zooming in on the US military presence and their military activities as an empire, a dominating power. Thus, it is remarkable to interrogate a phenomenon of militarisation together with empires.

In addition, I discovered that the field of militarisation studies in South Korea is relatively focused on peace studies in terms of reconciliation from the national division system. My motivation for this study in relation to militarisation highlights empires on militarisation processes that negatively impact on women and nature, consequently posing some challenges to women and natural resources in the context of South Korea.

This study thus draws on this academic platform's theoretical and empirical insights into how the empire's power forces military affairs and its influence on human life in the contemporary development of the phenomenon of militarisation in South Korea.

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The US military garrison situates in South Korea for national security depending on a national alliance between two countries is a general argument in society. However, the people in Seongju's lives are not safe due to the presence of US military equipment. According to this alliance, the deployment of the US military THAAD battery as more effective technology for the defence systems provoked a crisis in South Korea.

The THAAD system is believed to affect the natural environment negatively by taking over the land of the Dalma Mountain valley. Of particular concern is how the use of the X-radar of the THAAD system would affect the human body and the ecosystem. This aspect is of paramount importance to the farming community's lives. Women protestors' strong argument

against THAAD deployment on the Korean Peninsula is underlined by serious concerns that their children's future and the food products are unsafe unless the THAAD system is removed.

Therefore, this study problematises the THAAD system, which is considered a developed militarisation phenomenon of the US military in the context of the divisional system on the Korean Peninsula. The US base of the defence system is regarded as the invisible damage caused by utilising the X-band radar to humanity and natural resources. It is a different aspect of a challenge, distinct from the sexual violence perpetrated by the US army and the contamination which was caused in the occupied land by the US bases in the 80s-90s. The research problem emerged from the fact that the US military presence in South Korea is identified as an empire that is a dominating power and has sovereignty that affects human and natural resources. Further, the Korean Churches disregard this situation, or unconditionally advocate for the US military activities for national security.

When it comes to the US military THAAD phenomenon as militarisation by empire, it needs interrogation through eco-feminist theories to focus on women and natural resources. Therefore, this research analyses the influence of the THAAD deployment on women and nature, relying on the eco-feminist theory. It also discusses Korean Christianity's response based on an eco-feminist theological response to the militarisation of the US military empire with this problem of the THAAD deployment.

1.6 THE KEY RESEARCH QUESTION

How can eco-feminist theology be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

Research sub-questions

- What are the challenges caused by the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea?
- How has militarisation and empire affected women in South Korea?
- How has militarisation and empire affected natural resources in South Korea?
- How can eco-feminist theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea?

1.7 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To explore the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea.
- To identify how militarisation and Empire affect women in South Korea.
- To investigate how militarisation and Empire affect natural resources in South Korea.
- To analyse how eco-theology can be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire, which impact on women and natural resources in South Korea.

1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

In a bid to interrogate the US military THAAD deployment as an exposed militarisation phenomenon in terms of affecting natural resources and women's lives in the context of South Korea, this study was limited in a number of ways.

First of all, access to older women residents who participated in the anti-THAAD rally in Soseong village for discussions of FGDs was limited, based on the fact that they were older women who could not gather at the same time and discuss the matter with one another in a group. Thus, to address this challenge, instead of FGDs, I requested personal interviews and, with their permission, asked questions whenever I met older women resisters.

Secondly, some of them regarded me with suspicion as a stranger. Because the anti-THAAD rally group was exposed to political issues, they have experienced victimisation from the opposite group. The informants kept asking questions such as, "What are you going to do with interviews and collected information? Are you going to inform the government? Make sure to use anonymity in your thesis." In order to overcome this challenge, it was imperative to clarify my identity as a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a pastor belonging to the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK). Also, I assured them of confidentiality through the use of anonymity of their names and declared to them that the information was to be treated as confidential. I emphasised the use of anonymity in order to guarantee the participants' confidentiality. Also, I explained that people had to sign the consent form before participating in the project. In this way, participants could decide whether they wanted to participate in interviews and group discussions or not.

Another problem was that it was impossible to gather people in South Korea since the end of February 2020 because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, no more discussions about the data collected happened after the pandemic. Instead of the physical collection, I reflected on this issue using secondary resources such as interviews with residents in an online newspaper. I

visited and referred to a blog titled 'Soseong village daily report' that posted residents' life in the anti-THAAD movement (Seongju, 2021).

Lastly, this study consists of analysing a militarisation phenomenon in the context of South Korea, focusing on an eco-feminist theological perspective. There has been minimal research regarding this militarisation issue by means of eco-feminist theology. Relatively little attention was paid to the militarisation related to the Korean Peninsula. The research questions associated with the US military, THAAD, and militarisation from an eco-feminist perspective have not, so far, been noticed, nor have they been studied in detail. Thus, I was limited to literature sources on theology and feminist eco-theology on the militarisation topics.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of this research is that it presents an opportunity to prove how the militarisation phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment impacts on humanity and natural resources in the context of South Korea. In this vein, this study endeavoured to uncover the ecological crisis and women oppressed by the militarisation of a military empire. Further, the discussion on militarisation and empire, zooming in on the crisis of women and nature, led to adopting a lens of an eco-feminist theory to interrogate the study's problem statement. The significant feature of the study is that it contributes to transforming the situation of oppressed women and natural resources through a military-centred perception in the South Korean context.

In addition, this study can contribute to the existing literature in the academic field of 'militarisation and empire', such as geopolitical and socio-economical views, together with an eco-feminist theory. It is an unexplored area, analysing the militarisation phenomenon of the US military presence utilising an eco-feminist lens. Attention can especially be paid to an eco-feminist theological perspective to interrogate the US military affairs of the THAAD deployment as new research both in theology and geopolitical study. This value is focused on Christianity in South Korea.

The Korean Church's response to the THAAD deployment as the US military's militarisation has ignored gendered and ecological views. Thus, the result of this analysis can offer a new perspective on the militarisation of the empire to the Korean Church. This study will provide an alternative spirituality towards demilitarisation. An attempt to transform the distorted faith

in the Korean Church that supports the situation of degradation of humanity and nature by militarisation is a point of significance in this study.

The spiritual bearing on the Korean way of eco-feminist theology relies on life-centredness from East Asian traditional perspectives. This Korean way of eco-feminist theology is reflected in women's reality on the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea. This study will help to suggest new discourse about women's theology for Life consisting of ecological, political, regional and cultural dimensions of Life in East Asia. This analysis, emphasising women's reality, suggests that further studies can also investigate women's experience of militarisation in other regional contexts with a Life-centred spirituality. It needs more in-depth analysis for further study. Despite that, this suggestion of the Korean way of eco-feminist theology for Life to address the militarisation of the US military is considered significant for the study.

1.10 KEY CONCEPTS

1.10.1 Militarisation and empire

Defining the terms 'militarisation', 'empire' and its nexus will help to analyse the context of militarisation in South Korea. The terms 'militarism' and 'militarisation' are frequently used in the literature related to militarisation with a different connotation. Marek Thee (1977), and Asbjørn Eide and Marek Thee (1980) use the term 'militarism' referring to the rush for armaments, the growing role of the military in national and international affairs, the use of force as an instrument of supremacy and political power, and the increasing influence of the military in civilian affairs. They refer to the term 'militarisation' as being an extension of military influence in civilian spheres, including economic and socio-political life. According to these scholars, the term 'militarisation' cannot be used synonymously with 'militarism', as militarisation is a considerably broader phenomenon that includes the socio-economic realm (Eide and Thee, 1980). Furthermore, scholars such as Lutz (2006; 2009), John Kelly (2003) and Kent Calder and Min Ye (2010) associate militarisation with imperialism, which is closely intertwined with global geopolitics and globalisation. This connection highlights the nexus between militarisation and the empire. The militarisation of the Korean Peninsula is not only a Korean national conflict/crisis, but also carries with it its global militarisation issues. The treaties are not concerned with understanding changes in the forms of imperial practice in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Empire. Still, they are also related to the practices of capitalist accumulation through militarisation (Harvey, 2003; Wood, 2005).

This study uses the concept of empire to understand militarisation. An outside power dominates militarisation in South Korea. As Negri and Hardt (2000), in their book *Empire* argue, empire has no limitation of territorial boundaries its reign; it is an existing reality. This order effectively suspends history and directly seeks to rule over human nature for social life in its entirety. Furthermore, the concept of empire pursues the universal peace side of history. Negri and Hardt, moreover, analyse the characterising of the empire concept's united juridical categories and universal ethical values.

Theological discussions on the empire started at the ACCRA confession in Ghana. World Communion of Reformed Churches (2005) emphatically named empire “the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led through the use of powerful nations to protect and defend their interests”. Similarly, The Council for World Mission (2010), in its theological statement, defines empire as that “the elements of empire today are vested with those who wield political, cultural, military and corporate power”. The CWM also emphasises the need and importance to know who the empire is in our midst and how it manifests (CWM, 2010). That means that in the context of growing militarisation in South Korea, it is first necessary to know 'who' and 'how' the empire manifests itself through the process of militarisation. Thus, it becomes imperative to undertake a more in-depth theological exploration on the subject matter with militarisation as a manifestation of the empire's inescapable reality. It also becomes imperative to investigate how militarisation and empire affect women and nature in the context of South Korea.

1.10.2 Impact of militarisation on women

Scholars such as Cynthia Enloe (1988; 1993; 2000), J. Ann Tickner (1992), Amina Mama and Margo Okazawa-Rey (2012), and Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via (2010) uncovered the link between masculinity, patriarchy, gender, regimes and authority, coercion and violence, which continue to subordinate femininity in society, culture, religion and politics. Mainly, they argue that militarisation is a gendered and gendering phenomenon that is produced through the use of the subject matter of patriarchal ideology and used to maintain and reorganise it. Moreover, Katharine Moon (1997) argues that local Korean women were used for the institutionalised military as sex labourers, in which sex work becomes a vital tool in preserving the strategic relationship between South Korea and the US, focusing on policy and power conflicts. These scholars help to understand the link between the patriarchal ideology and militarisation. Thus,

this literature creates a gap for this study to investigate how the militarisation of empire manifests in the context of South Korea, thereafter, affecting women.

1.10.3 Impact of militarisation on nature

Stephen Dycus (1996), Abeer Majeed (2004) and Alfred Crosby (2004) identify military force as a weapon of mass destruction to environments. Audra Wolf (2018) states that militarisation includes corporations in technologically leading branches of production – aeronautics, electronics, nuclear technology, industrial computer and information systems, and chemistry. According to the development of military technology science in the US, this affects allied countries. This trend of militarisation that uses high technological defence systems and weapons affects a human's body and environments.

1.10.4 Eco-feminist theology

While discussing militarisation and empire, this study will refer to eco-feminist theologians such as Rosemary Ruether (1992; 1996; 2005) and Sallie Mcfague (1987; 1993). They assert that the religious and secular strengthening process of transcendental male mythology is the dominant ideology of the patriarchal system in the historical discourse of ancient Near Eastern civilisation, ancient Israel, Greece, medievalism, religious reform, the scientific revolution, colonialism and Western modern industrial society. According to them, militarisation and empire are part of the patriarchal religious system. Furthermore, Mcfague (1987; 1993; 2001) critiques the monarchical model of the Christian way of talking about 'God loves the world'. This monarchical model of God is understood as a king who controls loyal and obedient subjects. According to this understanding, God is remote from the world and is only concerned with human reality, while domination controls the world. Claiming that this model of God has the influence to advocate military conflicts in the name of the peace of God, she presents her organic models of God; a mother, friend and lover as a responsive model to the growing ecological and nuclear crisis. Both Ruether and Mcfague argue that we need a new consciousness, new symbolic culture, and spirituality to heal the relationship between humans and the earth. They emphasise the need to understand ideologies and epistemology underlying militarisation and the empire's threat to women and nature.

In addition, Namsoon Kang (2004; 2008; 2014) and Pui-lan Kwok (2000; 2005) argue that, due to Asian theological discourse associated with the world process of decolonisation after

World War II, a sense of anti-West centrism is predominant in Asian theological discourse. Chung (1991; 1994; 2013) points out that Western-style development, multinational corporations, militarism and capitalism and its underpinning ideology – Western centrism – have only become the reasons for the cries of nature, women, and children. Kang and Kwok argue that an Asian indigenous discourse as an alternative feminist theology has the capability of overcoming the central domination of Western thoughts. Korean feminist theologians such as Hyungkyung Chung (1991; 1994; 2000; 2013), Soonhwa Sun (1987; 1999), Eunseon Lee (1995; 2003) and Kang (2008; 2014) address the influence of multiple indigenous religions of Korea.

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 is an attempt at a brief account of this study. It introduces and provides the background to the entire project. It consists of the general location of this study in terms of geographical and academic location, motivation, and the problem statement. This chapter also provides the key research questions, including the sub-questions and the objectives of the study, to be answered by the questions. The limitations and significance of the study are described as well. It provides the chapter outlines and the conclusion.

Following a historical approach, Chapter 2 provides a general history of the national division system in the Korean Peninsula and the US military presence. The challenge of the US military is focused on the THAAD system consisting of understanding, processing, and responding to the THAAD deployment in Seongju County in this chapter. Moreover, the discussion on militarisation is dealt with, its definition and its three dimensions are also presents. In this section, a significant goal is positing the US military THAAD deployment as a militarisation phenomenon based on the notion of empire.

Chapter 3 develops the theoretical framework for this study, proposing an approach to militarisation and empire. This chapter follows the historical emergence of eco-feminism in comparing feminism and ecology. It sets the ground for using eco-feminist theories as a theoretical framework in this study. The principles of eco-feminist theories present focus on dualism and Christian triumphalism. Eco-feminism from Asia is described as being relative and their the features that indicate three points: 1) problematisation of economic or political structures to impact on women and natural resources; 2) focusing on the generation of women's

resistance against the military empire; and 3) discovering alternative spirituality from traditional culture, developmentalism and women's resistance. The relevance of this theoretical framework is operating on this research project.

Chapter 4 explains the research methodology. The transformative paradigm of the US military THAAD system underlies the research direction with a view to collecting and analysing data. The qualitative research, sampling, data collection, data analysis and research validity and reliability are provided. It also gives ethical justification and methodological limitations in this chapter.

Chapter 5 is a presentation of collected data. According to the research sub-questions, this data presentation presents participants' experiences of the THAAD deployment in Seongju County in order to find out answers. This chapter consists of the THAAD effect on humanity and natural resources. Women's resistance in the anti-THAAD movement is presented through the use of finding themes. Furthermore, it displays emerging themes of Christian thoughts on the US militarisation in order to analyse and interpret data.

Chapter 6 focuses on the key emerging themes from the presented data. This theme is based on the interrogation of the key research question. This data analysis presents four themes: militarized masculinity as a hegemonic power; the influence of militarised patriotism and Protestantism; division from militarised dualistic thoughts; and the US military authority ignoring others. This chapter emerges as proposing a Korean way of eco-feminist theology to respond to militarisation and empire. This key theme is based on the concept of Life in the Korean context, which relies on East Asia's traditional knowledge. This chapter significantly emphasises women's resistance underlying the feature of Life as spirituality. Lastly, the chapter suggests a women's theology for Life in East Asia.

Chapter 7 provides the conclusion to the research. Further research topics and research gaps are provided in this last chapter. It highlights the whole study to present the aim, research question and objective. The approach to this study, chapter summary, and value of the study and contribution of new knowledge are presented. The general concluding remarks form the last section of this study. Simply put, this chapter synthesises, discusses, and interprets the data collected and presents a research outcome.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a general introduction to the study. It offered the background of the study. The study's general location dealt with the THAAD deployment's geographical location in Seongju County and Gimcheon City. The academic location of this study is linked to the eco-feminist theology and a multi-discipline. The motivation of the research, also presented in two ways, was my experience of the THAAD rally, and as an academic I discovered a lack of an eco-feminist approach to militarisation. This chapter stated the problem of the THAAD deployment by the US military in the context of South Korea. According to this research problem, the key research questions and objectives of the study were confirmed. It pointed out the limitations encountered by the researcher during the process of conducting empirical research. Despite the limitations, this chapter offered the significance of the study based on contributions and benefits. The key concept was briefly explained with militarisation and empire, the impact of militarisation on women and nature, and the role of eco-feminist theology in addressing the issues under discussion. Lastly, this chapter provided an outline of this study.

CHAPTER TWO:

EMERGENCE OF MILITARISATION AND EMPIRE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH KOREA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 was a general introduction to the study, outlining the study's key objectives and a brief overview of the chapters. This chapter aims to address a research object to identify the US military THAAD installation that appears as a militarisation process by an empire.

Hence, this chapter is organised as follows. I begin by offering a background of the presence of the US military in South Korea in terms of a historical approach based on the Korean Peninsula's national division system. A contemporary issue of the US military presence, the THAAD system deployment, which forms the core of the research problem will be examined about arguments from China and Korean Christianity as the THAAD deployment is explored in this chapter.

This chapter seeks to introduce militarism to reveal the notion of 'militarisation' and its interrelation with militarism. The terms 'militarisation' and 'militarism' will be defined as part of exploring the research topic: the influence of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea on the global system. It will be presented based on the three sub-regimes: technology, political, and personal resources of militarisation.

The next section will clarify the militarisation process in South Korea by understanding the underlying concept of the empire.

2.2 HISTORY OF THE US BASES IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE NATIONAL DIVISION SYSTEM

The first part of this chapter is devoted to present a general history of the US bases in South Korea, associated with the national division system in South Korea. This historical background is centred on the Cold War after the Second World War. Further, it provides an overview of the recent situation of the US military presence in South Korea. How the US military influenced Korean society in the past will also be presented in this section.

2.2.1 Geopolitics of the Korean Peninsula and national division

This section provides a geopolitical dimension of the Korean Peninsula's national division to understand the background of the US military that came to South Korea.

As shown on the map of East Asia (Figure 2), the countries China, Mongolia, Russia, and Japan surround the Korean Peninsula, so it is a significant geopolitical point to trade and move in East Asia. William Overholt (2007:155) illuminates that Korea has long been the classic “man in the middle” caught among the big-power rivalries of Japan, China, Russia, and the United States.



Figure 2: Map of East Asia (Mapsofworld, 2020)

Hence, the Korean people have experienced many wars, invasions, and violent conflicts from the surrounding countries throughout their history. Violence in Korea reached its peak under colonisation (1905–1945) by the Japanese. Meanwhile, as part of World War II, there was a Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) between the Republic of China and the Japanese Empire. The military of imperial Japan’s occupation of Korea has exerted an influence over hegemonic geopolitical politics (Kim, 2021:35). Between the independence from Japanese dominance in 1945 and the Korean War in 1950, the Korean Peninsula was in an unstable situation, making it difficult to revive the country’s economy rocked by poverty and political conflicts between Southern and Northern parts of Korea.

Amidst the process of rebuilding the Korean government, two overwhelming imperial forces underlined by the Soviet Union and the US were entrenched in the Korean Peninsula. The Soviet Union joined its allies in the Pacific War for victory in Europe at the Tehran Conference

in 1943 and the Yalta Conference in 1945. Then it declared war on Japan on 9 August 1945, and the USA dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The next day, after the US atomic bomb attack on Japan, the Soviet Army began to occupy the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. Simultaneously, the US military was tasked with dividing the Korean Peninsula into Soviet and US occupation areas, creating a border at the 38th parallel. The region's geopolitics was changed with Japan's decolonisation and the US's trusteeship. Immediately after World War II, the US occupied the southern part of Korea, intending to build an Americanised state in the region. In contrast, the Soviet Union occupied the northern part of Korea and brought it under Soviet influence under the Cold War system to build a Communist state.

The country was divided into two hegemonies resulting in the Korean War in 1950 and the Cold War in the Korean Peninsula. Kim Yongbock (2021) argues that this Korean War was the real beginning of global Cold War geopolitics. The Korean War (1950-1953) between North and South Korea had been predicted to a certain extent, and the division of the Korean Peninsula into two countries became permanent after the war. Korea remains the only divided country in the world and the last vestige of the Cold War era. In this light, William Stueck's book, *The Korean War*, describes the Korean War with great lucidity as a substitute World War III (Stueck, 1997:348). This argument provides a view of international history against the Korean War.

The situation of national division led to military tension between North Korea, and military activities with the US military presence. In this context of the Korean national division, the question regarding the US military presence in the Korean Peninsula has emerged in this study. More attention needs to be paid to the relationship between the US military bases and South Korea to understand the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea.

2.2.2 History of the US military presence in South Korea

This section delves into the relationship between the US and the Korean Peninsula in terms of military activities. Tracing this relationship historically is important to comprehend the militarisation process in South Korea. Furthermore, it helps to provide a background of the US military presence in South Korea.

In 1866, the US General Sherman's paddle-steamer, an armed merchant ship, entered the Taedong River⁴ and demanded an open-door policy for trade to the Joseon Dynasty. With the rapid increase in Western imperialism in Asia during the 19th century, China and Japan were opened to foreign trade by Western powers, while Korea maintained its isolationist policies. The crew of General Sherman dispatched a dinghy to forage and abduct a Korean official. One of the governors attempted to negotiate for his release, but General Sherman responded by firing. This caused an armed conflict between the US and Korea. This incident was rooted in the second military conflict as the US expedition moved from Nagasaki to Korea to enter into a trade treaty in 1871. Nevertheless, the US troops returned with an unsuccessful treaty, with Korean isolationism only ending in the Japan-Korea treaty of 1876.

The first treaty established between the US and Korea was the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation during the Joseon Dynasty in 1882. However, in the Katsura-Taft Agreement with the US and Japan in July 1905, the US admitted that the Joseon Dynasty was colonised by Japan. The result was that the relationship between Joseon and the US was severed as the US diplomats withdrew from Joseon. Also, the US showed an attitude of indifference to the independence of the Joseon dynasty.

However, in this study, the history of the US military bases in South Korea is devoted to the colonial period from 1945. The US 24th Army Corps stationed in Okinawa landed at Incheon Port in Korea in September 1945. The US argued that the aim of US military deployment in Korea was to disarm the Japanese military remaining on the Korean Peninsula. The US deployed three US Army divisions to South Korea; the 7th Division for Seoul, Gyeonggi, Gangwon and Chungcheong Provinces, the 40th Division to over Yeongnam, and the 96th Division to positions in the southwestern Jeolla region. The Yongsan Garrison used to serve the Imperial Japanese Army until August 1945, when the US government sent the 24th Army Corps to Korea to accept the surrender of Japanese forces south of the 38th parallel (Rough, 2018).

For the Korean War which started on 25 June 1950, the US and UN forces entered and engaged in the war. After three years of battles, the Korean Armistice Agreement brought about a complete cessation of hostilities of the Korean War signed on 27 July 1953. This agreement

⁴ Teadong River is located near Pyongyang in North Korea, and flows up to the Yellow Sea between the east of China and the Korean Peninsula.

was between the UN, the US military, North Korea, and China; South Korea never signed it.⁵ In the same year, on 15 September, the 8th US army relocated its headquarters to Yongsan Garrison from Daegu. Sincheol Lee (2018:305) highlights that the US military occupied the same spot with Japan for its garrison. The dominance by external forces has been continuing from Japanese colonialism to US military forces. Two empire powers occupied the core part of South Korea called the 'Yongsan' area located along the Han River that is useful for trade and transport externally along the river to the ocean.

In addition, regarding the alliance between South Korea and the US, its relations developed into a military alliance after the Korean War. Its intergovernmental treaty named the Mutual Defence Treaty, between the US and South Korea, was signed in October 1953, three months after signing the ceasefire agreement in July 1953. The treaty committed the two nations to providing mutual aid: if there is an external armed attack, the US military forces in South Korea operate military consultation with the South Korean government, and South Korean military support to military conflicts in the US. However, before signing this treaty, the US sent the military for the Korean War on 1 July 1950. It was the beginning of the relationship of US-ROK military affairs. Hence, the ROK-US alliance, the Mutual Defence Treaty, was essential to restrain war as a defence alliance. On account of the Mutual Defence Treaty, ROK-US enacted a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) in 1966 that stipulates the treatment of United States Forces in South Korea (USFK). There are many controversies regarding the US presence in South Korea. The agreement's promotion of US military presence in South Korea has led to many base expansion protests (Baek, 1996).

Furthermore, the command authority is an overarching issue in terms of military control in ROK-US relations. The South Korean government under President *Syngman Rhee* delegated the command authority to the commander of the United Nations Command in July 1950. In November 1954, the term “command authority” was changed to “command control” noted in the Korea-US military alliance treaty. A significant moment came in 1978 when the command authority was moved from the United Nations Command to the Combined Forces Command (CFC). Later on, command authority was divided into peacetime and wartime operational control (OPCON). The peacetime OPCON shifted to South Korea, and the wartime OPCON

⁵ The Korean Armistice Agreement was signed by US Army Lieutenant General William Harrison Jr. representing the United Nations Command (UNC), North Korean General Nam Il representing the Korean People's Army (KPA), and Peng Teh-huai representing the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (PVA).

still kept the CFC. The issue of transferring wartime OPCON to South Korea has been discussed since 1994 (Yoon, 2015:92-3). The Combined Forces Command (CFC) was established in November 1978, and commanded the ROK armed forces and the US Forces Korea (USFK). The United States Forces Korea (USFK) was established with the signing between the ROK and US on 1 July 1957. It has been a core element in both countries' security strategies (Kang, 2015:29). Over the past 67 years, the ROK-US alliance has defended the ROK from external threats and influenced the country's development in politics, economy, society and culture. At this point, the 2020 Defense White Paper states as follows:

Playing a key role in the defense of the Korean Peninsula, the ROK-US alliance is contributing to stability, peace, and prosperity in Northeast Asia as well (MND, 2021:202).

Their ROK-US alliance has been maintained through various high-level security consultative meetings, including the SCM and MCM.⁶ Therefore, all this considered, this study understands that the initiative for national defence and security has been depending on cooperating with the US military in the context of the national division of the Korean Peninsula.

Moreover, Dongchan Park's (2011; 2016) study provide the initiative of the US military in terms of the Korean Military Advisory Group (KMAG), which helped to train and provide logistical and strategical support for the Republic of Korean Army. According to Park's (2016) historical research on the US military, the US army group, as the Provisional Military Advisory Group (PMAG), was installed in August 1948 in Korea. PMAG was formally established as KMAG in July 1949, once the withdrawal of the US military force in Korea was complete. The point of his argument is that KMAG organised to select all fields related to the Korean Army such as organisation, operation, education and training, and logistics as a domain of activities, and accomplished their plan and decisions pertaining to the Korean Army through the Counterpart System. In his study, it can be discovered that for the Korean War, the US military Advisory Group's planned military training to the Korean army, despite its results, was not good. It was the first systematic American-style training of the Korean Army (Park, 2011:111-3).

⁶ SCM: The highest level of the ROK-US bilateral security consultative meeting participated in by the ROK Minister of National Defence, the US Secretary of Defence, and senior defence and foreign affairs officials. MCM: The highest level of the ROK-US bilateral military consultative meeting between the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) of the two countries. DMA (2017) 'Juganyongeodotbogi-SCM & MCM (Determination of SCM and MCM)', *Gukbang TV* [online], available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Rkdve658EU> [Accessed 19 May 2021].

In these historical facts, I discovered that the initiative of military power affairs has been moved to the US military from colonial power by Japan. In this sense, it can be argued that the Korean Peninsula was colonised by the imperial military in Japan during the colonial era and controlled by the US military in the name of military support in the post-colonial era.

2.2.3 The US troops in South Korea

Number of US troops: As examined before, the US military was instrumental in establishing the Korean army and the South Korea-US alliance agreement on security and defence after the Korean War. About 28,500 US troops were stationed in South Korea. This number of troops is the United States' third-largest military presence outside its country after Japan and Germany. The 2021 data from the US Defence Manpower Data Centre show that the US military consists of about 19,500 army soldiers, 7,800 airmen and women, 350 navy sailors and 120 marines stationed in South Korea (DMDC, 2021)

Defence cost sharing: when it comes to the issue of defence costs sharing, the US has been controversial due to a sudden increase rate of 13.9% compared with the previous year in 2021. The US requested defence costs. According to negotiation in the 11th Special Measures Agreement (SMA) (Paek, 2021), South Korea agreed to pay 1.1833 trillion (approximately 1.06 billion dollars) for the upkeep of the 28,500 US forces in Korea. Since the two countries signed the SMA in 1991, this military defence cost sharing has been increasing (Eindex, 2021).

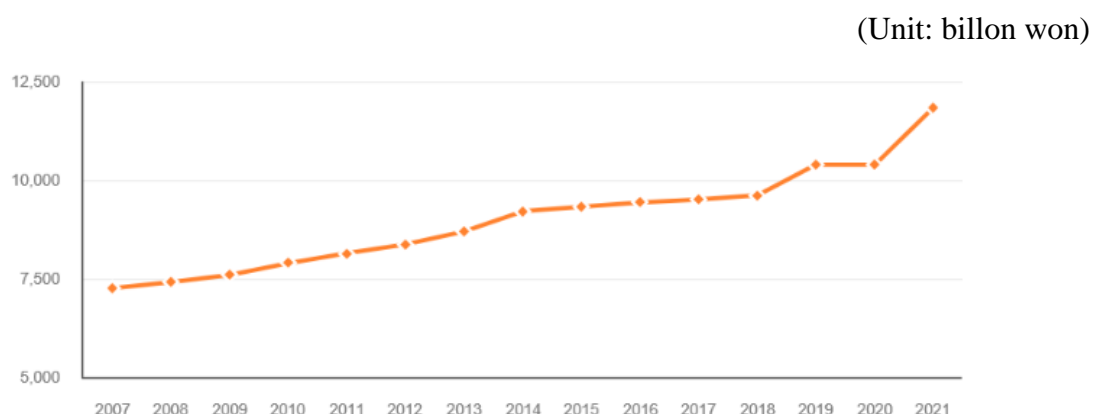


Figure 3: Defence costs sharing trend

Relocating issue: Among all the bases, the key garrisons of the US military are located at Camp Humphreys in Pyeongtaek, south of Seoul, the most extensive US overseas military base, housing the USFK headquarters and thousands of troops, civilian workers and family members.

Other major bases include Army Garrison Yongsan in central Seoul, Camp Walker in the south-eastern city of Daegu, and two air bases in Osan and Gunsan, south of Seoul.

Following the 2002 land partnership plan and the 2004 Yongsan relocation plan, major units at Yongsan base and associated troops and facilities have been relocated to places such as Camp Humphreys in Pyeongtaek. The two sides have agreed to return 80 sites of the US military bases in 2002. So far, in March 2022, 69 out of 80 sites of USFK bases have been returned to the South Korean government. The US military did not announce the exact dimension and locations of USFK bases in South Korea due to military confidentiality. The USFK and MND announced relocation and returning the US bases as below:

The USFK base relocation project is a project that consolidates and rearranges the USFK bases scattered across the country into two hub bases in Pyeongtaek and Daegu to ensure a stable stationing environment for the USFK and the efficient use and balanced development of national land (MND, 2021:205).

Ostensibly, the dimension of USFK has been decreased for the country's efficient use and balanced development of national land. Further, the land return is part of a broad relocation plan to consolidate the US military bases into a garrison in Pyeongtaek, and another in Daegu. Dujarric et al. (2004) argued that the relocating and returning project of the US military bases is associated with the US military defence strategy for the world order.

In all senses, the US military is reducing stationed land; however, an increase in the defence cost-sharing was requested by the US and, by the same token, the US military stressed the deployment of new military equipment and facility. It is a contradictory affair.

2.3 CHALLENGE OF THE US MILITARY PRESENCE BASED ON THE THAAD SYSTEM

In the history of the US bases in South Korea, South Korea had challenges of the US military presence. For instance, during the return of bases to South Korea, the land contaminated by the US military facility is controversial in terms of whose responsibility it is to clean up the used land (Chae, 2010).

Furthermore, the US military bases perused to occupy the land where grassroots people live. In spite of arguments from the people, the Jeju Naval Base was established in *Gang Jung*⁷ at Jeju Island, located in the south-eastern part of Korea in February 2016. The South Korean government has decided on the naval base at Gang Jung in order, together with the US navy, to use the base. However, it emerged that the environmental problem destroyed the Gurumbi rocks in Gang Jung when establishing the naval base.

The study primarily examines the phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment, I chose to ignore the other crises such as sexual violence and other contamination by the US military bases. Also, the discussion regarding the existence and nonexistence of the US bases is beyond the scope of this study. This study focuses on problematised effects of the US military presence, the THAAD system, in South Korea.

2.3.1 What is the THAAD battery?

This section focuses on the US military THAAD system in South Korea. What is THAAD? The US military requested Lockheed (now Lockheed Martin) to develop THAAD in 1992. Lockheed Martin Missiles and Fire Control is a prime contractor in a bid to design and build an integrated THAAD system.

THAAD is the abbreviation for Terminal High Altitude Area Defence, a part of the Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system (1996). Since V-2,⁸ the first ballistic missile developed during the Second World War, ballistic missile threats have been increasing consistently due to science technology progress. The United States constructs and operates Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) systems to defend its country and allies (Park and Park, 2015).

Various interceptors will try intercept ballistic missiles detected by sensors at boost phase, midcourse phase, or terminal phase. Terminal High Altitude Area Defence is an intercept system that intercepts ballistic missile at high altitudes of the terminal phase. The South Korean government insisted that, in conjunction with the Patriot missile system,⁹ THAAD would

⁷ In 1991, the Jeju Provincial government designated the coastline surrounding Gang Jung Village an Absolute Conservation Area (ACA).

⁸ Vergeltungswaffe-2 from Germany.

⁹ Patriot anti-ballistic missile battery is one of the ballistic missile defence systems from the US. The Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC) intercepts missiles on the terminal phase within the lower tier, 30 km of the BMD architecture. PAC-2, PAC-3 and PAC-3 MSE have deployed to the US bases in South Korea.

formulate a multi-layered defensive shield for South Korean military forces, population centres, and critical targets (Klingner, 2015:28). This multi-layered defensive approach developed by Patriot with THAAD is deployed in a bid to increase the national security from the North, an argument of USFK and MND.

When it comes to the composition of THAAD, the structure of the system consists of five primary components: interceptor missiles, launch canisters, AN/TPY-2 phased array radar, a fire-control unit and support equipment – including power-generation and cooling units. Put simply, the radar detects an incoming threat, identifies a target, and engages. The interceptor is fired from the launcher, and kinetic energy destroys the incoming missile (see the image as below) (BBC, 2016).

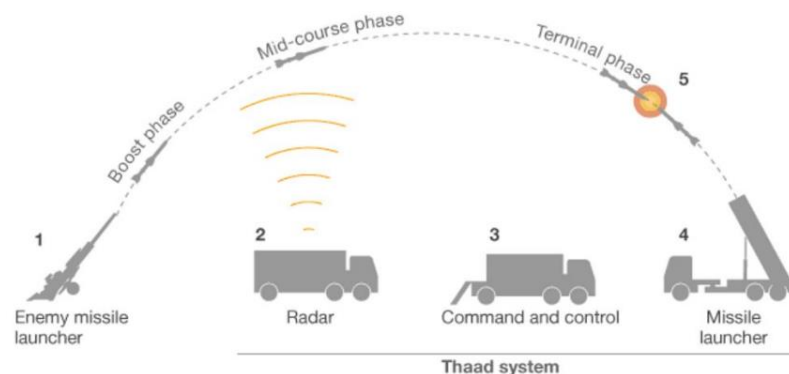


Figure 4: How the THAAD system works

THAAD missiles are 6.17 metres in length and have a single-stage, solid-fuel rocket motor with thrust. They have a range of 200 km and can reach up to 150 km in altitude; higher than any other missile defence system. On the other hand, the THAAD system uses the radar, AN/TPY-2 X-band, operated in Terminal Mode (TM) with a 1,000 km detection range and Forward-based Mode (FMB) detecting up to 4,600 km. One THAAD battery consists of six launchers, and each launcher belongs to eight interceptors (Go, 2017:23-5).

The US military has not fully deployed THAAD batteries other than in South Korea. Japan, Israel, and Turkey have deployed only AN/TPY-2 radars, except for missile launchers (Korda and Kristensen, 2019:296).

Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, (1996) *Ballistic Missile Defense Program Information Package*, Washington DC Affairs.

In terms of price of the THAAD system, a THAAD battery comprises about 2.5% of South Korea's defence budget for 2017. The US provides funding for the deployment and operation of a single THAAD battery system costing around US \$1.3 billion (1.49 trillion Won). Tensions briefly rose in April 2017, after President Trump had claimed that it was appropriate that South Korea should shoulder the costs. This was later retracted, with the US agreeing to cover the costs of deployment (ISDP, 2017:4).

In addition, from the case of the United Arab Emirates' payment, it was discovered that Lockheed Martin as a defence industry gets payments for the THAAD system.

The U.S. Defense Department has awarded a rich military contract to Lockheed Martin, agreeing to pay more than \$3.9 billion for a missile defense system. The deal calls for a maximum of 110 high-altitude interceptor missiles, some of which would go to the United Arab Emirates (Chappell, 2013).

Meanwhile, \$49 million has been allocated to the defined budget for the construction sector of the fiscal year 2021 to develop the site of Camp Carroll US military base. Camp Carroll manages the THAAD base.

Stated in another way, the US military THAAD system is defined as an Anti-ballistic missile (ABM) on terminal phase area, within 100 km. The purpose of this system is – to use the US statement – to protect the country from a ballistic missile attack.

2.3.2 The deployment of THAAD

Since 2014, the US has proposed the deployment of THAAD in South Korea. Based on the SOFA, the responsibility to provide the land and relevant facilities to host THAAD was held by South Korea and the US military would cover the cost for the THAAD base's construction. This section presents the process of the US military THAAD deployment in the Seongju County of South Korea, along with the report of the history of protest from Soseong village (Soseongri, 2019). Schematically, they can be represented as shown in Table 2.

Table 1: Timeline for anti-THAAD rally

2016	8 July	The ROK and the U.S. decide that THAAD is deployed by the US Forces Korea and announce this decision to the media.
	13 July	The joint working group proposes Seongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province as the site for the deployment of THAAD. The proposed site is approved by the ROK Minister of National Defence and the US Secretary of Defence and is officially announced.
	15 July	Hwang Kyoahn (former) prime minister visits Seongju and apologises for the site selection of THAAD in Seongju. The residents of Seongju and Hwang prime minister conflicted with each other in the rally.
	22 August	The Seongju County, prompted by the demand by county residents, submits an official request to the MND, asking a site other than the initially selected site to be considered for the installation of the THAAD system.
	29 September	Final decision is made to select Dalmasan Mountain in Seongju (Lotte Skyhill Seongju Country Club: golf course) as the site for the deployment of THAAD.
2017	18 March	First Soseong village pan-national peace action (protest).
	26 April	USFK unexpectedly moves THAAD launchers and equipment to the site. The regiments of Seingju and activists struggle to stop the import of THAAD facilities.
	12 August	The Ministry of National Defence attempted a small-scale environmental impact assessment on the site and around the area of THAAD. However, it is suspended due to the fact that anti-THAAD resistance group interrupts them.
	7 September	USFK is forced to deploy four launchers and its facilities. The physical conflicts with anti-THAAD movement starts, including residents of Seongju.
2018	12 April and 22 April	Based on the fact that the residents and anti-THAAD protesters interrupt a carrier with THAAD equipment for THAAD base construction, USFK cannot move it to the base.
	7 July	Eighth Soseong village pan-national peace action (protest)
	8 September	First anniversary of the additional installation of the US THAAD, Centralised rally in front of Blue House.

On the other hand, constructing the THAAD deployment in South Korea was presented as related to a schedule of the nuclear tests in North Korea by MND and USFK (MND, 2018). A description of the THAAD deployment's processing related to North Korea is summed up.

Shortly after North Korea's fourth nuclear test, the deployment of THAAD to South Korea has been discussed in earnest since January 2016. After North Korea conducted its fifth nuclear test at the Punggye-ri nuclear test site in September 2017, the Seongju Golf Course was confirmed as the final site. When North Korea launched a Hwasong-14 missile¹⁰ in July 2017, the South Korean government decided to temporarily deploy four THAAD launchers. On 7 September, four launchers were brought into Seongju base, and the Ministry of National Defence completed the import of all equipment from the THAAD base.

2.3.3 Response of China against the US military THAAD input

As far as their argument, the 2018 Defence White Paper (MND, 2018:366) provides admittedly THAAD for defending against North Korea missiles threats as below,

The Minister and the Secretary highlighted the Alliance decision to operationalize the Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) battery to protect ROK citizens and U.S. Forces Korea (USFK) from the increasing North Korean nuclear and ballistic missile threats. The two reaffirmed that the deployment is provisional pending completion of the related Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), consistent with ROK domestic law. The Minister and the Secretary emphasized the military effectiveness of THAAD and reaffirmed that the system is aimed solely at defending against North Korean missile threats and would not be directed toward any third-party nations.

Moreover, General Vincent K. Brooks of USFK emphasised that defensive measures were necessary to ensure the security of South Korea and to protect the Alliance military forces from North Korea's weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile threats (Col. Brian Howell, 2018:5). Despite this strong argument from the government, the anti-THAAD deployment groups focus on the residents' argument for taking off THAAD from Seongju. Their claim has been continuing since July 2016. The suspicion of damage to the human body by the radar of the THAAD system emerged from residents in Seongju (Suh, 2019:52).

Meanwhile, around this time, China strongly protested that the US Forces Korea deployed THAAD on the Korean Peninsula to look into its country. David Maxwell, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defence of Democracies, stated in response to China in an interview with VOA (Kim, 2020) that China felt that the THAAD radars were a threat because it could detect

¹⁰ Intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM): a missile with a range of 5,500 km, primarily designed for nuclear weapons delivery.

Chinese missile launches, due to that fact that the use of THAAD radar could be monitored across a greater distance over North Korea. Its range stretches into Chinese territory.

For that reason, the Chinese Foreign Minister insisted that

China strongly urges the United States and South Korea to stop the deployment process of the THAAD anti-missile system, not take any steps to complicate the regional situation and do nothing to harm China's strategic security interests.....the recent behaviour from South Korea has undermined the foundation for our bilateral relation (Lim, 2016).

By the same token, China took various retaliatory actions against South Korea. The first hit was Korean travel agencies. The Chinese authorities rejected all Korean-bound charter flights from China to Korea for January and February 2017, the peak travel season. Moreover, China asked for a boycott of Lotte Group's products, because the Lotte group had agreed to hand over a golf course it owned as the site for the THAAD system.

US-China economic and security review commission reported 'China's Response to US-South Korean Missile Defense System Deployment and its Implications' (Meick and Salidjanova, 2017). In that report's view, the Chinese authorities forced 74 of 99 Lotte Marts in China to shut down on various pretexts, including fire inspections. Over the past four months, the company's damages have been estimated to add up to US \$433 million. In Hankyoreh's estimate, major South Korean firms doing business in China also lost trillions of won in revenue just in the first half of the year. It was estimated that Hyundai Motors and Kia Motors lost around 5 trillion won (USD 4.3 billion) in revenue (Cho, 2017). Also, China launched a social and economic coercion campaign against South Korean businesses, with Chinese tourism to South Korea plummeting to new lows in 2017, costing the South Korean economy \$6.5 billion in lost revenue (Kim and Blanchard, 2017). As a consequence, the economic damage of the diplomatic conflict between South Korea and China resulted from the joint decision by South Korea and the US to install the THAAD in South Korea.

At the time of writing (2022), the deployment of the THAAD battery in Seongju consists of 6 launchers, including 48 interceptors, a single THAAD battery; two launchers deployed in April 2017 and four launchers added in September 2017, undermining the Chinese economic boycott for THAAD deployment. On the other hand, the South Korean defence ministry officially maintain that the deployment of a THAAD battery in Seongju County has been completed as

a battery in a ‘provisionary’ step in (ISDP, 2017). Meanwhile, the Seongju Soseongri villagers’ Association against THAAD is organising to perform continuous anti-THAAD rallies by blocking passages to THAAD and its facilities.

2.3.4 Reflection from the Korean Churches

This section delves into how South Korean Christianity responds to this issue of the US THAAD. Moreover, it briefly examines how the Protestant Church in South Korea and political hegemonies in the post-Cold War era have influenced one another in terms of US aspects of defence alliance.

2.3.4.1 Official statement from two different positions

The Christian Council of Korea (CCK) and the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK) released opposing statements in 2016 regarding the deployment of THAAD.

The deployment THAAD in the country needed for the Korean Peninsula’s stability and world peace and strengthening the ROK-US alliance against North Korea’s military threats ... it we should be united together in looking forward to effects of post-THAAD deployment more than giving concern from THAAD” (Lee, 2016).

Moreover, they emphasised that

This deployment of THAAD is a procedure to see complete dismantling of nuclear weapons in North Korea, and also independent national defence capability (Baek, 2016).

However, on the other hand, NCCCK demanded a reversal of the a decision to deploy THAAD in South Korea. According to the statement of the THAAD issue in NCCCK,

The deployment of the THAAD will threaten the stability in Northeast Asia as it triggers arms race and escalates military tension in the region ... therefore we demand that the US: 1. To make a sincere apology to South Korea and its people for surveying without prior consultation with the South Korean government. 2. To stop any attempt to deploy the THAAD in Korea. 3. To stop using the attack on Mr Mark Lippert, the US Ambassador as a pretext of the THAAD deployment (NCCCK, 2015).

2.3.4.2 Pro-Americanism and Anti-communism in the Korean Church

The South Korean Church experienced the military regime era under a dictatorship in the post-Korean War from 1964 to 1985. This dictatorship used a political ideology that was a pro-American and an anti-communism account of the ROK-US alliance to dominate the hegemony of domestic politics. Currently, there are pro-American, anti-communism Protestant Churches in South Korea, politicising the Korean Church. This pro-American anti-communism, which

is deeply embedded in Korean Protestant Churches, is a lens through which to view the Americanization of Korean churches.

This section briefly delves into divided political hegemonies in two influential Korean Protestant Churches and to advocate each. Western Churches have missionized Korean Protestant, English and American Churches. The first official Protestant missionaries came to Korea from North America in 1885 (Kim, 2008:129). Their theological and trade-building policies based on "fundamental conservative theology" were like a kind of "an obscurantist policy". They conclude that the division of mission sites is closely related to the division of the Korean Church. Lee interrogates Protestant mission activities from America associated with racism, imperialism and theological fundamentalism.

When developing the South Korean government after the war in the 1950s, the leaders were Christians in the Protestant Church; first President Rhee Syngman was an elder in the Church. That was why Christmas was a national holiday. The Protestant Church and America got a dominant status in South Korean politics and the social sphere. Furthermore, this dominant position weakened Buddhism and Confucianism, while Americanising and Christianising South Korea. Consequently, it was identified as Americanising with Christianising at that moment.

Many scholars of religion and theologians argue that anti-communism played an overwhelming role in Korean Protestant Churches. In accounts of hostility towards North Korean communism, the Korean Church intensified a fundamental conservatism during the Korean War. Not only were the two regimes divided along the 38th parallel, but two divided ideologies on North Korea also emerged. The conservatives in the Church in South Korea advocated a later view and drove people who were in favour of conversational opposition to pro-communism. The meaning of pro-communism was used following Kim Ilseong in South Korea. Those opposing ideologies are still present in South Korean churches and society. For example, those who were elders in the church and the elite hierarchy were addressed in the prayer gathering for the anniversary of the Korean War as below:

God chose the United States of America as an enterprise of God. Hence, America can lead and dominate the entire World order. It needs to help America, that is, South Korea emerging among East Asia. As the command of God, the ROK-US alliance should

develop into a spirituality alliance rather than a remaining political alliance (Kang, 2007:115).

The Cold War was between two opposition hegemonies that conflicted with North Korea's Juche and South Korea's Americanism, even on the Korean Peninsula. This Americanism embodied the fears of the Christian Church, prosperity, development, power, anti-communism and pro-Americanism. The Protestant Church in South Korea influenced those 'isms' of ideological hegemony and advocated it in a theological view with a dualistic perspective and the spirit of the crusade.

2.3.4.3 A dualistic thinking of the world and the Church schism

The South Korean Church has divided the domain of all beings into 'good' and 'evil' as a dualistic view of the world. They defined communism as evil, while capitalism and the America nation were good. There were no areas in between. The issue to split good and evil based on communism and Americanism was very much entangled with the Church schism. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Church has strongly driven a hostility against an enemy, communism, to unite congregations.

The emergence of a malicious position against communism of the South Korean Church and its ideological conflicts of the Cold War in the Church entangled with the Presbyterian Church, leading to a schism that formed the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches in Korea (GAPCK) and the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) in 1958. This church separation provoked the Presbyterian Church in South Korea to join the World Council of Churches (WCC). In emphasising anti-communism, the conservative GAPCK status opposed the ecumenical movement of the WCC and the NCKK based on pursuing a conversation and compromise to conflicts. The division of the Presbyterian Church in South Korea has influenced the present ideological landscape of the South Korean Protestant Church.

2.4 MILITARISATION OF THE US MILITARY THAAD DEPLOYMENT IN SOUTH KOREA

This section investigates the notion of how militarisation is employed in the research topic of the US military presence in the context of South Korea. It is significant to connect militarisation and the US military to understand the THAAD situation. I begin by defining militarisation, which is connected to militarism. This section clarifies three dimensions of militarism

underpinning militarisation and examines how these dimensions appear in the US military THAAD aspects. Moreover, this section offers the three sub-regimes of militarisation in order to investigate how the US military remains a militarisation system in South Korea. This interrogation will assist in undergirding an understanding that the US military alliance guides the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea in the name of national security. Lastly, it points out that contemporary militarisation is considered within the global phenomenon and system.

2.4.1 Defining the term ‘militarisation’

Previous sections presented a history of the US military presence based on a process of the Korean War related to the US military alliance. Additionally, it investigated that the US military THAAD battery was deployed in Seongju and the response to it from the US, China and the Korean Church. For this context regarding South Korea, this study poses that South Korea is a militarisation society, thereby affecting civilians and society by the division system and the US military alliance in the name of national security.

Defining the term ‘militarisation’ historically has been discussed, depending on different scholars’ arguments. The common factors of defining were discovered following the conceptualisation of the notion of militarisation is the process of militarism. The term ‘militarisation’ is defined as a phenomenon, process, and system/structures that ‘militarism’ socialise to the civilian including economy and socio-political life (Thee, 1977:296). Besides, it can refer to the results and effects of militarism permeating society physically and ideologically. The terms ‘militarism’ and ‘militarisation’ have also been used interchangeably. This study, however, distinguishes between the two terms. Here, I wish to define the concept of militarisation and how it is interrelated with militarism. I begin with a quotation from Sakamoto (1988) who argues that the term ‘militarisation’ is a newly formed concept that explores the impact of militarism as militaristic ideas on culture.

The dictionary defines militarisation as “The process of becoming ready for conflict or war is militarisation. Sometimes militarisation refers to making a civilian organisation resemble the armed forces with uniforms or weapons, for example” (Vocabulary, 2022). The term ‘militarisation’ indicates the phenomenon of being militarised in society and countries. It distinguishes institutions and organisations of military. The concept of militarisation appears to focus on a process of military influence to civilian spheres, including economy and socio-

political life (Thee, 1977:296). More remarkable interrelations between the concepts of militarisation and militarism were discussed at the CCIA/WCC workshop on the relationship between militarism and human rights' (CCIA and WCC, 1981) as below:

Militarisation should be understood as the process whereby military values, ideology, and patterns of behaviour achieve a dominating influence on the political, social, economic, and external affairs of the State; and as a consequence, the structural, ideological, and behavioural patterns of both the society and the government are "militarised". Militarism should be seen as one of the more perturbing results of this process.

Moreover, Alison Howell (2018) even describes militarisation as a new process by which the exception (war) encroaches on the norm (peace). He derives "martial politics" to refer to discussing militarisation; "attaching the word 'martial' to 'politic' aids in assessing the indivisibility of war and peace, military and civilian, and national and social security".

In sum, the process of militarisation is understood as a form of mobilisation for conflict and militarism as the attitudes of a society about military effectiveness. In other words, this section defines the notion of militarisation according to Albrecht's (1980:112) definition that the distinction between militarism and militarisation is that militarisation is a process and militarism is a perturbing result of it.

2.3.4.4 Defining the term 'militarism'

Firstly, it is necessary to discuss the term 'militarism'. The term 'militarism' was coined early in the *Memoirs* of Madame de Chastenay in 1816–1818. It refers to the defeated regime of that time, which has become Bonapartism. In a variety of ways, the word and concept of militarism have been used. Historically, the word has been used to convey developments paralleling the German imperial strength, the ascendancy of Japan as a world power, and some fascist variants of expansionist regimes (Thee, 1977:296).

Especially important is that general usages of 'militarism' have been a critical approach to the term 'militarism'. Having extended the concept of militarism in the liberal understanding of this study, I venture an elaboration by Alfred Vagts (1981). He explains 'militarism' as below:

Militarism has connoted domination of the military over the civilian, an undue preponderance of military demands and emphasis on military considerations, spirits, ideals, and scales of value (Vagts, 1981:12).

‘Militarism’ is defined as the military’s excessive control over civilians that predicated ideals and spirit. It is exposed in centring on military values and acts preparing for war. In other words, the people’s behaviour and attitude towards military ideology and values, which are a centralisation of military authority, are aspects of militarism. In this vein, Klare (1978:121) points out that military values dominate national culture, education, the media, religion, politics, and the economy can be defined as ‘militarism’. Likewise, militarism has been defined as a nation’s military apparatus’s tendency to control the citizen’s behaviour and lives for military goals to construe preparation for war, acquisition of weaponry and development of military industries.

The book of *Militarization and Demilitarization in Contemporary Japan* by Hook (2003) describes militarism in Maruyama Masao’s words (1954) as a condition where the political, economic, educational and cultural aspects of the people’s lives are subordinate to military considerations. Hook (2003:16) explains that “militarism is a problem of civil society’s subordination to the military, as manifest in the behaviour, attitude and ideology of the people”. Meanwhile, there is another perspective to ‘militarism’. Thee (1977:296) argues that it is not adequate for a deeper analysis of contemporary militarism in the Third World and developed countries. Exploring militarism in the Third World offered its symptoms as armaments, the growing role of the military in national and international affairs by his research. Thee also highlights that, historically, the military habitually supported the benefit of the ruling classes in order to acquire autonomous strength and a privileged socio-political position in the society of the Third World and developed countries. According to his study, it can be understood that to sustain conservative rule, militarism contributes to the resolution of existing conflicts with the use of force in developing countries. In relations between states, militarism tends to channel into expansionism, according to him.

As a consequence, the term ‘militarism’ is used here as an ideology to operate an excess military establishment in civilian affairs. Also, the critical study of this deleterious impact by the military has traditionally been carried out by employing the concept of ‘militarism’. The central point of research regarding militarism is a concern with the military’s excessive impact on society and the excessive faith of society in military solutions to societal problems. This study also follows the concept of ‘militarism’ as a critical approach to the excessive military influence in society’s economic, political system, and ideology. Moreover, this study

understands that the symptoms indicate various ways, depending on the context of the state: Third World, developing worlds, capitalist countries, etc.

Moreover, it becomes apparent in the discussion of militarisation that it is associated with militarism. Militarism is an ideology that reflects the level of militarization of a state towards the glorification of the military, armed forces, weapons and military power, including symbolic displays, religious underpinnings and the actual use of force, including warfare. Both concepts operate interrelatedly in order to remain the dominating power of the military; militarisation as a process underpins the notion of militarism. When it comes to military affairs at regional and global levels, this study defines the concept of militarisation as focusing on the process, phenomenon, and structures of militarism's socialisation into a civilian sphere, while the militarism notion is seen rather as highlighting convention, inclination, and ideology than process.

2.4.2 Militarisation and militarism in three dimensions

The notion of militarisation is developed behavioural, ideological and structural characterisations based on dimensions of militarism. To borrow Skjelsbaek's (1979:87-99) ironic phrase, militarism consists of three dimensions; behavioural militarism, militarism of the mind, and structural militarism.

Firstly, behavioural militarism is defined as using excessive violence. This dimension of militarism manifests in the direct aspects of violence by arms. When it comes to ambiguous and indistinguishable norms of judgement 'excess', Skejlsbaek argues that both actual and latent use of violence is excessive. The strategy of preventive use of arms based on the policy of brinkmanship and the strategy of deterrence is seen as behavioural militarism. In South Korea, militaristic behaviour, actual violence does not generally occur daily. However, military tension and confrontation predicated on the national division system between North Korea and South Korea, also, the US and China, have been institutionalised and are common practice in normal peacetime. Accounting for the THAAD battery deployment by the US military is identified as behavioural militarism. The enhanced South Korean and US military alliance has officialised and justified the pre-emptive strike on North Korea's military provocation, because the US military THAAD deployment is also argued as a form of pre-emptive strike. Therefore,

associated with preparation for a preventative strike in South Korea, installing the THAAD battery is indicated as behavioural militarism of the US military and South Korea.

A second dimension is 'militarism of the mind' that invokes violent tendencies in people's ideas and thoughts to inculcate the martial spirit. The mind consists of four elements: values, beliefs, concepts, and emotional characteristics. That mind evaluates the military and arms as a centred value in society and human life. The military needs these beliefs based on militaristic thinking and values to prepare overwhelming military forces and war. The militarism of the mind appears as a militaristic attitude showing off a physical military force to resolve societal problems. Also, militaristic thinking is a good evaluation. So that, military is symbolising as good and virtue.

In the context of South Korea, this dimension of militarism is exposed as anti-communist and pro-US military. In the consent group of the US military THAAD deployment, a strong conviction exists that North Korean and anti-THAAD groups are enemies. It is seen as a justification for militaristic attitude to be hostile pertaining to the attitude and ideology towards North Korea. This militarism of mind to anti-communism strongly appears in societal mood and political premises. Further, militaristic thinking is used to advocate national security linked with military affairs and military alliance is the most important value in political regimes. Hence, the THAAD battery is dealt with as a significant military strategy for security based on militaristic thinking. In this sense, the more militarized the understanding of what national security is (and what it is not), the more likely it will be that the conversation about national security – and international security – will be a largely masculinized affair.

Lastly, structural militarism contains features at national and international level in a structural dimension. The international element connotes a central and a military system, such as a military alliance between countries. The rate of arms transfer was increasing, following the ally system. Structural militarism faces a national plan, policy, and a part of the finance system in the nation. It can generate a dictatorship and hierarchal military leader in a domestic regime at a national level.

The South Korean and US alliance is the embodiment of structural militarism. In particular, the US military's THAAD deployment of arms transfer on an international level is denoted as structural militarism in providing institutional apparatus as the military alliance congruent with the US military. The viewpoint of Skjelsbaek (1979:97) highlights that the international level of structural militarism in terms of international community is bonded and organised according

to the logic of military alliances. The relationships between members of opposing alliances, conversely, are restrained and regulated.

In sum, these dimensions of militarism; behavioural, mind (attitude and ideological), and structural militarism consist of militarisation as a process in the context of South Korea. It helps to understand militarisation and militarism in the context of the THAAD deployment.

2.4.3 Militarisation system undergirds three sub-regimes

A militarisation process has and needs core elements and mechanisms to operate itself. Albrecht (1980:120-1) argues that a militarisation process consists of three other sub-regimes: the regime of technology, the regime of political administration, and the regime of personnel resources.

The regime of technology contributes a military-oriented, technological development in the arms race and development. This technological development is associated with developing the military science. Recently, military science is associated with the 4th Industrial Revolution that brings disruptive technologies to the defence system. The trends of the US military weapon system will develop into 1) a more precisely guided missile system, 2) hyper-sonic glide vehicles, 3) space weapons, 4) AI robots and autonomous weapons, and 5) electromagnetic and laser weapon systems (Kim, 2018). The military science and technologies for weapon systems are developing artificial intelligence, robotics, autonomy, electromagnetic and laser technologies, satellites neutralizing technologies, biology for human enhancement, and quantum computing. Further, the key viewpoint is the argument of the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). They argue that securing a predominantly technology for electromagnetic spectrum together with operating radar is a priority of military development of the US military strategy (Urban, 2015).

These trends of the weapon systems by means of military science and technologies promote and influence the establishment of military defence systems using radar in Korea. In the case of the THAAD battery, THAAD uses hit-to-kill technology. It uses X-band radar to sense targets, as seen from the previous investigation above. To increase the accuracy of interception, it needs higher technology of radars. Despite the aspects of reducing the site of the US military bases in South Korea, adding and installing new weapons as the THAAD system for using a

high technological X-band radar can appear as a technological regime supporting the militarisation process by the US military in South Korea.

A second sub-regime is that the establishment of political institutions as the political administration system serves to justify and execute militarisation. In this case, high centralisation and hierarchy lead to organisational structure, more than a participatory democratic system.

In South Korea, the Ministry of National Defence and the USFK involve a militarisation process underpinning the military alliance system as a political institution. Decisions made according to the rule of SOFA between governments has been legitimised, despite the irrational decision of South Korea. In case of the THAAD deployment, this highly institutional organisations excluded residents of the local, Seongju, into the decision-making process. The political system as sub-regimes appeared in the process of THAAD deployment.

Lastly, the regime of personnel resources embodies personal groups that support military affairs to attain preferential treatment in society. For instance, advantaged countries drive to give preferential treatment to military officers of allies to support advantaged countries' military activities in allies demanding arms transfer. As a global regime, militarisation has mobilised this personnel resources regime to justify, remain, re-produce and socialise itself.

In this view, for personnel resources to establish militarisation, South Korea consolidates and maintains the conscription system for male soldiers (almost all males serve in the military for 18–36 months depending on the military position). The conscription issues of existence are beyond the scope of the study. But, the point of view about the conscription system in South Korea is that this system operates quantitatively and qualitatively supporting militarisation as a system by using these personnel resources. Moreover, in the vein of the THAAD situation, USFK bonds with MND to compel deployment in Seongju County. During the process of decision-making of the THAAD deployment, it was that only dignitaries of government, the ministry of national defence, and regional public office leaders participated at the table. Despite it not being a sure benefit for the personnel resources through the THAAD deployment, Kim and Suh (2016) insist that in view of decision-making structures in the exclusive and hierarchical diplomacy and security policy, and the mandatory recruitment structure of military, the personnel resource sub-regime is being developed according to a militarisation system in South Korea.

Militarisation as a system appears as a phenomenon of global dimension in the Korean Peninsula, due to being related to the US military presence in South Korea and its purpose.

2.4.4 The US' militarisation as a global process in South Korea

The concept of militarisation permits the threat arising from the military to be treated as an international or transnational phenomenon, not limited to the boundaries of one state (Hook, 2003:19). Moreover, the militarisation process in the contemporary era, the post-Cold War era, refers to a global phenomenon, a process of global character (Mirković, 2015:5). Likewise, Øberg (1977) points out the problem of a military order in contemporary times, coined the New International Military Order (NIMO), to elaborate military order together with three dimensions, globalisation, trans-nationalisation and socio-militarism.

A militarisation phenomenon in South Korea is implicated with a contemporary world system. One of the world systems, military alliances with states, has played an important role in militarisation on a global level. However, this sense of global dimension with alliance partners is seen as using military considerations to dominate interstate relations. Underlying an asymmetrical alliance system, the US demanded THAAD deployment in the name of security without reserve to South Korea as a partner. Put simply, the US military THAAD system installation in South Korea implicated with this alliance system underpinning 'defence' bureaucracies around the world revealed global militarisation characteristics. The international military alliance system is a key factor in the promotion of militarisation as global phenomenon. Like the first sense above, as a global system, the arms race, linked with military industries, is a feature of global militarisation. The majority of weapons sales are part of global alliances between the US and South Korea.

Lasswell (1962) elaborates that during the Cold Nuclear War, the United States' 'specialists on violence' developed a threat system centring on the continuing production of nuclear weapons, with militarisation processes exerting the most salient impact on the social and economic structures of US society. The concrete manifestation of this impact was the growth of the 'military-industrial complex', which continues to influence the post-Cold War world. Militarisation as global system is promoted with globalisation into international economics in terms of armament and disarmament, arms race and military trade, global threat of armed

conflicts. It has a bearing on the military-industrial complex (Staples, 2000), namely cooperation with military and economic order are key factors in the promotion of militarisation.

Lastly, during the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union were involved in the global nuclear threat system. The world order has been re-organising militarisation as a system of US and China by the post-Cold War. At the end of the Second World War, the US developed the US hegemony in national security for the world order by establishing its garrison on the Korean Peninsula. Mirković (2015) argues that the principal force driving global militarisation is the ideological conflict between the Soviet Union, its socialist allies, and the US, in alliance with the industrial democracies. Global militarisation namely refers to hegemonies' power conflicts and its intervention.

In this vein, in contemporary times, global militarisation is still visible in the conflicts of hegemonies and the intervention by the hegemonies on the Korean Peninsula. For instance, the US military hegemony plays a role in the intensification of militarisation by promoting the anti-communist attitude in effecting political decisions in South Korea. The aspect of an anti-communist attitude, 'communist phobia', determines and formulates the establishment of the US military bases and weapons in South Korea. In the process of the THAAD installation, this interventionist power of the US military was presented in political, cultural and regional spheres:

Militarisation for global geopolitical hegemony has produced the divided matrix of the Korean Peninsula, which is interconnected with China, Russia, Japan and the US. The divided Korean people are enveloped in the vortex of militarisation amongst the four big powers (Kim, 2021:140).

Therefore, contemporary militarisation denotes a global phenomenon, and its structure implicates the world system and order. It is an important view of militarisation. Without understanding hegemonic conflicts between the US and China insisting on contemporary world order for security and defence through their military bases and strategy, any dimensions of militarisation are untenable.

Thus, the phenomenon of the US military deployment of the THAAD system in South Korea is defined as militarisation in a global dimension. In this sense, this perception adopts the

concept of empire to the militarisation process in order to illuminate features of the US military hegemonic power.

2.5 MILITARISATION OF THE US MILITARY EMPIRE IN SOUTH KOREA

Plaatjies van Huffel (2011) presents an absorbing account of how ‘empire’ manifests itself both as an empirical reality and in its ideological claims. Understanding the concept of empire is presented first, as well as how empire appears in performing in militarisation processes in South Korea as empirical reality will be dealt with. This ecumenical approach to the concept of ‘empire’ leads Christian theology to respond critically to a phenomenon of militarisation. Further, in order to overcome the empire's effects on global militarisation, I illuminate a theological discussion on the empire's problem with militarisation. In a bid to discuss the concept of empire, this section relies on scholars Negri and Hardt (2000), and Catherine Lutz (2004; 2006; 2009). This section also refers to theological approaches by the CWM (2010), Fernando (2020; 2021) and Plaatjies van Huffel (2011).

2.5.1 Empire as a new imperial form of sovereignty

First, what does the term ‘empire’ mean? Hardt and Negri (2000), in their book *Empire*, assert that the sovereignty of nation-states, which was the cornerstone of the ‘imperialisms’ of European powers constructed throughout the modern era has progressively declined. The globalisation of capitalist production and exchange has become more autonomous from political control, so that affected political sovereignty has declined. However, it did not mean that sovereignty as such has declined. The relation between the sovereignty of nation-states and capital in the globalisation world has become deconstructed. They assumed sovereignty had taken on a new form, namely a new global form of sovereignty called ‘empire’. They state that “sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic or rule” (Hardt and Negri, 2000:xii). It defines ‘empire’ as a new imperial form of a sovereign in the modern form of world order.

In addition, empire as a new imperial sovereignty in contemporary times has no limitation on territorial boundaries during its reign. It is an existing reality, an order that effectively suspends history and seeks to rule directly over human nature for social life in its entirety. The meaning of empire is different from ‘imperial’, which is an extension of the sovereignty of nation-states beyond their boundaries. Furthermore, according to their argument, using ‘empire’ is not a

metaphor. To identify resemblances between the world order today and the empires of Rome, China and American is required as a concept, which is a theoretical approach.

Hence, the concept of empire has a characterisation of a lack of boundaries; empire rule has no limits. The concept of empire posits a regime that encompasses the spatial totality effectively or rules over the entire civilised world. There is the concept that an empire has no territorial boundaries limiting its reign. Secondly, the concept of empire is not as a historical regime in conquest, but rather as an order that suspends history to fix some existing state of affairs for eternity. In the third sense, the rule of the empire operates on the social order extending down to the depths of the social world. It is not only a territory and a population, but also to rule over human nature. The object of the rule is social life in its entirety (Hardt and Negri, 2000:15).

Thereby, consequently, this study understands that the notion of empire has to be defined together with 'sovereignty'. 'Empire' is identified as a particular nation/group/ person/class to dominate 'sovereignty', and a spirit/attitude, leading to the subjugation of others, consequently infringing on their sovereignty. Being oppressed is attributed by the "empire: subject and subjects' spirit to possess sovereignty". This domination of sovereignty by empire appears to be a visible phenomenon in reality and spirituality.

2.5.2 What is the empire regarding the militarisation process in South Korea?

I attempt to invoke this concept of empire to the phenomenon of militarisation in the US military presence in South Korea. In the study above, the US military hegemonic power has been uncovered in the process of militarisation at a global level in South Korea. In terms of sovereignty on the issue of the THAAD deployment, US military hegemony plays the role of a sovereignty on national security against communist countries: North Korea and China on the Korean Peninsula. The US hegemonic power, through the process of THAAD deployment, is described as empire, which have been non-occupied territories.

This study, hence, assumes the US military's hegemonic power control in South Korea is understood as the 'empire'. According to Lutz (2006; 2009), this argument is distinctly identified. She provides the aptness of the term 'empire' to describe the US military bases in the world and their power in the global relationship as a militarisation phenomenon. She strongly argues that the US is an empire and it is necessary to focus on military institutions

from the US imperial projects in terms of establishing 800 US military bases around the world (Lutz, 2006:593).

Focusing on ‘empire’ in the study of the militarisation process is notable in the light of understanding how the US military as an empire uses sovereignty as a dominating and subordinating power through the militarisation process. Thus, for the empire-centred view, this study highlights that the empire consists of three means to control sovereignty: bomb (monarchic), money (aristocratic), and ether (democratic) (Negri and Hardt, 2000:345-8). These three attributes reveal that the US military as an empire has dominion over the procedure of militarisation in South Korea.

First of all, when it comes to controlling with a bomb (monarchic), it can appear as a war of control (kind of wartime operating control) and arms transfer by the establishment of the US military in the militarisation process. The empire's means of domination denotes the US military use and control of weapons that are absolute violence in the name of defence in the context of South Korea. I argue that this aspect of controlling military weapons to have ‘sovereignty’ is a feature of the empire. In short, this study of the phenomenon of militarisation in the phenomenon of THAAD deployment in South Korea has reiterated the notion of empire. Thus, the US hegemonic power in the military alliance is invoked as imperial sovereignty – empire.

Moreover, military spending, the arms race, and defence budgets at the global and national level link with the military industry on militarisation as a global system, as studied above. This empire's means of money in the globalisation of militarisation can be focused on MIC. This study only points out the relevance of the global economic system and MIC, it is not an economical study. It namely highlights empires using military industry in the process of militarisation in order to remain hegemonic power towards military order, which is centred in the US. Lastly, ether is a means of imperial control that is a fundamental medium. Empire uses the democratic system to dominate sovereignty. Likewise, the militarisation process employs institutional tools such as the national alliance. This ether as an imperial means is justified based on the political system and law in a state.

Additionally, Chenoy's (2004:31) accounts for a basic value of militarism is based on power over the other by use of force. This principle bears resemblance to 'empire' in the light of using power to oppress the other.

On the other hand, Lutz (2006:594) argues that there is need to analyse empires from the perspectives of feminists. From a feminist perspective, the patriarchal priority in the concept of empire is highlighted. She problematises white male domination in the field of empire studies. According to her claim, efforts to prioritise connections of patriarchy and white supremacy with the projects of empire have been stymied by white male domination. In addition, obviously, Plaatjies van Huffel (2011) also claims that patriarchy is another way of exhibiting the traits of an empire:

Patriarchy refers to structures and ideologies which engender the domination and exploitation of the weak and the powerless amongst us. Therefore, patriarchy can rightly be described as empire, a spirit of lordless domination, created by humankind
Plaatjies van Huffel (2011:2)

Thus, this study follows the feminist argument that it is important to deal with patriarchy as an empire in militarisation processes.

2.5.3 How to go beyond the empire?

The concept of empire has been convincingly expounded by a theological perspective in terms of resistance against empires. Míguez, Rieger and Sung (2009) denote the concept of empire in a way of thinking, doing, and values, rather than approaching in a perspective of political and economic ways to characterise it as empire. They call it 'the spirit of empire' to denote a new imperial form of sovereignty.

Empire is a particular formation of government and power and, given its pretence to be global, generates a 'collective spirit', an anthropological construction, that allows and approves of certain behaviours, reactions, feelings, and attitudes of the social and political actors, that shapes a certain logic and way of conceiving life, and that imposes and translates itself into values and a hegemonic Weltanschauung (Míguez et al., 2009:I).

Analogously, theological discussions on the empire begin from the ACCRA confession. The WARC (2005) emphatically names the Empire; the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led by powerful nations to protect and defend their interests. Associated with the Bible, the confession understands that:

The Bible is full of stories of empire rising, over-extending, and falling. Empire today crosses all boundaries, strips and reconstructs identities, subverts culture, subordinates nation states, and marginalizes or co-opts religious communities (WARC, 2004:6).

The point is: the confession is predicated on the perception that God is sovereign over all creation on the earth and the fullness thereof is the Lord's, according to Psalm 24:1.

Moreover, of particular importance in militarisation is the insistence that rejection of any claim and acts of an economic, political and military empire that subverts God's sovereignty over life and acts contrary to God's just rule (WCRC, 2004:4).

Similarly, the CWM (2010), in its theological statement, defines the concept of empire thus "the elements of Empire today are vested with those who wield political, cultural, military and corporate power". The CWM also emphasises the need for and importance of knowing who/what the empire is in our midst and how it manifests (CWM, 2010). The CWM maintains that "we are living under Empire and beyond Empire". In connecting with church mission, being missional congregations in the context of empire is called churches and the CWM's mission work is to share the Good News of Jesus (CWM, 2010:4).

Particularly rewarding are the published book projects on 'empire and militarisation', *Faith in the face of Militarisation: Indigenous, Feminist and Interreligious Voice* (Fernando, 2021) and *Resistance to empire and militarization: reclaiming the sacred* (Fernando, 2020) by the CWM (Council for World Mission). Indeed, the books deserve full attention for diverse perceptions and experiences of militarisation and empire. This theological approach to empire draws on the way of overcoming the situation of empire in a contemporary world context. This point is notable to guide an analysis of people's movement for anti-THAAD in terms of reflection on theology.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to contribute to addressing the objective of the research: to explore the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea. The chapter was organised as follows. Firstly, the chapter clarified the historical background of the US bases in South Korea associated with the national division of the Korean Peninsula. The history of the US garrison in the Korean Peninsula is unavoidably associated with the Cold War. The following section dealt with the US military presence in focusing on challenges of the THAAD deployment that occurred during conflicts in the global hegemonies and also the Korean

Churches. The South Korean Church's context has been challenged in spirituality and faith by anti-Americanism and anti-communism caused by the Cold War hegemonies in responding to the THAAD deployment. This THAAD phenomenon indicates the excessive installation of the US military facility. I have drawn the notion of militarisation that justified all processes and systems of military excess over civilians in order to understand the US military THAAD deployment phenomenon in this study. The US military THAAD deployment constitutes a process of militarisation by the US military. The US military led to the power hegemonic of world order understands grasping sovereignty of military empire in militarisation phenomenon in the world. In the last section, the militarisation of the US military in South Korea was discussed on the concept of empire. The military empire promoted the US military controlling the THAAD deployment. This section also provided a theological approach to 'empire' and guided this study to point out a militarisation based on the US military empire. Therefore, this study assumes that the US military as a military empire in the militarisation process affects the society in South Korea. Based on this understanding, this study interrogates that the militarisation of the US military empire heavily impacts on women and nature, through the phenomenon of the THAAD deployment. The next chapter explores an eco-feminist theory as the theoretical framework used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, this study interrogated discourses of militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. It focused on the THAAD deployment by the US military in South Korea. This study assumed that the US THAAD deployment is a militarisation phenomenon, and a military empire promoting sovereignty to install the defence system, THAAD, in the name of national security. The chapter went further to problematise the deployment of THAAD, particularly how it affects women and the environment.

This chapter provides the lens to analyse this militarisation phenomenon following the research questions in this study. It discusses the theoretical framework used for the study, namely the eco-feminist theories located within the transformative paradigm. This study utilises eco-feminist theories as a theoretical framework to critique the phenomenon of militarisation aspects in the context of South Korea.

First of all, this chapter defines the theoretical framework in qualitative research, preceded in that definition by the definition of the eco-feminist theories that underpin the theoretical framework. In this study, eco-feminism is defined as a lens through which history emerges and finds a gap between ecology and feminism. It is important to reveal a certificated eco-feminism framework for this study to analyse the militarisation phenomenon.

The key proponents of this theory include Warren (1993; 1997), McFague (1987), Bookchin (1982; 1995) and (Ruether, 1992). These scholars argue that the eco-feminist theory emerged in the link between women and the environmental struggle against all forms of domination, including patriarchy and dualism. This theory is committed to interrogating the hierarchical context and uncovering the subordination of women and nature by hierarchical systems and thoughts.

This study has used the eco-feminist theory because of the following reasons: this study discovered the limitations of the ecological or feminist unilateral approach to militarisation in South Korea. This biased perspective overlooks both struggling women and environmental degradation.

The eco-feminist theory is more befitting because it focuses on the link between the domination of women and nature and points out that the same root of the oppression of women and the destruction of the environment is patriarchy based on dualism. Moreover, this chapter provides that the Christian faith of triumphalism has had an influence of downplaying women and overlooking nature. This analysis needs to see that South Korean Christianity is Westernised faith when it comes to responding to the US military activities.

This study is based on Asian women's perspective of eco-feminist theologies, which address the specific situation of women and the environment in Asian experiences. The key proponents of this theory include Shiva and Mies (1993), Gnanadason (2017) and Chung (1994; 2013). Regarding these specific issues of domination over Asian women and nature, Asian eco-feminists highlight the patriarchal oppression from the first world of male elites in critiquing colonialism and economic developmentalism, combined with environmental degradation in the Third World. They point out developmental ideology from the Global North and theologise the women's resistance against the environmental crisis, the Chipko movement. This mechanism of finding out the development ideology as a key challenge from Asian women's perspective is promoted in this study. Using this mechanism from an Asian eco-feminist perspective in this study is of paramount importance to distinguish military activities based on a security ideology on the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea.

Moreover, this chapter presents an eco-feminist theory from the Global South, including Asian and African eco-feminist theology, tending to seek knowledge regarding nature linked with humans in perspectives of indigenous thoughts and the traditional ways of life to overcome the crisis of environmental degradation and the oppression and exploitation of women (Rakoczy, 2012; Siwila, 2021). These perspectives from the Global South help to suggest an alternative vision of a more harmonious and de-militarised future society.

3.2 USING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

According to Anfara and Mertz (2014b:40-1), a theoretical framework influences the organisation and focus of a study. This study uses the eco-feminist theory as a theoretical framework to analyse the phenomenon of militarisation by the empire in the context of South Korea.

The term ‘theory’ has been defined in a variety of ways by philosophers and scholars in the academic disciplines. Kerlinger (1986) describes theory as a set of interrelated constructs, definitions and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables to explain and predict a phenomenon. It aims to clarify and reveal aspects of how the world works. The theory provides a map of why the world is the way it is (Anfara and Mertz, 2014a). Hence, a theory is a systematic description of the concept, constructs and relationships of specific processes and phenomena in a given discipline (Bezuidenhout, 2014). Moreover, a theory is useful in the development of scientific knowledge in qualitative research. McMillan and Schumacher (2001) elaborate that a theory can provide a simple explanation of the observed relations relevant to a phenomenon, is able to consist of an already established knowledge and the observed associations. Their guidance offers roles of theory to assist tentative explanation and to drive for verification and revision. A theory, additionally, stimulates further research in areas needs investigation.

As mentioned before in this chapter, to investigate this phenomenon needs a theoretical frame for specific understanding and seeing a phenomenon. In the same way, Crotty (1998) describes ‘theoretical perspective’ as the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria. Bezuidenhout (2014:55) describes a theoretical framework as “a framed snapshot of a particular topic that we select and describe in terms of specific and related theories”. In other words, the theoretical framework is a lens for a specific collection of thoughts and theories that relate to aspects. This theoretical framework provides direction to validate and categorise, a phenomenon in this study (Anfara and Mertz, 2014a).

Therefore, it can be understood that a theoretical framework provides a prevailing worldview or lens to relate the hypothesis of the study to a field of this inquiry. Thus, this theoretical framework is important in developing the key components of the study, including the problem, purpose, significance, and research questions. In line with the understanding of the theoretical framework, Grant and Osanloo (2014) contend that the relationship between research questions

and theoretical framework is complementary in a dissertation, because the theoretical framework connects existing knowledge and the research problem (Grant and Osanloo, 2014:18).

Hence, this study utilises an eco-feminist theory as a theoretical framework. This theory pays attention to analyse critically the impact that militarisation and empire have on women and nature in South Korea. This analysis is related to the key research question of how eco-feminist theology can address the issues of militarisation and empire to reflect it as a theoretical framework. This theoretical framework, therefore, operates to investigate and resolve the key research question.

3.3 DEFINITIONS OF ECOLOGY, FEMINISM AND ECO-FEMINISM

In constructing a theoretical framework, this study relies on the principles of eco-feminism from a union of two concerns: ecology and feminism. Eco-feminists Ruether (1997:33) and Rae (1994:23) argue that eco-feminism emerged as a combination of ecology and feminism, namely to represent a union of two concerns. Thus, to understand the principle of ecology and feminism it is important to realise values of eco-feminist theories in discussing ecology and feminism.

3.3.1 Ecological perspectives on militarisation

The word ‘ecology’ is derived from the Greek *oikos*, meaning ‘household’, ‘home’ or ‘place to live’ and *logos*, meaning ‘study’(Rasmussen, 2009:118). The word ‘ecology’ emerged from the biological science of natural environmental systems. The concept of ecology is of recent origin, having first been proposed by Ernst Haeckel, a German biologist, in 1869. He defined ecology as “the study of the natural environment, including the relations of organisms to one another and their surroundings” (Odum and Odum, 1959:2). Scientifically, ecology focuses on how organisms interact with one another and with their non-living environment of matter and energy. Scientists classify matter into levels of organisation, ranging from atoms to galaxies (Miller and Spoolman, 2012:7).

Ecology was viewed largely as a subdiscipline of biology before the 1970s. In the 1960s, the environmental crisis surged, and ecology and eco-feminism were established-simultaneously. Then, in the 1980s and 1990s, environmental issues were pushed to the political background

by concerns for human relations problems such as crime, the Cold War, government budgets and welfare. Ecology, therefore, is an integrative discipline that links physical and biological processes and forms a bridge between the natural and the social sciences (Miller and Spoolman, 2012:58). Bookchin (1995) coined the term, 'social ecology' in 1964. The ecological institution of Bookchin held eco-feminism lectures by Ynestra King (1995). This is historically the emergence of ecology and eco-feminism. After the emergence of the ecology, it was applied to the issues of environmental pollutions.

Arne Naess (1973) coined the term 'deep ecology' in 1972. The author argues critically that environmental concerns are rooted only in a concern for humans. Many deep ecologists believe humans have degraded the biosphere, breaking down its life-sustaining systems. They posit this situation to anthropocentrism (human-centredness), which values nature exclusively in terms of its usefulness to humans. Anthropocentrism is viewed as grounded in Western religion and philosophy, which many deep ecologists believe must be rejected if humans are to learn to live sustainably on the Earth. Thus, deep ecology is constituted by multiple perspectives or 'ecosophies' (ecological philosophies) and is compatible with a wide range of religious perspectives and philosophical orientations (Naess and Rothenberg, 1990:35-40).

According to Devall and Sessions (1985:69), basic principles of deep ecology maintain that humans are part of nature, and human and non-human life alike has inherent value. There are no existential differences between humans and nature, and everything is interrelated. They also posit that humans need to change the ideology of anthropocentrism (human-centredness) in order to pursue the inherent value in the environment, rather than preferring the material living standard. In this vein, Taylor (2005:456) argues that a deep ecologist perspective is called 'biocentric egalitarianism'.

This deep ecology contributes to this study to discover that anthropocentrism influences militarisation processes to destroy natural resources in South Korea. Majeed (2004:2) argues that the world overlooks and wilfully ignores the military activities that contribute to environmental crises in wartime and peace-time military operations and ensuring national security. According to deep ecologists, the root of exploiting natural resources by the militarisation process can be pointed to human-centeredness. Humans as part of nature can be a guiding principle towards protecting nature from the phenomena of militarisation.

The research, *The relevance of deep ecology to the Third World; some preliminary comments* by Johns (1990) criticises deep ecology's analysis of militarisation from outside the Western industrial world. This research concludes that "all human-centred value systems fall prey to the easy rationalisation of militarism". Meanwhile, in terms of the West, Johns asks, "Who are the humans in human-centred thinking who victimise natural resources?" Pointing out the human-centred value of deep ecologists does not consider 'humans' in a hierarchical system in the context of the empire world. Further, he posits that militarisation is inseparable from a social system based on hierarchy: class, gender, and race (Johns, 1990). The study of militarisation and militarism should consider its phenomenon's relevance to hierarchical systems and include views from out of Western society.

Social ecologists zoomed in on the hierarchy system that affects environmental degradation. Bookchin (1982; 1995) points out that deep ecology and its activists ignore societal system factors in environmental problems that occur in mysticism and misanthropy. Fundamentally, dominated natural resources emerged from the domination of human by human, the hierarchal human society (Bookchin, 1982:62-4). Moreover, Bookchin emphasises the rationality of humans as a feature which distinguishes humans from non-human entities of difference from nature. Human and non-human nature is divided according to existing rationality. The subject's rationality has the capacity to alter nature as a good product. The ecological vision is thus to overcome the hierarchical class society's impact on nature in the social ecologist's view. This perspective suggests that the ethics of complementarity, which consists of individual inwardness, unification from variety, and non-hierarchy value alter exploiting environment (Bookchin, 1982:366).

Besides, Plumwood (1993b) contends that the social ecologist's views still remain on the anthropocentric and the rationalistic side of traditional Western philosophy. In addition, when it comes to the Third-World colonisation by the West, social ecology is not able to observe. In this light, the cause of environmental degradation also needs a structural approach, not only simply changing the world view as an anthropocentrism to environmental crisis. These ecological perspectives, simply put, express that anthropocentrism and hierarchy influence environmental degradation. However, deep ecology does not discuss how women are affected by the destruction of the environment.

3.3.2 Feminist perspectives on militarisation

The word 'feminism' from the Latin *femina* emerged with Charles Fourier, a French philosopher, in 1837. Modern feminism begins with Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 in the book, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. In the 19th century, feminist movements began to demand women's rights, whilst fighting against the discrimination. In the 1960s, modern feminism emerged as part of a countercultural movement alongside the civil rights movement in the US. The early stages of the feminist movement were constructed concretely by political ideologies: Marxism, radicalism, and liberalism. Accordingly, feminism has distinguished many political stems, i.e. liberal, radical, social and socialist (Jaggar, 1983:8).

Charlene Spretnak (1990) states that feminist views influence the approach to the environmental crisis. She elaborates on its ways of access with three passages. In the 1960s, the Marxist feminists pointed out that classical dominance ignores women and nature as the governed class. They focused on capitalism and the patriarchal system as the causes of environmental degradation and the domination of women. Secondly, she posits that the radical feminists started archaeological discoveries of the ancient Goddess. Those radical discourses of feminists embodied eco-feminists to celebrate nature as a mother and goodness as a source of inspiration and empowerment in the 1970s. This eco-feminism carried over into nature-based religion, which admires the feminine, that of the Goddess. In addition, a stem of eco-feminism emerged from environmentalism. That path of eco-feminism was invoked by women who engaged in environmental movements and politics and confronted the direction of male bias in Spretnak's description (1990:30-2).

Ecological feminism has roots in the wide variety of feminisms. From the onset, feminists generally(fundamentally) focused on patriarchal power, which is the underpinning of the oppression and abuse of women in society and culture. Feminism has vigorously criticized all institutions that exploit women, stereotype them, and keep them in inferior positions (Fiorenza, 1975).

In other words, emerging feminist discourses have been established differently in political, social, religious, cultural, and historical backgrounds, depending on women's struggles in a diverse reality. Oduyoye (1993:109) also elaborates that feminism has been a contextualisation in a dynamic context of oppressed women's voice. Thus, feminist theories have been arising

under different circumstances in the world, depending on women's crises with patriarchal views. Spivak (2015:86) defines patriarchy as "a system of societal organization in which men hold most or all positions of power, and use this to further the interests of men, usually at the expense of women". This patriarchy imposes the division of male and female roles on society, and deems masculinity as synonymous with strength, aggression and superiority, while femininity is synonymous with passivity and inferiority. Enloe (2004:4) posits that "patriarchy is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of masculinity. All kinds of social systems and institutions can become patriarchal". This perspective of feminism based on patriarchism is exposed by an eco-feminist perception of the environmental crisis (Mies, 1998; Ruether, 1992). Hence, eco-feminist theories are concerned with the hierarchical structure implied in patriarchal values and systems.

This section illuminates feminist perspectives on militarisation, this serves the purpose of addressing the research question of how militarisation influences women in the context of South Korea. It is aimed to illuminate feminist views germane to South Korea's context. I discovered that feminist studies have emerged focusing on topics: the comfort women of Japanese soldiers (Chung, 2000), the US military camp town's sexual violence (Moon, 1997; Kim and Kim, 2013), and the militaristic culture of conscription (Kwon, 2000; Kwon et al., 2007).

With a specific focus on the US military presence, which is the thrust of this study, this chapter examines a focus on the studies on issues of the US military and sexual violence in South Korea. The question of the US military bases in Korean society has been discussed since 1945. The issues surrounding the question have included sovereignty, environmental contamination, the unequal nature of SOFA, the sex industry, and offspring between soldiers and Korean women. From the 1960s to the 1980s, a sexual industry comprising local women's prostitution has developed, serving the US soldiers in the Camp Town of the US Military bases (Cho, 2008). Pertaining to the US military base camp and sexual violence against Korean local women, it is noticeable that the Camp Town women participate more directly in knowledge production regarding oral life history, testimony, and autobiography. The increase of studies on the geopolitical aspect of Camp Towns is another noticeable development (Kwon, 2000).

With respect to this issue, Katharine Moon's (1997) investigation uncovered problems of the military alliance between the US and South Korea focusing on women's violence. In her book,

Sex among allies: Military prostitution in US/Korea relations, she highlights that local Korean women were used for the institutionalised military as sex labourers, in which sex work becomes a vital tool in preserving the strategic relationship between South Korea and the US, focusing on policy and power conflicts. This perspective that militarisation by the US military treats women and the sex industry as a tool to enhance the militaristic spirit and exposes the aspect of using an institutional system with the alliance will be supported by the data analysis of this study.

Moreover, Kim's (2002a) feminist perspective analyses the militarism and gender in South Korea based on Confucianism, anti-communism, and economic developmentalism. This study is significant because it will assist to seek a wellspring of militarised thoughts and attitudes in the US military THAAD deployment as a militarisation process, particularly in the light of anti-communism and patriarchal culture connected to patriotism under Confucianism. Further, when it comes to patriotism from a feminist perspective, Enloe (1993:12) analyses that for national defence, the idea of patriotic motherhood identifies good mothers as those willing to sacrifice sons.

According to the study by Choi (2013), the Korean feminist theology has developed in response to not only the patriarchal culture but also to the structure of imperial invasion, military regime, and domination by the South-North division. In other words, Korean Minjung women have been suffering the most from the effects of foreign power's rule and division. Hence, the Korean feminist theology has been seeking out a life-saving 'interpretation of life' in the way of the 'confluence of two stories', understanding the reality of Korean women's life and the Bible as a context. Therefore, seeking 'life-giving' in the Bible from the Korean feminist theology helps this study in terms of the interpretation of the context of South Korea and biblical response in 'life-centred' theology.

Cynthia Enloe's (1988; 1993; 2000) are landmark academic contributions on militarism and feminist theories. She problematises women's roles as military wives, military nurses, and prostitutes that demonstrate a traditional gendered role in supporting the masculine military. According to her argument, women support the military in both formal military institutions and individuals are significant in maintaining the masculine image and practices available in military forces. Further, her point of view is that militaristic culture and thoughts, as well as military value are prevalent in society, religions, and politics.

Enloe (2000:226-227) also pays attention to the process of militarisation rather than focusing narrowly on the ideology of militarism in her ground-breaking work on gender and international relations in terms of national security. Regarding perspectives of national security, she argues that unless masculinised international relationship could be overcome, the world could not be demilitarised. Tickner (1992; 2001) argues that militarised masculinities is central to the perpetuation of violence in international relations. For instance, in post-Soviet Russia, they held on to the Soviet notion of militarised masculinity by maintaining a policy of male conscription.

This notion of militarised masculinity identifies military service as central to men's socialisation, citizenship, and patriotic duty. Militarised masculinity demonstrates itself in multiple and diverse forms both within and beyond the military. Men and women can be militarised masculinity due to the fact that the links between militarism and humans are socially made, rather than biologically given (Eichler, 2014).

Therefore, the feminist approach to military aspects in society provides a perspective that militarism adheres to sexism. A dualistic perception and social system underpins 'militarism' to support and justify sexism, racism, and the extension of empire. Militarism spawns from patriarchy's characterisation of male and female gender roles: in the patriarchal system, masculine character power deems superior dominance, while feminine characters are inferior. The root of militarism is this patriarchy. Mies et al. (1998:58-60) also found out that the root of the hierarchical patriarchy system supports militarism from "the myth of Man-the-Hunter" in prehistorical times. She refers to the hierarchical power in the patriarchal system of man that has emerged from this myth. In order to protect territory and community, it is emphasised that the role of the man was to be a hunter, and the role of women was to cook the food provided by the hunters and to bear sons in prehistorical times. The male hunter was portrayed as a superior power to survive. Those gender roles have been handed down to contemporary humankind. Also, in highlighting the tool of the hunter as the first weapon, she explains the myth of man-the-hunter as the foundation of militarism and patriarchy that advocate the male superiority and domination. In other words, she points out this myth as underpinning the drive of social inequality between women and men and demystifies it.

Thus, according to this argument, masculinism sustains patriarchal structures and militarisation processes. Militarism is namely undergirded by a patriarchal dualism that consists of dividing the feminine as weak, passive, and emotional, while the masculine is strong, aggressive, and rational (unemotional). This view justifies the masculine need to organise women-feminine ranges in the militarisation process.

The feminist perspective on militarism also helps to understand that indemnification (enemy making) is used as propaganda in wars and military conflicts to protect the state from enemies. Making an enemy image is a significant notion underpinning militarism. The division between enemy and non-enemy and to kill an enemy are based on dualism and used for military affairs (Scott, 1988). The link between masculinity, patriarchy, gender, regimes and authority, coercion, and violence continues to subordinate femininity in society, culture, religion and politics. Mama and Okazawa-Rey (2012) argue that militarisation is a gendered and gendering phenomenon produced by the subject matter of patriarchal ideology and used to maintain and re-organise it.

Consequently, the feminist perspective of militarism and militarisation helps to focus on the gendered phenomena in masculinity and femininity underpinning patriarchal dualism. These theories are used to investigate subordinated and abused women by gendered militarism in the phenomenon of the US military THAAD development.

3.3.3 Eco-feminism as a theoretical framework

Eco-feminism emerged from the work of the French feminist, Francoise D'Eaubonne. She coined the term '*Ecologie-Feminism*' in 1972 as part of the project of "launching a new action: eco-feminism," and in 1974 she published a chapter entitled 'The Time for Eco-feminism' in her book, *Feminism of Death*. D'Eaubonne traces the connections between social issues and the environmental crisis. She contends that gender discrimination is the root underlying a hierarchical system and human exploitation, which simultaneously drives environmental exploitation. The environmental pollution arises from capitalism, which is part of the patriarchal system in her arguments (Merchant, 2008:24-5). Eco-feminism emerged from the feminist movement and knowledge, it emphasises the nexus of the ecological crisis with a feminist perspective. Thus, this study understands that people who share both feminist and

ecological worldviews and participate in the movement for a feminist and ecological new world call themselves eco-feminists and their worldview eco-feminism (Chung, 1994:176).

The key concern of eco-feminism focuses on connections between the oppression of women and the destruction of nature. The significant point of eco-feminist theories is, namely the fundamental analysis of the link between the struggles of women, nature and social crises (Griscom, 1994:271). In other words, eco-feminism emerged from the perspective that abused women and destroyed environments are connected structurally in society. In eco-feminist theories, the women-nature connection is significant discourse.

Depending on differences of interrogation, the connection between the oppression of women and nature, eco-feminists' arguments expressed different ways of essentialism and constructionism (Young, 1985).

This study identified the connection of women and nature as the common root of the oppression of women and the destruction of environment resting on social structures. Accordingly, Ruether (1995) suggests that the social structures dominating women are the same structures that dominate nature. Thus, women have a challenge to align themselves with nature in order to transform a system that devalues and potentially harms them both (Radford 1995). Moreover, employing Kelly's argument is supported on the perspective of structural connection. It can support to focus on militaristic systems and institutions as social structures dominating women and nature in South Korea.

Merchant (2008:23) also supports the argument that the vitality of Western capitalism impacts on norms of social justice, treatment of minorities, and the environment. She further notes that this social crisis leads to more heart-wrenching poverty and violence with the environmental problem, especially in the Global South. When it comes to the causes of environmental degradation by military activities, this research problematises structural effects of the national treaty, military alliance, arms race, and global political-economic system. In other words, I point out that the environmental crisis in South Korea through the deployment of THAAD of the US military is formulated by ignoring the perception of the nature system in Seongju, controlling the societal system with the military hegemonic sovereign, and developing weapons centred on the global military-industrial complex.

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the phenomenon of militarisation through aspects of the US military THAAD can be understood as the tool of the empire to sustain supremacy and hegemonic control of the military order in the context of South Korea. This hegemonic power as a hierarchy manifests the US military presence and its military alliance in order to cooperate with the national defence on the Korean Peninsula. This study understands that the militarisation aspect of the US military empire influences women and natural resources in South Korea negatively.

In this vein, employing the ecologist's theories as a theoretical framework in this study is limited in exposing the oppression of women by militarisation and empire. This study focused on the women's struggle in the context of the THAAD deployment in Seongju County. Using an ecological perspective alone helps to uncover the crisis of environmental degradation in the ecosystem in Seongju, but it is lacking on how to address the effects of militarisation by empire on women. This study utilises eco-feminist theories as theoretical perspective. Eco-feminists argue that the domination of both women and nature by men does not agree with this deep ecology's thoughts that human beings dominate ecological deterioration (Merchant, 2008:24). The understanding of anthropocentrism from an eco-feminist's viewpoint employs androcentrism (male-centredness) as the root cause of the modern crisis; alternatively, deep ecology defines that root as human-centredness (Zimmerman, 1987:136).

Therefore, through a comparison of ecology and feminism, this chapter discovers a basic insight of eco-feminism. Eco-feminism is different from ecology and feminism, because eco-feminism is concerned with the connection between the domination of women and nature simultaneously and the causes of it in ideological analysis and practical activities. Thus, this study uses eco-feminism because of its concern for both nature and women.

This study of militarisation utilises eco-feminist perspectives as a map of the research because:

- 1) The point of eco-feminism is to zoom in on the connection between the domination and oppression of women and the destruction and exploitation of the environment with the social complex.
- 2) Eco-feminism points out patriarchy as the root of domination ideologically.
- 3) Eco-feminism from the Global South is more focused on the global socio-ecosystem and political context with a broader understanding of patriarchy.

- 4) Eco-feminism highlights the women movement's because women are the axis to heal the domination of nature toward a holistic world.
- 5) Eco-feminist stands for an egalitarian, non-hierarchical system and it advocates for an alternative worldview (Agarwal, 1992:120)

Consequently, compared with ecology and feminism, this map of eco-feminist constructs has the advantage of interrogating the militarisation phenomenon to uncover patriarchal knowledge and the system underpinning the US military activities in South Korea. Further, it helps to interrogate women's voices of resistance against the militarisation of the US empire in the THAAD deployment phenomenon and their purposes. This argument will guide this study to discover alternative ways to alter the militarisation in South Korea.

3.4 THE IDEOLOGICAL ROOT OF DOMINATION

This section discusses ideological roots linked to the domination of women and of nature. The key principle of an eco-feminist theory draws on how patriarchal concepts impact ecological disaster and abuse women. This section interrogates patriarchy on eco-feminists' theory focusing on Western philosophy and theology. In addition, how these ideological roots relate to the militarisation of the US military empire in this study is presented.

3.4.1 Dualism

An eco-feminist argues that Western philosophical thoughts and culture impact the oppression of women and the destruction of the environment (Warren, 2000). As to the question of how patriarchy or patriarchal ideology influences the domination of the environment, Western-centred eco-feminists analyse the connection between the oppression of women and degradation of nature in patriarchal authority based on 'dualism'. When it comes to the term 'patriarchy', Lerner and Societies (1986:239) stress that:

Patriarchy in its wider definition means the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general.

Mies also found that the principle of patriarchy occurred from the division of roles of males and females in human history. Historically, establishing and retaining patriarchy necessitated a ruling on women's production in order to bear and provide daily food. A separated structure of gendering roles to man-the-hunter and woman-the-gatherer provided man-the-hunter with tools for the daily subsistence of the early societies. The male hunter did not only use the tools

for providing food but he also threw weapons for despoliation and subjugation to have his hands free. These male-exclusive tools (weapons) entrenched patriarchy in settling and maintaining the human society defiantly. Inevitably, patriarchy's prototype controls and dominates women by exclusively claiming to be the hunter and the women to continue to be the gatherer. The principle of patriarchal power started from domination and despoliation of material exclusively for survival. That patriarchal society's spirit developed as a gendered ideology to justify male domination and to put women in a category of inferiority (Mies, 1999:58-60).

In other words, prescribing ambivalent realms and roles by gender has established a more patriarchal hierarchy. The female category has been treated as intimately relating to nature to bear and maintain life. By contrast, the male category flaunts transcendence as power over nature by controlling the woman who is closer to nature. It operates internally to separate hierarchy, following a degree closer to the power of domination and transcendence. Therefore, in the patriarchal culture, insofar as a person in a hierarchal structure can be changed, the control and dominating power are the centre of unswervingly underlying hierarchy. Clowney and Mosto support this connection between patriarchy and hierarchy in identifying a link between hierarchy and domination as a central pillar of patriarchy: a hierarchical structure encourages the patriarchal subjugation of women and the human subjugation of nature (Clowney and Mosto, 2009:40).

Karen Warren explains that patriarchy is founded on 'the logic of domination'. She defines patriarchy as "the logic of domination that justifies the power and privilege of Ups over Downs in a way keeps intact unjustified domination-subordination relationships"(Warren, 2000:48). It is an important point of her argument in this logic of domination:

the logic of domination is so important that historically, at least in Western societies, the oppressive conceptual frameworks that have justified the domination of women and nonhuman nature have been patriarchal (Warren, 2000:50).

Simply put, the domination of women and of non-human nature in Western society has been founded on a patriarchal conceptual framework that justifies the subordination of women and natural resources. As conceptual frameworks, the logic of domination is important for explaining and justifying the domination-subordination relationship as a logical structure of division between inferior and superior. Further, by the logic of domination, diversity or difference of features turns into objectives of domination.

Thus, this logic of domination is described according to three characteristics. The first is that it presupposes a dual structural value. The dual structure of values is a frame of recognition in which a pair of values are mutually opposing and exclusively disconnected. Ecological feminists often point out pairs of values, as mentioned many times: female-male, emotional (special)-reason (universal), physical-spirit, natural-civilization, etc. The second is to see that the front of these pairs is inferior to the latter. This is a hierarchical structure of values, which means a framework for arranging values according to hierarchical order. Thirdly, the so-called superiority is the value judgement that can dominate inferiors (Warren, 2000:48-56).

As has been noted above, an eco-feminist perceives the patriarchal conceptual framework as the logic of domination based on the dualism that prescribes that superior A justifies dominating and colonising inferior B. This dualism constructs the realms of domination and subordination and divides elements sharply demarcated. These dualisms are essential for Western thought and reflect the major forms of oppression in Western culture. In particular, the dualisms correspond directly and naturalise gender, class, race, and nature oppressions, respectively, although a number of others are indirectly involved. In the way of patriarchal thoughts, in order to rationalise hierarchy and domination, dualism is used. A foundation of patriarchy in Western philosophy is the concept of dualism (Warren, 2000:48-56).

The dualism is different from the dichotomy that simply separates differences between A and B to distinguish. Dualism separates *Not-A* which is denial categorised based on A bias. Dualism thought is centred on A as superior, and others are not all A (Jay, 1981). Plumwood (1993a:47) presents dualism and dichotomy as follows:

A dualism is more than a relation of dichotomy, difference, or non-identity, and more than a simple hierarchical relationship. In dualistic construction, as in hierarchy, the qualities (actual or supposed), the culture, the values and the areas of life associated with the dualized other are systematically and pervasively constructed and depicted as inferior.

For the superior realm, man-human is construed as a different value, and essential is better than the inferior realm; female nature. Key elements in the dualistic structure in Western thought are male/female, human/nature, mind/body, master/enslaved person, reason/matter, rationality/animality, reason/emotion, self/other and public/private. The inferior realm (female-nature) constitutes 'others' as exclusion and denied dependency on the superior (male-human) base (Plumwood, 1993a:43).

Summing up, dualism, a key role in Western philosophy that influences ecological challenges, interacts between patriarchy and dualism. It has the features of hierarchy and domination of patriarchy, and the dualist elements of exclusion and denials of the inferior domain are employed as a foundation to justify patriarchy. In other words, in this patriarchy underpinning a dualist structure, which is an ambivalent pair of self-male-reason-human-master and alien realm, other-female-emotion-nonhuman, women and nature are perceived as the denied other from male-human. Patriarchal thoughts emerge in this process of instrumentalism, the logic of domination as a hierarchy.

The patriarchal society and culture are combined with dualism in terms of the epistemology in Western thoughts. It has been using this dualism epistemology to justify the domination and colonisation amidst history. These eco-feminist perspectives are concerned with the logic of patriarchy based on dualism and analyse the present ecological crisis as the aspects of diversity and oppression in terms of complex hierarchal dominated relations. This study, hence, adopts these features of dualism on the militarisation phenomenon for how the dualistic perspective exposes militaristic ways and impacts women and natural resources in South Korea, in particular, how this dualistic thinking exposes domination aspects to women and nature during the militarisation process to promote the empire's hegemonic power is illuminated in this study. So far, this eco-feminist perspective has helped to examine what is treated as the inferior and superior value in the militarisation system by the military empire in the context of South Korea.

3.4.1.1 Mechanical philosophy

As discussed above, eco-feminists from the Western world problematise the dualism in the division to the separation of human and non-human, male and female, and superior and inferior. Further, they found the reason for enhanced dualism in the scientific revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries in the Western world. This study focuses on the point that dualism enhanced the mechanical philosophy by the Western society. The deployment of THAAD is militarisation centred on the US military security strategy using the higher technology of the weapon science as discussed in the previous chapter.

Carolyn Merchant tenders the death of nature by the scientific revolution (Merchant, 1980a; 2006). The scientific revolution in Western history during the 16th and 17th centuries (1500-1700) has influenced worldviews. The methodology of science was emphasised to obtain scientific knowledge except the emotional feeling and values of the observer. In modern

science, observers pursue experimental methods to draw objective results rationally generalised. Thereby, Christianity is treated as non-rational and non-science and not truth. The understanding of the feminine as non-rational, emotional and cultural, and of nature as materials for research led to justifying the domination of women and nature by rational scientific ideology. This ideology was influenced by the philosophy of Francis Bacon in Western society. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), called the ‘father of modern science’, advocated exploiting nature for the human benefit, which was already presented in his social milieu. He manipulated nature as a female to discover the essential objectives of a new scientific methodology. Females and nature deposited and divided from masculinity subjects were treated as objectivity without any notion. The modern scientific view focused on objectivity has become more developed to mechanical philosophy by Rene Descartes (1596-1650). The organic framework in terms of nature was based on the logic that the laws of nature were imposed on creation by God. Descartes emphasised, however, that manipulating nature is inert matter through mechanical philosophy. Natural resources were treated as a combination of components like the machine. His perspective adopted a dualistic pair, matter/mind, nature/human, and body/spirit that are not interchanged in each pair (Merchant, 1980c).

Therefore, the scientific methodology and mechanical philosophy of the scientific revolution were founded on male authority in controlling women and natural chaos in order to maintain the mechanical order (Merchant, 1980b). This study assumes that the militarisation process is founded on this Western mechanical philosophy's impact on women and natural resources. Thus, this study points out that it is significant, as it uses patriarchal dualism objectively as an empirical science.

3.4.2 Christian triumphalism

Rosemary Ruether has contributed to the validity of the eco-feminist's criticism of patriarchy in classical Western cultural traditions in terms of a Christian theological perspective. She traces the patriarchal premise underlying the entire Christian theology. The oppression of women and the environmental crisis are connected with the notion of God expressed in a patriarchal image. Thus, eco-feminists are concerned with the liberation of women and nature from domination. According to Ruether, theological dualism has been established to combine the dualism of purity and pollution in the Jewish religion and dualism of mind and matter in Plato's creation story (Ruether, 1992:116-26). Hence, this dualist influence to justify the

patriarchal system in theology provides the image of a patriarchal God. Traditional theology, which is based on Greek culture, has a tremendous influence on our understanding of nature and women and the biblical and theological hermeneutic bias. Thus, Ruether demands a paradigm shift towards a new symbolic culture and spirituality that helps to demystify dominant biblical and theological constructs (Ruether, 2000).

Mary Daly (1993) posits that a patriarchal image of God legalises social, economic and political aspects of subordination and domination of women and nature. When it comes to this patriarchal God as father, eco-feminist McFague (1987) examines it as an ‘image’ and ‘metaphor’ of God in Western Christianity. She argues that the Judeo-Christian tradition in Western theology consists not only of models of the patriarchal God, but also imperialistic, triumphalist models of God that have influenced the formulation of the view of the relationship between God and the world. Moreover, she states that the model of God as mother, lover, and friend in an effort to break the stranglehold of the traditional patriarchal, imperialistic, and triumphalist models of God as Father and king are regarded as idolatrous and irrelevant (McFague, 1987:20).

In particular, this study is focused on a triumphalist metaphor of God associated with the destruction of the environment undergirding military activities (for her it was the nuclear age). She elaborated royalist, and triumphalist metaphors:

The dominant imagery has been monarchical. The classical picture employs royalist, triumphalist metaphors, depicting God as king, lord and patriarch who rules over and cares for the world and human beings (McFague, 2002:1).

According to her argument, “in the triumphalist, royal model, the victory has already been won on the cross and in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and nothing is required of us” (McFague, 1987:60). Thus, the traditional images of God supported militarism and escapism in this nuclear age, even the phenomenon of militarisation in South Korea. Thus, the US military’s militarism and ideological roots in militarisation are important in order to analyse militarisation ideologically.

This study relies on the argument by Pae (2020:205), who asserts that America’s militarised violence is rooted in Christian triumphalism. In his research, the Christian rhetoric of triumphalism translates to America’s mission as God’s chosen nation to save the world’s natural resources. This study will observe how this rhetoric offered Korean Christianity’s

support for all US military activities, including the degradation of the environment and the domination of women by the military activities in South Korea.

Therefore, this study utilises this eco-feminist theory from a particularly Western context when it comes to how the structures of traditional patriarchy in Christianity merge with the emerging structures of militarisation to intensify violence against women and nature in South Korea. This study, to put the point another way, is concerned with the response of Korean Christianity to the US military's presence in the name of security, interrogating aspects of this Western Christian tradition based on the faith in a patriarchal God and triumphalist Christianity in South Korea.

To summarise, this study employs the contribution of the Western eco-feminist theories to analyse patriarchy based on dualism and its effects on the Christian faith in militarisation as a social crisis. It will be used to analyse Westernised South Korean Christianity's responses to the US military activities influencing women and the environment.

3.5 ECO-FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The term 'Global South' as defined in this study refers broadly to the regions of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. It includes 'Third World' and 'Periphery' and denoted regions outside Europe and North America, mostly, though not all, low-income and often politically and culturally marginalised. The use of this Global South performs a shift from a central focus on development or cultural difference towards an emphasis on geopolitical relation of power (Dados and Connell, 2012:12-13). In the context of countries in the Global South, the aspects and principles of domination of women and nature are more focused on women's resistance against environmental destruction in the liberation of women and nature in eco-feminist theology. Moreover, Asian eco-feminist theories denote a more diverse structural oppression of women and the exploitation of nature: racism, colonialism, class exploitation, sexism, etc., depending on different contexts.

This study leans on the Asian eco-feminist theory in identifying as the perspectives of the Global South: Africa, Asia and Latin America. Ruether (1996:2) posits that in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, they do not use the term 'eco-feminist' from Western academic discussion and they are conscious of their own contextualisation of its meaning in reality. I agree with her

point that Asian women's struggle with environmental exploitation did not start as an 'eco-feminist' movement.

This section starts by examining women's resistance in the specific context of Asia. Then, I focus on the system and structure which impact women's struggle with the environmental crisis from the Global South perspective, highlighting the alternative ways of eco-feminism in Asia and Africa is presented.

Thus, this section aims to describe the principles of eco-feminism from the Global South and it presents how to use the principle of the eco-feminist for the militarisation phenomenon in the context of South Korea. Despite the diversity and different realities in the Global South, this study focuses in particular on the principles of eco-feminist theories based on Asian and African eco-feminists: Shiva and Mies (1993), Gnanadason (2017) Chung (1994; 2013), Rakoczy (2004), and Siwila (2014). They have a similar knowledge system for nature: interconnection and interaction.

3.5.1 Political structure and economic system

The eco-feminist perspective from the Global South tends to contextualise the roots of oppression of women and exploited nature in the social systems and structures. Merchant's (1992:185) argument supports the contextualisation of eco-feminists in the world. She describes an eco-feminist perspective below:

Eco-feminism builds on the multiple perspectives of those whose views are typically omitted or undervalued in dominant discourses, for example, the Chipko movement, in developing a global perspective on the role of male domination in the exploitation of women and nature. An eco-feminist perspective is therefore ... structurally pluralistic, inclusive, and contextual emphasizing through concrete example the crucial role context plays in understanding existing practices.

Simply put, an eco-feminist perspective from the Global South has been developing in investigating structures and systems causing an environmental crisis from grassroots. Eco-feminism takes into account effects from the political economy and ideological construction of the domination of women and of the non-human world. Agarwal (1994:122-3) contends that a material source of domination over an ideological source of domination is considered in socio-economic and political structures. The economic advantage and political power in the Global

South are significant points in terms of the roots of the environmental crisis and exploiting women's lives.

For instance, women environmentalists in South Africa focus on the legacy of the apartheid years and the patterns of apartheid domination that impacted nature and women (Ackermann and Joyner, 1996). In the context of South Africa, domination is manifested as a juxtaposition of first- and third-world environmental crises and ingrained patriarchal attitudes because of the legacies of patriarchal apartheid. They highlight that "ultimately, the lesson of apartheid's ecological toll is that inequitable social institutions are incompatible with environmental sustainability". Thus, the environmental issues in South Africa are deeply and fundamentally political (Ackermann and Joyner, 1996:122-3).

Moreover, Lilian Siwila (2021) argues that there is no doubt that colonialism had a bearing on the crisis faced by women and nature in the context of Africa. She adopts a post-colonial feminist perspective to address the eco-feminist issues of the domination of women and nature. In that way, nature is presented as a sacred site in the African context imbued with communal spiritualities. Further, a key contribution is identifying women as preservers of nature and communities. It helps to shift from women and nature as victims of patriarchal oppression to seeing them as custodians of nature (Siwila, 2021:127). Hence, in the context of Africa, the root of the environmental crisis and oppression of women is interrogated from the post-colonial perspectives when it comes to the white-male colonial power.

There is a remarkable history of eco-feminism in Kenya. By the early 1970s, the Kenyan government's deforestation project worsened Kenya's environmental crisis by converting forests into land for agricultural and residential uses. This deforestation program negatively affects severe droughts, soil erosion, and the natural conversion of farmland into arid deserts. By this environmental challenge, women in Kenya were affected to survive doing traditional roles to find firewood and water caused by the destruction of natural resources. Thus, a Kenyan woman, Wangari Maathai (1996; 2006), founded the Green Belt Movement, a non-governmental organisation, in 1977. Maathai's first step to preserving the environment was planting trees along with farmers who were 70% women. This eco-feminist and activist movement influenced the empowerment of women, an encouragement them with the confidence to resist the value of capitalism and to protect natural resources, which is their life.

Thus, the perspectives of that political and economic system influence on the oppression of women and the destruction of nature are a key factor of eco-feminists from the Global South. This method of analysis focuses on metrical reality such as politics and economic systems assisting in analysing the militarisation phenomenon as reality in South Korea. In particular, the reality linked with national division politics and the military alliance system with the US military for national security with the THAAD weapon is highlighted in this research, questioning how these systems and structures influence women's lives and natural resources. For this research, this study identifies Asian perspectives of eco-feminist theories and praxis that focus on social, economic, and political power.

An eco-feminist perspective from Asia has been established, focusing on the global economic impacts on the environment, despite the Asian contexts being extremely varied and diverse. The research regarding capitalism and developmentalism on the ecological problem and the exploitation of women owes a great deal to the perspectives of Shiva (1989) and Mies (1998). Their research and praxis contribute to the discovery that Western-centred forms and aspects influence women's experience of natural resources in the Third World.

According to the Western paradigm of the catching-up development, development was accounted for from the Western view of economic categories (Mies, 1993a). It is to accumulate capital-generated surplus and profits and create wealth in developmental processes for reproduction. The problem of this development is that it promotes the creation of wealth as well as poverty and dispossession.

From Shiva and Mies, it can be seen that the colonial power moved as developmental power in the post-colonial era, especially in South Asia. That was economic development with natural resource utilisation in the specific context of industrialisation and capitalism. The newly independent Third-World countries faced the exploitation of labour and natural resources from Western capitalist growth with the aim of capital accumulation. Thus, the Western-centred developmental power exploited natural resources and employee labour in the Third World to create their surplus under the concept of economic development (Mies, 1993a:55-56).

Shiva and Mies (1993:44) claim that "women, nature, and foreign peoples and countries are the colonies of the White Man" under the developmental politics in most of Asian countries. Further, they argue as follows:

Without their colonization, that is, subordination for the purpose or predatory appropriation (exploitation), the famous Western civilization would not exist, nor its paradigm of progress and, above all, not its natural science and technology either.

The affluent societies of the Global North forced the model of the good life based on industrialisation, technological progress, and capital accumulation on the Global South, underdeveloped nations. Mies (1993a) highlights that these underdeveloped nations were not a consequence of natural lagging, but the result of the overdevelopment of the rich, industrial countries exploiting the so-called periphery in the Global South. Additionally, underdeveloped countries were treated as ‘others’ such as women, brown, black people, poor, peasants, and the environment by centred white males, capital accumulation, and metropolis (Mies, 1993a:56).

Moreover, according to Merchant (1992:201), Third-World women were identified as having borne the brunt of environmental crises resulting from colonial marginalisation and ecologically unsustainable development projects. Hence, this study explicitly and implicitly focuses on economical occupation as capitalisation was a new project of Western patriarchy as new colonialism. This eco-feminist perspective from Asia uncovered that development exclusivity and dispossession aggravated the colonial process of ecological degradation. Stated simply, absorbing humans and nature as resources of production by modern developmentalism forced women and nature to be considered inferior.

Regarding ‘developmentalism’ as an epistemological perspective is related to reductionism from the modern scientific worldview. The reductionist asserts that the whole material organisation is a constructed, mechanical process of single atoms. Treating the ecosystem as a mono-element and a simple function brought about a justification of the artificial operation of the ecosystem by science. Regarding the ecosystem, reductionism influenced on an confirmation the perspective of uniformity and homogeneity and an exclusion the view of diversity. The value of interconnection in the ecosystem is not allowed by reductionist thoughts. Therefore, the way of discovering knowledge in terms of legitimate environmental knowledge is based on objectivity from scientists’ methods of validity. To discover and seek the knowledge of nature from scientists has been taken as the only legitimate knowledge of a whole. This knowledge system underlying the reductionist paradigm continuously advocated the exploitation of nature in colonised countries. It destroyed women’s knowledge in the West and knowledge of non-Western cultures, especially in terms of nature. Consequentially, it created a hierarchical knowledge system (Roy and Borowiak, 2003).

In addition, a most important point of the principle of this eco-feminist theory is providing the frame of considering 'patriarchy' as hierarchy, race and class. Mies (1998:37) stresses that patriarchy in today's world is not only father's rules,

it includes the rule of husbands, of male bosses, of ruling men in most societal institutions, in politics and economics, in short, what has been called 'the men's league' or 'men's house'.

Thus, patriarchy is understood as the concept of male dominance. Therefore, according to Mies, the patriarchal concept produces a hierarchal system based on male dominance. Women and nature are dominated by these patriarchal ideologies. Thus, when it comes to problematising 'patriarchy', they connect it to the cultural systems and political structures in the Asian women's context.

In light of this, in the traditional patriarchy, it is the father's right to dominate women and this patriarchy has merged with emerging structures of capitalism that intensify violence against women. Smith (1997) also argues that patriarchy constitutes the mostly invisible underground of the visible capitalist system. The world capitalist system treats women and natural resources as means of production by dominating the power of capital. In other words, the economic logic underpinning developmentalism is the control and domination that treat women and land as goods appropriated as resources of production per capita (Mies et al., 1988:5). In the light of this, Mies argues that women's problems can be explained by capitalism and patriarchy colonising women's bodies, labour and nature. She asserts that capitalism cannot function without patriarchy and that the goal of this system, the never-ending process of capital accumulation, cannot be achieved unless patriarchal man-woman relations are maintained or newly created. She calls it 'capitalist patriarchy' (Mies, 1999:37-8). Moreover, Kelly (1992) also strongly argues that patriarchy is exhibited by male domination in systems:

when we try to rid the world of things as oppressive as nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons, or poverty, sexism, and racism, it can help us to look at their structural underpinning. This is a system of patriarchy which is found in all systems, whether they are capitalist or state socialist. Patriarchy is a system of male domination, prevalent in both capitalist and socialist countries, which is suppressive of women and restrictive to men. Patriarchy is a hierarchical system in which men have more value and more social and economic power. Under it women suffer both from oppressive structures and from individual men. It shows itself in all areas of our lives, affecting political and economic structures, our work, our home, and our personal relationships Kelly (1992:24).

Her argument supports why this study utilises eco-feminism as a theoretical framework in focusing on patriarchy influencing the domination of women and nature on military activities of militarisation.

The militarisation of the empire's hegemony in the context of South Korea takes account of the weapon, THAAD deployment, in this study. An eco-feminist perspective from the Asian context based on the political economy of Western-centred development assists this study in pointing out the impacts of THAAD related to the military-industrial complex (MIC) centred by the US military empire. Thus, the connection between economy and militarisation will be illuminated in the phenomenon of THAAD deployment in data collection. Hence, it will help to examine how capital power operate the installation of the US THAAD in rural areas, and how military empires in the militarisation procedure use this economic power and privilege to oppress women and exploit nature.

Moreover, an eco-feminist from Asia highlights the view of capitalist patriarchy on national identity related to ecological, feminist and international aspects. According to their argument, the consumerist incentive of global capitalism influences civil wars and destroys natural environments, humans and the planet itself (Mies, 1993b:130). This argument supports research militarisation through the lens of an eco-feminist perspective linked to the social system, economic power and political structures.

King (1989:26) posits that

The eco-feminist analysis of militarism is concerned with the militarisation of culture and the economic priorities reflected by our enormous 'defence' budgets and dwindling social services budgets.

Thus, this study assumes to concentrate the defence system and the notion of security in the militarisation process within the discourse of patriarchy in the context of South Korea.

Establishing eco-feminist theories has influenced issues among differences, and various political, social and economic crises affect environments and women. It is significant to discover the contexts of eco-feminist concern. They also observe the ways of exploring hierarchical structures in human society. Eco-feminism emphasises interaction in both women-nature and human-human. The principle of eco-feminism is to analyse socially complex issues and helps to illuminate the interconnectedness of the effects which domination and oppression

of women and natural resources. This principle of eco-feminism can help this study to trace the socially complex militarisation phenomenon in South Korea in terms of oppression and domination of women and natural resources. To exploit militarisation through the THAAD for the security of South Korea faces asking the other question, “What about the security of people around THAAD?” The perspective of eco-feminism guides us to discover discrimination and prejudice in militarisation phenomena. To trace the socially complex domination of women and nature helps the perspective of unequal experiences between the global north and south and diverse categorisations (i.e. rural women experience more vulnerability than an urbanite). In this study, this social complex approach to the militarisation of the context of South Korea employs the perspective to focus on the concept of empire.

3.5.2 Women’s resistance to empires

As this study understood, eco-feminist perspectives from the Global South have challenged economic and political structures. In the previous section, the emergence of eco-feminism in the Global South has also highlighted struggles in women’s lives for survival against the challenges. Shiva argues that Third-World women are dependent on the nature of drawing sustenance for themselves, their families, and their societies (Shiva, 1988:xiv). Thus, we can understand that the environmental movement in the Third World has emerged surely for the survival of women.

Shiva (1989:64) elaborates on the Chipko movement as a historical landmark in evoking women's ecological insights and political and moral strengths. In the 1970s, the Chipko movement started mobilising a ban on commercial exploitation throughout the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh, which is now the state of Uttarakhand in northern India, because the over-felling of trees leading to mountain instability everywhere. The more than 300 villages in that area experienced the threat of landslides and severe erosion. In that situation, the local agricultural women opposed huge commercial limestone quarries. They hugged trees to save them from deforestation as a way of resistance. According to her examined process of the movement, the women’s voice was, “Stop cutting trees, birds flocking our crops and eating them resulting in no bread, and the firewood is disappearing, what we will eat? And how we will cook?” Thus, the Chipko movement emphasised the discrimination between two paradigms of forestry: life enhancing and life destroying (Shiva, 1989:70).

The life-enhancing paradigm emerges from the forest and the feminine principle; the life-destroying one from the factory and the market. The former creates a sustainable, renewable forest system, supporting and renewing food and water sources. The maintenance of conditions for renewability is its primary management objective, while the maximising of profits through commercial extraction is the primary management objective of the latter.

The Chipko movement in India exposes an eco-feminist paradigm in the perspective of the Global South based on grassroots and emerging from rural women's experiencing international developmentalism towards the alternative perspective (Brown, 2014).

Thus, in this way, this study emphasises two dimensions of perspectives from the Global South. Firstly, as this chapter dealt with Descartes' way of thinking, feminine principles were oppressed and abused by the paradigm of development in scientific centred ideology. In the light of this, women are defined only as victims of patriarchal domination. In contrast, Vandana Shiva highlights that women's resistance through the Chipko movement, redefines the feminine principle (Shiva, 1989:37). This study emphasises that women are beyond being oppressed victims in the context of environmental destruction by the patriarchal system but, more importantly, being nurturers for human and natural survival.

It is necessary to focus on the connection between women and nature in order to discover the motivation for women's resistance to the situation of the environmental crisis in Asia. Women have been involved in producing life biologically and they have a pivotal social role in providing sustenance. This women's production of life is truly a productive relationship with nature. The organic growth process in women and nature operates in partnership and has created a special relationship of interaction between women and nature. Shiva and Mise assert that women continue to link human life and nature because historically, they play the role of sustenance, food, and water providers.

However, these productive values of women and nature are ignored. These values are abused for productivity from the perspective of the accumulation of capital. Nature and women working to produce and reproduce life are declared unproductive in a capitalist society. Thus, depending on the Western style of the development model underpinning global capitalism towards the Third World, peasants' capability and natural resources have been rendered as objects of production, leading to poverty in the southern world (Shiva, 1988:40-41). It can be

deduced that the process of the devaluation of women and the destruction of nature have a history in the patriarchal society perpetuated by a Western industrial male (Shiva, 1988:208).

The phenomenon of domination and exploitation of women and nature in the name of economic development manifests differently in the Global South, with differences in the experience of environmental destruction appearing differently, depending whether it is on men or women, and urban or rural areas. This study significantly deals with the principle of an eco-feminist from the grassroots women's resistance to developmentalism of the West.

Therefore, this principle of an eco-feminism focusing on women's resistance is paramount in terms of identifying women. If women's image is treated as deprived, disgraced, and subordinated by domination power, it remains and reproduces the image of women in an inferior sphere (Gnanadason, 1994:184). So, to redeem women, autonomous liberators, from an eco-feminist perspective, are a significant viewpoint to transform women from the world of militarisation.

Moreover, this perspective of focusing on women's resistance for survival assists in zooming in on the women's protesting against THAAD deployment in Seongju County. This study will analyse whether the protest of women residents in Seongju can be perceived as an environmental movement. In this way, this study can collect the statements of women residents to deal with natural resources in their daily lives, in response to question how they physically contact natural resources in their experience. It engaged by the principle of eco-feminism. The questioning of women protestors will guide them to discover what motivated protesting against the THAAD installation. From that motivation of protesting, it will provide alternative knowledge towards a demilitarised world. Further, Gnanadason (1994:184) emphasises that women participate in environmental movements and voice their experiences about the ecological crisis as it helps to contribute new insights into resistance and addressing ecological problems.

The new insight provided by the participation of rural and tribal women in struggles to save the earth makes clear that women contribute not in passive resignation to the hard life they bear, but in creative actions for sustaining life.

This study emphasises women's resistance to empire and their voice as alternative spirituality for this perspective of eco-feminism. In other words, this study posits women's resistance to

the socio-economic of the West that emerged from women's different understanding of natural resources. So, it maintains that this West-centred system damages the natural environment in the Global South and is confirmed as an empire that promotes the sovereignty of natural resources in the Global South. New imperial sovereignty of natural environments in the Third World is the objective of women's resistance in the Global South.

3.5.3 Towards alternative spirituality

Eco-feminist theories from the Third World, particularly from Asia and Africa, perceive significant spirituality that anticipates seeking alternative conversion as practical methods. That discourse, moreover, can be discovered at the grassroots of people's lifestyle and indigenous people's knowledge. Their traditional knowledge and perspective regarding the natural environment are used as alternative praxis to overcome the environmental crisis. Besides, Kelly (1992:12) describes that green politics always had a spiritual base that respects all living things and knowing about the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of all living things. The spirituality provokes them to decide on social actions, human's ideologies, value system, world view, and culture (Jun, 2006). Thus, the challenge of the ecological crisis is, namely, distorted spirituality of human to natural resources. Jun (2006:415) posits that this ecological crisis is, on the other hand, a given opportunity to emerge a new spirituality as an alternative against patriarchal spirituality that destroys the ecosystem and oppresses women.

According to Chung (1994:176-17), the cosmic spirituality is important to alter environmental crises in the world:

eco-feminists are looking for an alternative spirituality which is able to respond to their need for affirming the sacredness of the cosmos, and where can we find the resources for this cosmic spirituality?

This passage illustrates that the main source of holistic spirituality and the spirituality of indigenous people in Asia and Africa can be offered new visions against destructive patriarchy and institutionalised. Her argument is that the meaning of nature, God and humanity in Asian and African perspectives is based on the Web of Life as life-giving values.

Hence, this study adopts this method, which is re-visioning, healing and transforming for the cosmic world as God's creation, all of creation. That insight of eco-feminism from Asia and Africa emphasises the life that is in everything, the value of all God's bounty (Gnanadason, 1994:184). Furthermore, the theoretical discourses consider Asian women's struggles. The

Korean word *Salim*, which means ‘making things alive’, ‘mending broken things’ ‘feeding everybody’, ‘creating peace, health, and abundant living’ in Korean (Chung,1994; Sun, 1999) utilizes this *Salim* concept.

Susan (Rakoczy, 2012:398) also posits ‘life-giving’ as principles of eco-feminist spirituality:

The Spirit as life-giver and renewer of life says that death will not triumph since the dynamic of the Paschal Mystery -death to life- is stronger than all injustice and oppression. The Spirit leads us to true life by helping us to experience the reality of God in Christ.

In the context of Africa, Siwila (2014:133) stresses that the standpoint of eco-feminist spirituality is pursuing humanity and nature in terms of harmony and not domination. It is worthy of close attention to the paradigm shift from feminist perspectives toward an Afrocentric approach based on an African woman’s indigenous knowledge system to contribute to women's ecological debates in her argument. It is described by Ruether (1996:118) as to indigenous African cosmology:

The symbiosis of Christian and indigenous African cosmology applied to the practical restoration of the environment. Using the New Testament vision of creation as the Body of Christ through whom “all things hold together” (Col 1:17), as well as Shona beliefs that the ancestors become spirits of the land, protecting it and causing drought when their laws are violated, the AAEC in Zimbabwe has developed earth-planting eucharists.

This study employed a framework of finding and developing spirituality on traditional knowledge in order to heal the militarisation reality in South Korea. Hence, it will examine the voice of residents in rural area around the THAAD system.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This study problematises the process of militarisation that oppresses women and nature in South Korea. The concerns of women and natural resources pose the theoretical scope that is related to ecology and feminism considering militarisation in South Korea. This study uses the principles of eco-feminism as a frame to see and know aspects of the militarisation phenomenon.

This theoretical framework as a map of this study, an eco-feminist theory, is appropriate to guide this research on the environmental crisis and women’s claiming in the process of militarisation. In terms of the epistemological approach, an eco-feminist theory considers a comprehensive perspective, including women and the environmental crisis and the connection

between the oppression of women and the exploitation of natural resources. Further, an eco-feminist view illuminated the roots of this domination in Western philosophy as ideological. This chapter examined the dualism and Christian triumphalism as tenets that underlie a justification of patriarchal dominance over women and nature.

In relation to this study, this perspective will assist in discovering dualistic forms and triumphalist aspects of militarisation by the US military empire concerning the THAAD installation in South Korea. In other words, analysing how dualism promotes militarism in the militarisation process helps to address the research question: How militarisation and empire influence women's lives and natural resources. This eco-feminist perspective, based on a critique of patriarchy, will help to seek physical or material exposed aspects of victims founded on patriarchal militarism on the phenomenon of militarisation.

Moreover, this chapter argued that the perspective of an eco-feminist from the Global South could be an analytical map to uncover the political structure and economic system that impacts the connection between women and nature. This study provided a lens of this eco-feminist perspective to point out the economic and political system in the militarisation phenomenon. In addition, eco-feminist views from the Global South engage a collection of women's voices about the motivation of resistance in the anti-THAAD movement. Particularly, the principle of Asian and African eco-feminist methods to address environmental degradation linked to women's lives was emphasised to find the indigenous knowledge as alternative spirituality. For sustainable life and harmony, the 'life-giving' principle from the Asian context was focused on spirituality to alter the destructive militarised world in this chapter. It was used to address the research key question: How can eco-feminist theology be used as a way to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

Hence, this chapter dealt with a theoretical framework in this study based on views; what is the theoretical framework, why to use the eco-feminist perspectives, and how can use the theoretical framework in this study. The next chapter provides the research methodology that focused on what utilises methods in qualitative research, and why and how this study uses this methodological approach.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical framework, why theories are important, and how I used them in this study. In the present chapter, I present the research methodology in line with the to eco-feminist theories as a theoretical framework informed by the epistemological stance.

This chapter focuses on the research methodology used in carrying out this study. I describe the research paradigm linked with an epistemological approach to the research. When it comes to qualitative research based on the transformative paradigm, is exploited in terms of the purpose of qualitative research. The chapter also presents the research site and procedure to gain access. Sampling and the process of collecting data are also dealt with in this chapter. The data collection process and tools are described according to the following methods: observation, semi-structured interviews, focus-group discussions, and secondary data. The data analysis procedure is presented following thematic analysis and considering the validity and reliability of the research. This chapter first will explain the meaning of the term methodology itself.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

The term ‘social science’, “is analysed in which social reality is studied objectively with the aim of gaining a valid understanding of it” (Mouton and Marais, 1996:7). Social science research is detailed, scientific, and objective to identify, investigate and seek to understand social patterns and social meanings.¹¹ To emphasise the scientific aspects of a study is social science research. Concerning how to study objectively, critically, balanced, unbiased, systematic, and controllable to gain inquiry goals is a methodological perspective in social science research.

¹¹ The term ‘social patterns’ is defined as persistent patterns in social phenomena that occur repeatedly in the social world. The meaning of ‘social meanings’ is how people make sense of aspects of their social lives and the understandings that they develop of these (Walter, 2006:1-28).

Accordingly, Walter (2006) explains methodology as the worldview to conduct and design research. Rajat and Nandan (2020:12) argue that methodology treats how we know, what we know, and is somewhat close in meaning to what we understand as epistemology. Thus, the methodology is defined as the logic of applying scientific methods to the investigation of phenomena as social reality (Mouton and Marais, 1996:16). It is guided by philosophical beliefs that are identified within the research paradigm. The paradigm influences the methodology in social science research. The methodology is a frame to resolve the research problem in scientific methods. It is based on a research paradigm. The paradigm helps to set down the research's intent, motivation, and expectation (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006:2).

This study employs the transformative paradigm to guide methodology. According to Mertens (2007:219),

methodologically, the transformative paradigm leads us to reframe the understanding of our worldviews and understand that subsequent methodological decisions need to be reframed.

The aim of research in the transformative paradigm is to destroy myths, illusions and false knowledge, and empower people to act to transform society. Thus, participants of empirical research are implied in identifying the problem, collecting and analysing the data, and disseminating the findings to inform practice. Hence, the participatory rural appraisal approach is generally designed in empirical research (Wagner et al., 2012:57).

Data collection took place in rural areas, choosing participants who have critical experiences and perceptions of US military THAAD deployment. I found out precisely the problem of the militarisation process in terms of the THAAD system. This study attempts to transform the militarisation phenomenon from an eco-feminist theological perspective and praxis. The participants informed data and a guide to analysing data to emancipate the THAAD aspects of oppression. The transformative paradigm in the methodology also influenced how to judge the THAAD system in South Korea, focusing on women's experiences of the environmental crisis.

4.2.1 Transformative paradigm

This research is firmly located within a transformative paradigm. This paradigm was chosen because I assumed that militarisation impacts women and natural resources in terms of the US military THAAD system in South Korea. Thus, this study utilised an eco-feminist theory as a lens to interrogate the phenomenon of militarisation by the US military influencing women and

nature from a critical perspective. As in the previous chapter regarding the theoretical framework, an eco-feminist theory serves the comprehension, interpretation, choice of literature and practice of oppressing women and nature by militarisation and empire. It embodies a transformative perspective and approach, exposing hegemony and domination power in social structures. Thereby, the transformative position was used as a paradigm in this study.

A research paradigm seeks to set down the intent, motivation, and expectation for research (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006:2). In other words, a paradigm in research provides a tool to identify a researcher's worldview following philosophical assumptions that guides a research context.

This study utilised a 'transformative paradigm' for the philosophical assumption of research methodology. The term 'transformative paradigm' was coined by Mertens (2007; 2009; 2010) to emphasise the people involved in personal and social transformation research. This transformative paradigm has common themes. It relies on ethical stances of inclusion and challenging oppressive social structures, as well as to disseminate research results to enhance social justice and human rights (Mertens, 2009:5).

The research paradigm consisted of the following components: methodology, ontology, epistemology and methods (Scotland, 2012). The ontological assumptions in the transformative paradigm are regarding a certain phenomenon of reality and what happens. Mertens (2007:6) describes it as follows:

There are multiple realities that are socially constructed, but it is necessary to be explicit about the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, racial, gender, age and disability values that define realities.

Hence, this research has traced a deployment of THAAD in South Korea in multiple realities shaped by social, political, cultural, and religious values. This sense of ontology in transformative research emphasises power-based factors, meaning the deep structures under visible reality (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012:57). Thus, I focused on THAAD issues by the US military behaviours or activities as a superpower influence enhancing the social structure in South Korea. I traced the historical background of the US military presence in South Korea and its political issue relevant to national security. The most important aspect of the division

system in the country is described as a reality. Moreover, the US THAAD system in a particular site, Seongju, is portrayed based on its implications for women and nature. Korean Christianity reflecting the THAAD system is described based on their positions of political participation regarding the US military alliance.

The epistemological sense is concerned with the nature and forms of knowledge (Scotland, 2012:9). As a way of knowing, a theory of knowledge is epistemology. The theory is a basic tool that assists in finding new facts. The knowledge is the collective meaning-making by the participants and researcher (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012:57). This study has three ways of epistemological assumptions under the transformative paradigm.

The first epistemological assumption is that THAAD deployment is an exposed militarisation in terms of the US military missile defence system in the name of national security. The understanding of militarisation by participants is formed based on the status of women and nature. I strived to unmask the traditional thought of militarisation covered by consolidated national security with the US military.

The epistemological assumption is the concept of empire. Scotland (2012:13) denotes, “knowledge is both socially constructed and influenced by power relations from within society”. THAAD deployment surfaced along with the US military troops in South Korea. The questions emerged from issues such as, who can operate, advocate, and propagate knowledge of installation of the missile system. Not only the US military itself is a hierarchical system and culture in the society of South Korea. This epistemological sense adopts the concept of empire, hegemonic power as the new process of imperialism. I interrogate that the nation of empires is a militarisation phenomenon in the THAAD aspect. The transformation of the military empire power in militarisation is an epistemological assumption in transformative paradigm.

An eco-feminist epistemology challenges the assumed objectivity and rationality of domination logics of patriarchal culture to oppress women and nature. This epistemological sense guides us to discover which ideas or theories produce and reproduce the THAAD crisis. The study utilised the Western philosophy of dualism implicates knowledge in military affairs of national security. Likewise, eco-feminist theories and activities assist in enhancing women’s registration to protest against the THAAD deployment. Lastly, the role of Korean eco-feminist theology is seeking alternative knowledge to transform a dualistic way of knowing military

affairs; that is, the beliefs of Korean Christianity admiring the US military alliance. The methodological assumption is concerned with the strategy and plan of a research process that lies behind the choice of particular methods. It deals with the next part in detail.

My role as a researcher is to recognise inequalities and injustices in the militarisation process regarding the deployment of the THAAD system. I hence strived to challenge the status of participants of research. This transformative paradigm falls under the critical tradition of research. Critical tradition uses theory as a tool for socio-political activism by encouraging the individual to question people's circumstances and to participate in changing those circumstances (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:52).

4.2.2 The qualitative research

A way of learning about social reality is called 'qualitative research'. Qualitative research is a perspective that the values or knowledge can be changed, depending on using different lenses to see a social phenomenon. The belief of qualitative research is that people have their lens as a worldview. Patricia Leavy (2014:3) denotes as follows:

Qualitative research is multi-paradigmatic, with researchers working from different worldviews, which makes it a highly diverse field of inquiry.

Thereby, qualitative research is constituted as 'subjectivity' is acknowledged and valued. The truth is subjective, not absolute. It is contextual and multiple. Therefore, the qualitative approach to social science study focuses on the underlying qualities of subjective experiences and meanings linked with phenomena. Objectivity is not disavowed; it is redefined and achieved by disclosing one's values systems (Leavy, 2014:3).

Qualitative approaches to research explore, describe, or explain the social phenomenon. Also, it can unpack the meanings people ascribe to activities and situations in the social sciences (Leavy, 2014:2). The qualitative approach aims to understand the social event and find meanings from participants' perspectives in their experience. The researcher seeks to understand and interpret experiences by viewing the world through the collected data (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126).

This study uses the qualitative research in the transformative paradigm to understand the phenomenon of the THAAD system in South Korea. It is focused on women and natural resources. This understanding of the militarisation phenomenon adopts the requirement ‘how’ and ‘why’ it affects humanity and nature. Thus, the qualitative approach to this study is a guide to describe participants’ experience during the deployment of THAAD and anti-THAAD resistances. It focuses on interpreting the meaning of the experience in terms of the militarisation process influencing women and nature through the participants’ perspectives. Qualitative research discovers new perceptions or theories from the information. Hence, this qualitative research characteristic assists in seeking new theological theories to reflect this THAAD crisis in South Korea. Therefore, research questions in this study underlie these goals of qualitative research, exploiting the phenomenon of THAAD, describing people’s understanding, and discovering new themes. To participants, the requirement focuses on their experience of living within the context of the THAAD system; likewise, why they resist US military THAAD and how they understand militarisation in the context of US military THAAD deployment.

Qualitative research believes in interaction between participants and researchers in the co-creation of knowledge. The researcher’s perspectives or worldview can influence all aspects of research. In qualitative research, researchers are considered as instruments. Researchers, as key instruments, collect data and interpret it in qualitative research (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:257). That is why qualitative research constitutes an important insider perspective rather than an outsider perspective (Mouton and Marais, 1996:70). This position of researcher and participant is not a hierarchical structure. A researcher can take an insider’s point of view from the natural context of participants.

I, as a researcher, focused on learning the meaning of the participants having the problem of the THAAD system. Observing all the ethical research protocol, I recorded and described participants’ words and activities. As an insider, I participated in activities for the anti-THAAD movement for a few days to observe all acts and behaviours in the community of the Soseongry site. Moreover, I introduced myself to them. I announced myself as a researcher in order to allay their suspicion. I strived to set the community at ease in order to get a natural account.

The natural setting for data collection in the field where participants experience the issue is by talking directly to people and seeing their behaviours and activities. This natural setting is a

key characteristic of qualitative research (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:257). The natural and subjective components of the sample are emphasised in qualitative research.

The method of qualitative research can be multiple sources of data. Gathering various forms of data includes interviews, focus groups, observations, documents, and audio-visual information. Within a wide range of data-gathering, the researcher becomes an instrument for collecting, organising, analysing, and interpreting data (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126). I managed to collect data according to this study's themes, which cut across all the data sources. The collected data were expressed by words, pictures, observations, and symbols in qualitative research. Thus, I worked back and forth between all the data and themes of this study until I categorised themes. It was an inductive process. Qualitative research works inductively to build patterns and themes from the bottom up from collected data. Inductive theorising in qualitative research builds new theories (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:49). Creswell elaborates that working deductively on qualitative research is used to determine more evidence supporting a theme or gather additional information (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Thus, while the process begins inductively, deductive thinking also plays a role as the analysis moves forward. I employed evidence information on literature about the elements of militarisation by socio-political scholars and public documents in terms of the Church and people's voice on US military THAAD, and the statement of US military forces.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study used a qualitative approach in the transformative paradigm. This paradigm was chosen because I saw the women's resistance to THAAD and their concerns regarding electromagnetic waves by THAAD radar affecting crops and local food. The main assumption is that the US military THAAD affects women, and natural resources. As a result, I adopted a theoretical framework as a lens: the eco-feminist theory was adopted in an endeavour to understand the experiences of people affected by the militarisation on THAAD aspects. Hence, I used the transformative paradigm to transform the oppression and domination phenomenon in militarisation.

This qualitative approach in the transformative paradigm research adopted theoretical approaches such as thematic analysis, theory building, and empirical research, collecting new empirical data. Scientific practices, observation and description are central features. This idea

is based on empirical research (Flick, 2017:183). The goal of the empirical study is to operationalise such constructs in a meaningful manner by making theoretical concepts either measurable or observable (Mouton and Marais, 1996:60). For this study, I explored participants' experiences of oppression during the THAAD deployment and the reason for resistance and its theological meaning.

4.4 PRELIMINARIES TO THE RESEARCH

Formalities undertaken before starting the research project are important. In writing the research proposal, it was paramount to seek permission from gatekeepers in terms of research ethics (Kawulich, 2011:58). Identified gatekeeping is a process whereby the researcher observes all the necessary protocols before gaining access to the research setting under study and the participants in that setting.

Gatekeepers in fieldwork are defined as individuals at research sites that provide access to the site and permit qualitative research to be undertaken (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:329). The essential elements for permission by gatekeepers are that the researcher conduct's establishes trusting, long-term relationships through social networking, acquiring specific permissions, selecting key informants, presenting appropriately, and showing respect for culture (Kawulich, 2011:57).

I contacted e-mail, one of the Church leaders in Seongju County who was involved in the anti-THAAD movement. I sent my CV as a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I stated my education history and position in the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK). I belong to the special scholarship programme agreement of CWM, and PCK, this helped to endorse me as a researcher. The gatekeeper was to contact persons in the local church communities and groups of the anti-THAAD rally in Seongju County. The gatekeeper also was a participant in the interview. Gaining access to set fieldwork is within a research site. The gatekeeper played a role to inform the researcher about participants in interviews. I received documentation with permission from this gatekeeper. This Seonjujeil Presbyterian Church leader granted me permission to do research on 9 June 2020 (Appendix 5). Before starting fieldwork, having done all the necessary documentation, I submitted the documentation for ethical clearance considerations on 25 September 2020. Full ethical approval was granted on 30 March 2021. The ethical clearance gave me the impetus to engage in the field of study as a researcher.

4.5 RESEARCH SITE AND PROCEDURE TO GAIN ACCESS

The choice of a research site is associated with the research problem of this study; how the US military THAAD affects women and nature in South Korea. According to this research problem, the research site chosen is local communities around the THAAD deployment, namely Seongju County in the northern Gyeongsang Province in South Korea.¹² The US military base of THAAD is located in Chojeon Myeon in Seongju County.

I first went to the Seongjujeil Presbyterian Church in Seongju County to meet the gatekeeper who had contacted me by email. The gatekeeper provided much information on the anti-THAAD rally for the Seongju people, the church members. The explanation of such a history of the procedure of the selection of the THAAD site and presence of THAAD was provided. The US military THAAD is located in the Soseong village of Chojeon Myeon, northeast of Seongju County. The location of THAAD used to be the Lotte golf course.

I contacted a local newspaper press for an interview. The press informed me about a community of Soseong village gathered in the Soseong village hall every day. This Soseong village hall is the hub of the anti-THAAD movement. It is less than 3 km from the hall to the THAAD base. The press introduced me as a researcher to one of the community leaders of the anti-THAAD movement in Soseong village.

Likewise, when I participated in an anti-THAAD rally in Soseong village, I met other community people from Gimcheon City. Because the THAAD site is located on the border between Seongju and Gimcheon, they conduct a rally at the train station in Gimcheon. They invited me to join the rally in Gimcheon. I went to the Gimcheon rally and met the people arguing anti-THAAD.

Therefore, the research site of this study is not only Seongju County, but also Gimcheon City focused on rallies of anti-THAAD. Usually, venues for fieldwork are the Soseong village hall

¹² Administrative territorial entity of South Korea: metropolitan cities (*gwangyeoksi* 광역시), special city (*teukbyeolsi* 특별시), special self-governing city (*teukbyeol-jachisi* 특별자치시), and provinces (*do* 도). These are further subdivided into a variety of smaller entities, including cities (*si* 시), counties (*gun* 군), districts (*gu* 구), towns (*eup*), townships (*myeon* 면), neighbourhoods (*dong* 동) and villages (*ri* 리) (Korea.net, 2021).

and the Gimchoen station, the nearest to the site of the US military THAAD system in South Korea. I was helped by the gatekeepers to choose a research site.

4.6 SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND SAMPLE SIZE

A population in field research is defined as a group of individuals, persons, objects, or items from which samples are taken for measurement. The sample is a part of the population to gain information about the whole. Sampling is the process or act of selecting a suitable sample for the study. The goal of the sample is to have a representative of the population to determine the characteristics of the whole population (Morse, 1991:127).

In qualitative research, the sampling concerns an adequate sample size. The selected sample presents an adequate research subject. The selected sample needs to answer the research question, which is the key aim of sampling in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2012:132-4). Thereby, as its basis of sampling principle, this study's types of sampling are purposive and snowball sampling to select samples to explore and understand the effects on women and nature by the US military THAAD and how the population responds to its effects. The population of research was the community of the anti-THAAD movement at Seongju and Gimcheon.

The challenge of sampling in a South Korean context was that the US military THAAD underlines the issues of political interests in society. Thus, it was sensitive to access people in the anti-THAAD movement in Soseong village and the Gimcheon community. I was confronted with a political issue. Some people were unwilling to reveal their names and activities. Also, some of them suspected that the researcher was a stranger sent from the government or police office to watch and inspect them. However, the gatekeeper endorsed my identity and noted that the purpose was only for an academic study. I revealed my student identity and purpose and explained my research study. I assured them that their identities would not be revealed in my research.

4.6.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a useful type of non-probability sampling that tends to be more cost-effective and convenient in terms of time, budget, or practical constraints (Laher and Botha, 2012:92-3). It is also used when it is difficult to gain access to the entire population (Pascoe, 2014:142). According to Laher and Botha (2012:93), in purposive sampling, selected

participants from the population are identified as the most suitable individuals and represented through specific selection criteria from a researcher.

I selected informants for interviews and FGDs to gain an answer to how the US military THAAD system affect women and nature in South Korea. Thus, I tended to contact a leader as a representative of the communities of the anti-THAAD movement in the research site. As a centre of resistance in the Soseong village hall, I relied on the village's residents because they closely experienced conflict during the process of THAAD deployment. The informants as samples already have a perception and perspective about the US military THAAD from their physical experiences. This experience has been characterised as valid and appropriate. Female and male informants were selected among the population according to gender balance.

Likewise, I looked for Christians in the anti-THAAD movement to address the objectives of the research relative to theological perspectives. The first FGD was organised with theology professors involved in the Korean ecumenical movement. The second FGD also gathered with Christian social activists who had joined the anti-THAAD rally.

Lastly, the FGD with a women's group in Gimcheon aimed to understand and exploit women-centred resistance. Moreover, the documentary film about Soseongri rally was helpful for the purpose of gain deep understanding of women's resistance movement.

4.6.2 Snowball sampling

Regarding the sampling procedure, I started by contacting the gatekeeper in the populations of the research. The community's people of anti-THAAD are quite sensitive to strangers or outsiders visiting them without any information. In addition, my first phase of the sampling process was conducted by starting only in Seongju County.

Snowball sampling as a method happens when a few individuals from the relevant population are approached in the first step of sampling (Laher and Botha, 2012:92). Pascoe (2014:143) denotes that it seems like rolling a snowball in snow; it collects more snow and gets bigger and bigger as the snow accumulates. Thus, snowball sampling makes use of referrals to increase the sample size.

The gatekeeper was asked to approach other individuals in the population. Next, I made an appointment for an interview in Soseong village. At the Soseong village hall, a movement leader approached the Gimcheon rally. When I participated in the Gimcheon rally, I asked an organiser to interview people. Then I met a women informant for an interview. She introduced me to the women's group of the rally. I collected samples with the snowball sampling method.

4.6.3 Sample size

The sample size in qualitative research focuses on gaining specific information rather than a quantity of information (Laher and Botha, 2012:88). Schreier (2017) suggests a sample size of around 20 to 40 for the qualitative research.

In this study, a sample comprised 26 people. For gender balance, the sample consisted of 13 females and 13 males. The criteria for selection were based on residents at Seongju County and Gimcheon city who have been involved in the anti-THAAD movement. I selected 14 residents in Seongju and Gimcheon in order to understand a militarisation phenomenon through their experience of THAAD deployment. The aim was to obtain the answers regarding how militarisation and empire have affected women and natural resources by the phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment. The eight selected Christians (Church leaders and members, Christian social activists) were involved in the anti-THAAD movement. The reason for selecting this sample was to ascertain how Korean Christianity can address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea. In addition, four Korean theologians were also selected. The reason for this selected sample was to know how eco-feminist theology can be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea.

I conducted three focus-group discussions (FGD), including those who related to the anti-THAAD movement. Each group comprised five to six people. These FGDs interviews included members of resistance groups. The purpose of FGDs is to interrogate the visible response of militarisation focusing on that element of resistance to the US military THAAD system from the perspectives of women, theologians, and social activists.

4.7 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS AND TOOLS

This study utilised participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus-group discussions as the primary data were collected afresh and original in character. These primary data in interviews and discussions match this study's approach and generate relevant answers regarding the research questions (Kothari, 2004:95).

4.7.1 Observation

The method of observation for collecting data was utilised for field research. In particular, participant observation refers to methods of generating data where the researcher is immersed in a research site where the research problem exists. The researcher can experience and observe first hand a range of dimensions, including social actions, behaviour, interactions, relationships, events, and location and temporal dimensions (Mason, 2017:84). In other words, the advantages of participant observation are that the researcher understands and experiences events in a research field through the participants of research first hand.

I, as a researcher, observed the events of the anti-THAAD movement and activities in Seongju and Gimcheon. In the observation for collecting data, it is important to set the researcher's status. Raymond L. Gold (1957:220-1) denotes the role of the participant-as-observer in sociological field observations. According to Gold, informants should know a field worker's identity and research purpose. The interaction between informants and the researcher is conducted in a trustworthy manner relation. A field worker does not stay in the field.

As a researcher, I played a role as a participant-by-observer during the fieldwork. In particular, by participating in the rally and the activities of the anti-THAAD movement, I strived to retain sufficient elements of being a stranger to the communities. I elaborated my study on militarisation and empire crisis on eco-feminist theology. When I participated in the candle rally, the leader introduced my identity as a student, pastor, and young theologian to the community members. Most of the residents welcomed me as a researcher to participate in the rally.

I, as an observer, participated in rallies in Soseong village hall every Wednesday at 14:00 and the Saturday candle in Gimcheon station at 19:00 from December 2019 to February 2020. In addition, I participated in the village activities such as the grandmothers' choir practice,

demonstrating in front of the US military base and a guard activity called *Jikimyi* to observe residents.

The observation was worthy to understand their struggle when it comes to the environmental crisis such as noise and vibration due to military activities. I felt a tension between residents and public officers. Also, the community mood in encouraging one another was presented as sharing food. The observation is based on trustworthiness between informants, and the researcher adopted the people's elaboration of their life stories. It helped to collect information as data. The other advantage of observation was obtaining diverse voices in different forms and ways: singing, poems, and religious acts from rally speakers.

4.7.2 Semi-structured interviews

This study also used semi-structured interviews. An interview in qualitative research is defined as obtaining a description of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena. Put simply, the interviewer can see the world through the eyes of the participant (Brinkmann, 2014:286). The semi-structured interview type allows leeway for following up when the interviewee does not deal with description. This approach enables the researcher to probe and explore deeper and corroborate data emerging from other data sources (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:134).

This semi-structured interview emphasised the experience and understanding of residents in Seoungju and Gimcheon about the THAAD deployment. The questions focused on how the THAAD system affects women and natural resources. I used an interview guide such as a list of basic questions in a semi-structured interview (see Appendix 4). The residents were asked to provide the following information:

- (a) What is your experience about the presence of the US military in Seongju?
- (b) What is your understanding of THAAD?
- (c) What is the impact of THAAD on the surrounding environment?
- (d) How do you as a village community address and resist this issue?

In addition, included Church leaders and Christian activists, and the questions were provided based on the effects of the Church's ministry, the understanding of the THAAD system in

Christianity, the response of eco-feminist theological perspective to THAAD deployment, and the role of South Korean Christianity in anti-THAAD movements.

I asked the participants to give consent either in writing or sometimes, in the case of aged ladies, verbally before the interviews (see Appendix 3). The interviews normally took no more than one and a half hours. I was attentive to the responses of participants and to explore new emerging themes related to the research problem of the phenomenon.

After each semi-structured interview, I transcribed all informants' descriptions and marked and tagged small themes as knowledge-producing. Then, during the next rounds of interviews, participants were provided with questions according to the interview guide and added new questioning discovered by through descriptions from previous interviews. The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they create space for new ideas to be brought up during an interview. As a result, it allows the researcher to interact and seek more clarity on the topic discussed.

All the data collection in the semi-structured interviews was conducted through personal and face-to-face interviews. The location of the interviews was mostly the Soseong village hall. Moreover, where the interviewee wanted to meet in Seongju and Gimcheon: the café and the Church were used for interviews.

4.7.3 Focus-group discussions

This study utilised focus-group discussions for data collection. The key purpose was also to identify a range of perspectives and obtain an understanding of the research questions from participants.

According to Hennink (2013:1-2), focus-group discussions are characteristically formatted in a way that focuses on specific issues with a predetermined group of people to participate in an interactive discussion. The goal of focus-group discussions is to achieve consensus on the issues discussed and to uncover a range of perspectives and experiences. The participants were selected from similar backgrounds and shared experiences related to the research issues. The FGDs were focused on a specific topic to allow discussion of each issue in detail. During the

discussions, participants could acknowledge or discover new views. They could ask and respond themselves. This unique method of data collection is a key advantage of FGDs.

Hence, in this study, the discussion focused on a particular topic that responds to the US military THAAD system. Thus, I managed to conduct three FGDs in exploring this specific topic.

The gathering of Korean theologians consisted of ecumenists who inquire into the social problems from the perspective of Christian theology, including eco-feminist theology. They already understood the US military THAAD system in South Korea. This gathering was conducted when I participated in an ecumenical forum. I asked them to discuss militarisation and empire on the THAAD system in South Korea with some of the theologians, who agreed to participate. This FGD focused on seeking the research question: How can eco-feminist theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea? Regarding the discussion procedure, a range of perspectives emerged to approach the responses of the THAAD system. The most important interpretation of the question was interrogating the Korean ways of eco-feminist theology based on the concept of life to address militarisation and empire issues in South Korea, as provided for in this FGD.

Second FGDs were undertaken with some Christian social activists who supported and participated in the anti-THAAD movement and its rallies. The reason for selecting those informants was to ascertain how Christianity understood the issue of THAAD deployment in Seongju and to understand their praxis based on the Christian faith and their social activity in the THAAD challenge. Moreover, as social activists, their opinion of resistance to the THAAD system underlying the Christian faith was described in different ways related to dimensions of environmental justice, national democracy, and human justice.

Lastly, FGDs were conducted with key women's group members in the anti-THAAD movement in Gimcheon. Their experience of installing the THAAD protests was described by each participant in order to interpret the phenomenon of militarisation and its resistance movement. The procedure of sharing their opinions on why they participated in the resistance activities assisted strongly to identify motivation and encouragement towards the anti-THAAD movement in the women's group. Moreover, it was paramount for this FGD to uncover their

voices as women and mothers' experiences associated with the effects of the phenomenon of THAAD deployment.

Morgan and Hoffman (2017:251) elaborate the difference between FGD and individual interviews: "This is especially important in the twin processes of sharing and comparing, which create dynamics not available in individual interviews." This study's FGDs helped to gain data from the dynamic voices of participants at the same moment. It helped to compare different opinions briefly. In addition, unexpected comments and new perspectives were explored within FGDs. This valuable discovery is also an advantage of FGDs (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:135). Hennink (2013:1) suggests that FGDs typically consist of six to eight participants, but it can be anywhere between five and ten, depending on the study and the researcher's purpose. All the FGDs consisted of five to six participants. Through debates and arguments, participants shared their experiences and understanding of the THAAD deployment within specific topics in around 90 minutes.

4.7.4 Secondary data

The meaning of secondary data is "already available". Secondary data is "the data that have already been collected and analysed by someone else" as indicated in the book, *Research Methodology: Methods, Techniques* (Kothari, 2004:111). The forms of secondary data are published or unpublished data. This study uses literature from published books, academic journals, magazines, online newspapers, articles, unpublished sources, and video sources on the relevant subject under study. Its purpose is to collect diverse arguments of scholars and authors pertaining to keywords such as militarisation, empire, the US military, THAAD, and eco-feminist theology in order to obtain the answers to the key research question:

How can eco-feminist theology be used as a way to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire to humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

The video sources on the YouTube channel were recorded by a resident in Soseong village about a specific event regarding the conflict during the installation of the THAAD system in the past. Moreover, some of the statements regarding anti-THAAD and pro-THAAD from the Churches were collected as secondary data. The argument of the US military in South Korea, USFK regarding the THAAD was collected through the official statement on the USFK website. In addition, relevant data came from the libraries of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), the Youngnam Theological University and Seminary (YTUS) in South Korea, and Keimyung

University (KMU) in South Korea. These libraries were utilised to access online articles and published books. These library accounts can be utilised for the online search criteria in South Korea, such as DBPIA and RISS, to collect journals, thesis, and articles. The following online search criteria were used: Google Scholar, ATLA Religion Database, JSTOR: Journal Storage, and WorldCat through my library account at the UKZN.

4.7.5 Recording and Transcription

Recording data is a form of social interaction that is both a phenomenon under investigation and how the phenomenon is investigated. Social-interaction researchers should be mindful of collecting and transcribing data (Jenks, 2017).

The semi-structured interviews, FGDs and observation were recorded using my mobile phone recorder. I also took detailed notes reflecting the emotions and ideas of the participants with date and time. During the interviews and the discussions conducted, all respondents allowed me to record the proceedings of the interviews using the voice recorder and a mobile phone as a backup. The recording process was achieved by explaining the purpose of the study to the respondents and asking for permission if they were willing to allow the researcher to record the interview by signing the consent form as a requirement in qualitative research.

A transcript is a record of social interaction. This transcribing social interaction is a form of textualization. Simply put, a transcript is defined as transforming represented phenomenon into a static object, text. Accordingly, Jenks (2017:123-5) notes that

a closed transcript is based on the idea that data recordings and transcripts are products of a predefined research question and predetermined empirical objectives.

After data collecting, I transcribed the audio-recorded data into text with a computer focusing on the research questions and objectives. The transcribed data were later consolidated, depending on themes to the coding process in data analysis. I speak the Korean language, the same language predominantly spoken across South Korea; hence there was no language barrier in data collection.

4.7.6 Criterion of language

The spellings of place names in this thesis are, in most cases, those approved by the Revised Romanisation of Korean¹³ of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in South Korea. The romanisation of the title of sources in Korea is based on the New Revised Principle of Romanisation approved on 5 December 2014. Moreover, the spelling of publications, books and article titles in Korean is written in romanisation and translated into English for the bibliography. The names of Korean authors writing in English are spelt as given and in the order of the given name and surname. However, some well-known and ancient names were kept in the Korean surname and given a name to avoid confusion.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

4.8.1 Thematic Analysis

Put simply, the meaning of data analysis in qualitative research is a procedure in which a researcher transforms raw data into new knowledge (Thorne, 2000:68). In this same vein, Miles and Huberman elaborated a qualitative data analysis for three components: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Thus, data analysis means that a researcher collects and condenses data and then displays organised information. It can be used by analysts to see it and verify research conclusions, which includes interpretation (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014:12-3).

Moreover, the data analysis conducts the interaction between the researcher – the theoretical lens to approach the phenomenon, the analytic strategies, and understanding data – and the data itself. In this sense, a researcher uses specific analytic strategies to transform collected data into a new and coherent depiction. That is, analysis of data in qualitative research follows from the purpose and theoretical framework of the study. I used thematic analysis to analyse raw data in this study. It is guided by the significant research question and sub-questions associated with the theoretical framework.

The thematic analysis involves identifying themes or patterns in the data. Thematic analysis is used to analyse how participants experience the research problem (Kawulich and Holland,

¹³ Roman letter notation of the national language is the official Korean language romanisation system in South Korea.

2012). Braun and Clarke (2006:79) describe “thematic analysis [as] a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set”. Thematic analysis is a way of thinking about data and conceptualising data.

This thematic analysis is considered in the key research question:

How can eco-feminist theology be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

Hence, from interviews, I began to answer the sub-questions:

- How have militarisation and empire affected women in South Korea?
- How has militarisation and empire affected natural resources in South Korea? and
- How can theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire to women and natural resources in South Korea?

The main purpose for this thematic analysis in this study was to describe militarisation aspects influencing participants’ lives and nature in South Korea through the exposed phenomenon of militarisation for the US military THAAD deployment. It gave common themes through collecting and coding data from the interview, subsequent interviews and other methods.

I conducted the interview focusing on the questions of this study: participants’ experience of the THAAD system, the effects on women residents and natural resources, and theological responses of the THAAD deployment. I transcribed the interviews, FGDs and observations to provide a paper copy in order to find topics relative to research questions. This activity is reading transcriptions and labelling a word, phrase, and sentence underlying common themes as the meaning of statements or instances. This process is called coding or labelling the number of codes. I kept the coding procedure for the entry themes that emerged.

After coding the transcribed data, I conducted grouping codes into categories of meaning. According to the process of finding themes from Kawulich and Holland (2012:235), finding thematic codes provided the basis for the development of categories by grouping codes related to the same topic together.

I discovered core codes from initial codes, which were the central story of transcribed data. Then, I categorised the codes into six categories as themes. Thus, this study identified six major themes through the thematic analysis method, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Data Presentation – Themes and Sub-themes

Themes	Sub-Themes
The experience of the deployment of the THAAD system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fear, anger, and sorrow 2. Destroyed daily normal life 3. State violence by division system 4. National security is threatened
Affected natural resources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The electromagnetic waves issue does not appear 2. Block the path of bear and residents 3. Contamination of soil
Influenced women's living conditions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ignored women in the process of the THAAD deployment 2. Women are loyal to the father of the nation 3. Impact on a community relationship
The US military sovereignty and empire	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Institutional impacts from the US military 2. Unsighted Capital
Women's resistance for defence -a living base	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Considering children's future 2. Living together with natural resources 3. The initiative of women to voice out
Christian thought of the US militarisation in the THAAD phenomenon	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Divisions on THAAD in the Christian faith 2. The Christian triumphalism against communists as evil 3. A Korean way of eco-feminist theology in the concept of life

The advantage of thematic analysis is the fact that it is flexible. This flexibility can lead to inconsistency and a lack of coherence when developing themes derived from the research data. Holloway and Todres (2003) argue that consistency and cohesion could be promoted by explicitly applying and making an epistemological position coherently underpinning the study's empirical claims. This epistemological position in this thematic analysis consists of an eco-feminist theory as the theoretical framework and research questions. It can be an axial of thematic analysis.

4.1 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND RIGOUR OF THE STUDY

4.9.1 Trustworthiness

Marla Koonin (2014) states that qualitative research aims to promote an understanding of a particular phenomenon within a specific context underlie criteria to determine the validity and reliability of the inquiry. In this sense, Lincoln and Guba (1985:294-301) argue that using trustworthiness to measure validity and reliability is preferred in qualitative research. Determining research's trustworthiness comprises four dimensions: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Accordingly, this research attempted to determine trustworthiness for validity and reliability in terms of the four dimensions in order to understand and interpret the phenomenon of the US military THADD deployment in South Korea.

I, as a researcher, went to the research field where the conflicts of the THAAD occurred over three months, from December 2019 to February 2020, so that I could understand aspects through collecting data from participants. The analysis of all collected data was my sole responsibility. In collecting and analysing data, I used the triangulation method to increase the credibility of the accuracy. This study ensures transferability because I attempted to apply situations and participants' statements in similar transcriptions. Moreover, I organised raw data collected from interviews, FGDs, and observation reports in the transcript and audio records in my digital space and printed out. The dependability and confirmability of this research considered the quality of the data collection method, data analysis, and the theory accrued from the data. That was determined because I kept in mind how well the thesis process was described using triangulation.

4.9.2 Triangulation

Triangulation means that an issue of research is considered from three perspectives or points in research. This concept of triangulation was approached from a research methodological principle in qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:779). Putting weight on this notion, Patton (1999) denotes that triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena. In addition, triangulation in qualitative research is used in data collection and analysis. A researcher can combine interviews with observation to relate the empirical data and investigators to one another (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:138).

This study utilised the triangulation method for the data collection: observation, semi-structured interview, and FGDs that provide diverse perspectives and issues on the research topic and complement the three methods. Moreover, the triangulation method underlies the data analysis consisting of the empirical data from informants, the arguments of scholars related research topics, and the researcher's interpretation as an analyst in this study. Hence, using triangulation in qualitative studies can improve validity and reliability.

4.10 ETHICAL JUSTIFICATION

This research adhered to the research ethics policy by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Research ethics includes safeguarding and protecting the identities of the participants.

I gave the consent form to the participants to read and understand before personal interviews and FGDs. I also explained the consent form to the participants to understand the purpose and nature of the study and encouraged them to share their perspectives freely. The consent form written in English for ethical clearance was translated into the Korean language as most of the participants were not fluent in English. Additionally, I asked participants to capture the consent form with a mobile phone camera or keep the copied one. Ogletree and Kawulich (2012:70) denote:

the concept of confidentiality presupposes a relationship of intimacy or trust between two or more persons in whom private or secret information is shared on the understanding that this information will not be repeated to an unauthorised person or persons.

Accordingly, the participants in this study are identified by coded numbers. I coded male and female participants in the semi-structured interviews; SSIM-1, SSIM-2, SSIM-3 for males, and SSIF-1, SSIF-2, and SSIF-3 for females. For the FGD, participants of theologians are coded as FGD1-A, FGD1-B, FGD1-C, the Christian social activists as FGD2-A, FGD2-B, FGD2-C, and the women resisters as FGD3-A, FGD3-B, FGD3-C.

4.11 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

During this research, I came across some of the following limitations. I attempted one more FGD with the grandmother's choir group in Soseong village. However, it was not easy to gather, because the oldest women were not able to be interviewed. Thus, to deal with this, one of the representatives of women, the youngest resister of the grandmother choir in Soseong village,

was interviewed. Another problem was that some of the informants were unwilling to participate in interviews and FGDs because they feared exposing their identity officially. I assured them that the confidentiality of the source would be maintained through the use of anonymity and coded numbers instead of real names. In addition, because of the COVID-19 social distancing measures since the end of February 2020, it was impossible to gather people in South Korea. Thus, no more discussions for the data collecting happened. I dealt with this issue, instead of interviews I used secondary resources such as interviews with residents in an online newspaper.

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the methodology and the relevance of this methodology to this study. It is a key element to deal with collecting and analysing data in this chapter. Thus, understanding the transformative paradigm associated with the theoretical framework, and the qualitative research's philosophy are overriding in this chapter.

The chapter discussed the research processes such as choice of the research site, sampling procedure and highlighting the patterns of research participants. The chapter explained in detail the methods and techniques used for data collection. It explained how observation, semi-structured interviews and FGDs were conducted, the reasons for choice and the goals of these methods. Furthermore, this chapter described why and how the thematic analysis was instrumental in identifying themes included discovered themes from the analysis. The chapter outlined a coding process to preserve the participants' confidentiality in terms of research ethics. To deal with validity and reliability is overarching to increase trustworthiness. Triangulation across research was presented to determine validity and reliability. The chapter concluded by describing certain limitations to make this study more valid and reliable.

Thus, the next chapter describe data which was collected by method of the qualitative research methodology. It focusses on analysing data following to the research questions.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA ON THE EFFECT OF MILITARISATION ON WOMEN AND NATURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This research collected data through observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus-group discussions. I participated in the resistance to THAAD deployment and observed the community's activities. The interviewees were from this anti-THAAD movement in order to gain critical perspectives on militarisation. The data collection aimed to understand the militarisation through residents' experiences of the THAAD deployment and to gain alternative thoughts on the Christian faith from Christians and Korean theologians. Thus, the thrust of this chapter rests on the presentation of collected data based on the research sub-question. That is, this chapter follows the study's objectives:

- 1) To explore the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea
- 2) To identify how militarisation and empire affect women in South Korea.
- 3) To investigate how militarisation and empire affect natural resources in South Korea.
- 4) To analyse how eco-feminist theology can be used to address the effects of militarisation and the empire, which impact women and natural resources in South Korea.

The impacts of THAAD are described by focusing on the affected natural resources and influenced women's lives.

Moreover, this chapter offers the emerging themes and analyses them based on the eco-feminist perspective, which is a theoretical framework. That perspective assists in emphasising women's protests against the THAAD. Further, in terms of eco-feminist theological perspective, this chapter provides Christian thoughts on militarisation.

Therefore, the collected data presentation will be the guide to address the key research question: How can eco-feminist theology be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

5.2 THE EXPERIENCE OF THE US MILITARY THAAD DEPLOYMENT

I asked the following question to the participants what are your thoughts on the term of ‘militarisation’ in your experience? Most of them did not have an idea of the meaning of ‘militarisation’.

I do not know the meaning of militarisation- it feels like an academic term. We just hate the presence of US military in our country. It has destroyed our everyday daily life. Even this government (South Korea) backs up and supports US military activities. Then what is militarisation? (SSIF-3, 11122019)

Hence, I attempted to find an understanding of the term, ‘militarisation’ from participants’ experience of the US military THAAD. From their understanding of the THAAD affairs, this study examines a militarisation phenomenon focused on women and natural resources in the context of South Korea.

5.2.1 Feelings; fear, anger and sorrow

When asked about the experiences during THAAD installation in their residential area, most of the participants firstly said they felt afraid of delivery trucks that were delivering construction materials and power generators of THAAD:

When I heard that THAAD would be installed in my country, I had no idea what THAAD was. I thought it was one of the weapons among a lot of US bases. However, the big stuff was going to my village, and I felt horrible at first. So, I joined a spontaneous gathering in front of city hall to protests the deployment of THAAD (SSIF-3, 11122019).

The delivery of THAAD reminded them of the war situation and military conflicts in Korean history. The village people knew well how military conflicts damaged human life, including farming for sustainable livelihoods. Most of the older people in the village experienced the Korean War in 1950–1953. They knew and remembered well how terrible the war was. Older villagers tell younger people:

We lived in fear for our lives during the Korean War. We saw that South Korean soldiers killed people who met and connected the North Korean army during the Korean War. Hence, for older people, US soldiers coming down to the village is also a big scare (SSIF-3 11122019).

There is fear that there might be a war between South and North Korea and an international military conflict between China and the US. This province, my village, could bear the brunt of such a war.

When first I heard the news that THAAD was coming to my province, I thought it would help protect my country. However, I listened attentively to other voices; I realised that THAAD is a dangerous weapon. It can be possible that in an outbreak of war, this area with THAAD will be a target. I fear this giant weapon (FGD3-D, 09022020).

The war was not the end. Thus, in the social, political voice of the positive wing about this THAAD issue, South Korea's military power was too weak to defend itself and needed US troops for state security against North Korea. This kind of understanding influenced people of this small village. They hated and disliked North Korea and communists. Before the THAAD deployment, their political interest and support stood on the right-wing political side for fear of war by North Korea. However, the object of fear shifted to the US military weapons in THAAD to disrupt their life. They know a lot of what THAAD is not for defence missiles from North Korea, one of the MD systems to US military strategy to grasp and defend East Asian military activities by using an X-radar band.

As a researcher, I spent a few days joining all the activities happening in the village. One day, I heard the loud sound of helicopters, and military aircraft made me really afraid. Those sounds made vibrations in buildings. I asked the people how they felt about the noise of the military helicopters:

Every Thursday, the US military aircraft delivers accessories for armies in THAAD temporary camp by helicopters or planes. Our grandmothers are not afraid of the sound while feeling anger at seeing the military crafts. On the other hand, we can notice the military moving from that noise (SSIF-3 11122019)

The feeling of the THAAD situation has brought fear and anger to them. The interviewees were angry and said,

We do not need THAAD, take away THAAD (SSIF-3 11122019).

Their anger was visible because of their experiences. During the transportation of THAAD equipment in April 2017, the people in Seongju and activists protested on the road, which was the only road to enter the US military base, to prevent the US and USFK trailers and trucks. Then US soldiers carried THAAD components, while grinning at protesters. One filmed their weeping (Kim, 2017).

I was so mad that Korean police broke down us(protesters) during the trailers passing through the street, could not move, just yelling and weeping. The

angriest moment was that one of the US soldiers giggled and filmed us. We felt like we were the monkey in the zoo (Lee, 2017).

There is a recorded video of this event on YouTube (THAAD, 2017). In the video, residents can be heard shouting and crying. Some are heard urgently yelling, ‘*People are getting hurt*’ and ‘*Do not push*’. While this was happening, a US soldier in the passenger seat of one of the trucks could be seen filming residents on his mobile phone:

Occasionally, I am so sorrowful and depressed of what we have to combat with own our bodies. It is going to hurt. Our grandmothers are getting old. So sad.

One of the village grandmothers said the general feeling was of sadness (JajuJajuTV, 2020). The experience of THAAD deployment for people of my village is one of fear, anger and sadness combined.

5.2.2 Destroyed daily normal life

The daily life of peasants around the THAAD base used to be farming, but currently, they focus on physically protecting the road by building barricades so that the US military cannot come through on this road to bring THAAD equipment:

I am not able to concentrate on farming because of activities to resist THAAD deployment. These resistance affairs are significant than other things until things to return to normal life’ (SSF-2, 11122019).

This remark provided some insight into how their lives changed. Another interviewee also elaborated about daily routine for the residents as follows:

Without the THAAD situation, people in Soseongri would spend time happily gathering friends and farming in fields. It should be their everyday life. However, every day they have a demo; confrontation with the policemen becomes their daily life (SSIM-2 04122019.)

One of the resisters in the interview noted how the deployment of THAAD broke down their daily lives:

One day, at the protest, my daughter wrote her diary that my mom is a member of the dancing moms. Every night, she goes out and comes back home for dinner. Everyone laughed at her, and she tore the diary. I thought she was used to the significance of daily routine, but it crumbled (FGD3-A, 09022020).

Although people under struggle do not understand the militarisation aspect, they feel the US military's installation of THAAD in Seongju has changed their lifestyle, which used to be peaceful, to a life of protests.

5.2.3 State violence

Asked about experiences of living around THAAD in the US base, the participants felt that it was not a safe affair for them to oppose the US military. The Korean government claimed that THAAD protected and remained secure for people. From the beginning, the discussion to select a field for a new US base for THAAD and during procedures the pursuance of THAAD, the villagers felt insecure because of the US and South Korean military activities.

In my Church, elders hate me because I am 'Jongbuk Jwapa Palgaengi', and so crazy. I was so angry. I think this THAAD issue is about the problem of life, but it has been the internationalisation of politics. (SSIF-1 10122019)

Jongbuk Jwapa Palgaengi is a Korean word, meaning a North Korean sympathiser, leftist, and a red-coloured complex during hostility against North Koreans and communist ideology. Since the Korean War, anti-communist ideology has been educating people to praise the US as an ally. It was intended to stigmatise and label ordinary people who suppressed social critics as a communist. Chung (2017) argues that those who have a monopoly on political power use it to accuse and oppress all kinds of social-democratic movements for the sake of national security. The red colour complex is still alive. In addition, the hostility towards North Korea and communist ideology has existed in the Christianity of South Korea:

A rumour was spread about me being a North Korean sympathiser or Communist sympathiser across the Church denomination I belong to. Many conservative pastors responded negatively refusing to talk about this issue that was already politicised (SSIM-1, 03122019).

Hence, THAAD issues are also on the political propaganda table; anti-THAAD supporters are posited as North Korean, communist, and leftist sympathisers are coloured red. This red-colour complex occurs mainly in the Korean Peninsula on account of the division system. Kim (2014) and Suh (2016) assert that, talking about 'division violence' on the Korean Peninsula has been concretised following two ideologies – capitalism and communism – in the context of the division system. The terms, 'division' and 'violence' in the book, *Division violence* are used

as non-peaceful concepts towards aggressive activities and systems, and its underlying culture and discourses on account of the division system on the Korean Peninsula.

The divisionary violence means much killing, violation of human rights, and oppression committed in the name of state division. It increasingly operates through military power and depends on military activities for safety and security purposes. In this sense, militarism and militarisation are the core elements occurring under divisionary violence (Kim and Suh, 2016:15, 286).

Therefore, the people's experience of the THAAD system is a state of violence on account of the division system in the Korean Peninsula. The divisionary violence of the state is linked to the ideology of national security based on the post-Cold War and world order hegemony. Thus, studies on militarisation and the empire cannot be discussed without taking the division system and the conflict of the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula into account.

5.2.4 Unsecured national security

The THAAD deployment in South Korea is driven in the name of national security. However, the people in Seongju feel insecure situation in their daily lives because of the installation of the THAAD.

A question lies 'Is this THAAD safety for people in this region, Seongju?' ... I understand absolutely about the security and a relationship of ally are not easily controlled by my country. However, isn't it right and justified the existence of the security ally is grounded on the population's safety life? (SSIM-1, 03122019)

Following the above remarks, in an interview with one of the residents in *Soseongri*, he used the word 'security' (Anh-Bo, 안보) for the national military defence. This study discovered that the term 'security' was recognised for national defence and protection with military activities or behaviours from participants' statements.

However, the US military, the United States Forces Korea (USFK), stresses that the purpose of the THAAD system is to defend and protect the Korean Peninsula from the ballistic missiles of North Korea in order to maintain peace and stability in South Korea (Howell, 2018).

Despite the US military and South Korean government's argument that the THAAD system is needed, the residents in Seongju and Gimcheon suspected the safety thereof and argued that

the THAAD is not for Korean people. They argue that it is the US military strategy for the world order.

I discovered that militarisation is associated with the needs of global security. Those who protest against the THAAD deployment are judged as persons who do not care for state security in a divided country. The militarisation phenomenon in the context of South Korea namely exposed national security issues. On account of the division system of the Korean Peninsula, the empire power argues that national security is the most important societal challenge to protect the government itself in South Korea. That is why the South Korean government needs to maintain a military alliance with the US military.

However, as the residents in Seongju argued, this national security system is not safe, but harmful to the human body and natural resources. It faces a challenge in that the military empire uses the concept of security as the power to remain a militarisation system in South Korea. Thus, the study discovered that the concept of security should also consider human rights and the ecosystem. Rifkin (1991) explains that many scholars have been dealing with the concept of security in parts of politics, economics and war history, and the environment has been dealt with in the domain of biology, chemistry, and physics. For philosophers and theologians, the concept of security has been less concerned as a research topic. However, he argues that the term 'security' embraces sustaining human lives, sustaining a state, and sustaining peace of mind, and that should always be linked with diverse ways to preserve the environment. This study supports this argument. Also, it discovers a theme that necessitates a discussion of the concept of security from an eco-theological perspective.

5.3 THE IMPACT OF THE US MILITARY THAAD DEPLOYMENT

From most participants' responses, it was apparent that the military activities of the THAAD deployment were mentally and physically stressful for the community of Seongju and Gimcheon. This section is based on how the domination ideology influences women and natural resources in the US military activities on THAAD affairs. This domination ideology – from the eco-feminist theory – is rooted in dualism: the division of superior and inferior realms and identifying how superior domains abuse inferiors. This section is further based on the voices of women and men who are residents in Seongju and Gimcheon, collected from selected interviews done regarding the anti-THAAD movement addressed this study.

5.3.1 Damaged natural resources

One of the sub-research questions asks how militarisation influences natural resources. The responses to his question were provided by the residents, and some of the activists currently live in Soseongry, the nearest village from the THAAD base.

5.3.1.1 *The electromagnetic waves issue*

Electromagnetic waves generated from the THAAD battery's AN/TPY-2 X-band radar play a role in the surveillance of enemy missiles. The argument from the anti-THAAD movement is that electromagnetic waves impact human health. I am concerned that the electromagnetic waves affect natural resources and human health. Early protestors claim that electromagnetic waves can be harmful to crops on the field. This is a reasonable suspicion of the safety standards of the THAAD radar.

In fact, Seongju County is famous for the Korean yellow melon, producing 70–80% of the nation's total production. In the semi-structured interviews, I asked how the THAAD impacts farming, particularly the yellow melon in Seongju:

At first when we protested, we were worried that electromagnetic waves from THAAD radar were harmful to farms of yellow melon and the human body. We have not seen and heard direct damage as the melon by an electromagnetic wave because the THADD radar is not always running. (SSIM-7, 08022020)

Moreover, they remarked that THAAD aims to operate radar with a range of 2,000 km to detect activities all over China.

One of the participants interviewed from SSIM-6 said there were stories from residents about the harmful nature of THAAD. In the *Nongsomeon* township, there were incidences of cows miscarrying, and on the apple farm, the apples have not grown well. He explained that there are differences between the two cities *Seongju* and *Gimcheon* on that deployment and direction sites, respectively. In the suburb of *Soseongri* in the city of *Seongju* residents claimed that they have sensed land vibrations because of the THAAD radar, and in the *Nongsomeon* suburb in the city of *Gimcheon*, residents argued that there are potential risks because invisible electromagnetic waves affect plant fruits and human health. More than 10,000 people live

within the restricted zone within a range of 3.6 km from the THAAD. Their orchard farms have also been affected by the radar.

The government reported the safety of THAAD after testing and deploying THAAD in Gum in 2016. They remarked that THAAD radar in *Soseongri* has lower electromagnetic density than the THAAD presence in Gum; therefore, proven safe. However, experts in electromagnetics in Korea insist that unless THAAD's electromagnetic waves' frequency and power information are disclosed, it is difficult to ensure safety (Kwon and Meng, 2016). The concerns over the impact of THAAD radar is still ongoing:

We are still conscious that when the THAAD radar operates, the electromagnetic wave negatively affects bees thereby impacting the fertilisation for fruits (SSIM-7, 08022020).

5.3.1.2 Block the path of bear and human

The THAAD system is located at the Lotte golf course in Seongju County. The Lotte Group, South Korea's fifth-largest conglomerate, decided to provide a golf course for THAAD deployment in February 2017. Before THAAD came to the golf course, people were free to go up in the mountain to pick wild vegetables, but since the deployment of THAAD, the area is off-limits to the residents. Regarding the a wire fence, one of the activists emphasised:

I want to say that animals surround mountains are affected and distracted by noise and bright light on the US THAAD base. It has not happened when the golf court was here. Fencing the area with barbed wire reduces the area where animals can live. (SSIM-5 21102020)

The wire fence and bright light of the THAAD base disturb wild animals, movement. As the base occupies land in the valley, the wild animals lose their path to move. One of the residents made the following remarks:

This mountain is a part of the Baekdudaegan Mountain Range. There used to appear Asiatic black bears around the mountain. However, after building a barbed wire fence, they have gone to another area near Cheongamsa temple. (SSIM-3, 15012020)

There was an incident in which the leader of the women's association dug up wild vegetables¹⁴ along the surrounding road (*Dule-gil*) of the THAAD base, walking past the barbed wire. She

¹⁴ Wild vegetable (*Namul* in Korean): There are many varieties of *Namul* on the mountain for side dishes of Korean food.

entered the base on the road blocked by barbed wire. They charged her with trespassing and fined her 5 million won in the second trial. In the past, grandmothers used to go up and down the mountain to pick wild vegetables, and they used to sell them on the *Gimcheon* traditional market, but the road they used is now off-limits inside the barbed wire. She said she was frustrated because of the barbed-wire fence and was angry because she had been made to attend a ridiculous trial (Seongju, 2021a). Thus, this collected data provided information on the effect of THAAD on nature. This study discovered that the THAAD base occupying the land of mountain affects the movements for humanity and animals along the path on the mountain.

5.3.1.3 Contamination of soil

Other ways of damaging natural resources were identified in terms of soil contamination around the US military base in South Korea. During the protesting event, an activist statement said that it can anticipate soil contamination by the THAAD base caused by waste carcinogens. The claim was as follows:

On the 16th Jan of 2020, the media reported¹⁵ that five US military base groundwater, including Camp Carroll of Waegwan and Camp Walker of Daegu, had been identified as carcinogens exceeding 15 times the standard level. Carcinogens are mainly used in the fire-fighting equipment of the US military. The problem is that the underground water contamination sites are Waegwan and Daegu US military bases that support the THAAD base as headquarters camp. Fire-fighting equipment which is believed to have produced carcinogens is also likely to be used together at the THAAD base. How can we ensured of the safety of groundwater in Soseongri? (PRG, 22012020)

The presence of the US military in South Korea has been harmful to the environment. The use of heavy military equipment produces waste products harmful to the soil. The core member for the anti-THAAD movement reported the following:

The THAAD radar cannot operate without running an electric generator that needs a lot of oil. It used to use the road across the village was possible to carry the oil. Soseongri residents block and protect the street. Thus, the US military has to use a helicopter to transport the oil, which needs much charge. One day, it was carrying the oil by US helicopter, then it encountered the problem of

¹⁵ The field survey identified soil contamination by at least eight toxic substances, including arsenic, benzene and cadmium. The highest toxicity of TPH — chemical compounds from crude oil — in soil was recorded at 8,892mg/kg, 17.8 times the safety levels set by the South Korean authorities.
http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?art_id=202001160600115

flying. They dropped the oil up to the mountain, which was polluting the environment. US helicopter carrying a big container to the base was dropped onto a plastic house of a farm. (SSIM-7, 08022020)

Therefore, this study posits that the THAAD system influences natural resources in many ways: 1) electromagnetic waves, 2) occupying the ground where animals and plants live, and 3) contaminates soil with used oil and other chemicals.

5.3.2 Influenced women's lives

5.3.2.1 Ignored women's voices

Through the eco-feminist lens, the root of a domination mechanism is the patriarchal dualism divide: as male and women, human and non-human nature and body and spirit. The division is perpetuated by following the misconception that the superior domain can dominate inferior factors. Military activity of male power is a superiority that instrumentalises feminine activities as subordination. The enemy, the colonised, women, and nature are equated and degraded as inferior and objectives of conquest by the military power. In this vein, during THAAD deployment in South Korea, the militarisation affects the women:

When I participate in protesting anti-THAAD, I was so shocked that those whom the county office and staffs in a positive position of THAAD said to women, "Particularly, women are totally crazy! Because they do not go to military service. That 'things' are as a hostess in bar and coffee shop dissents THAAD" (SSIF-1, 10122019)

Why do women come out to be over-eager and importunate protesting, you (as a woman) should cook and take care of children at home! (FGD3-E, 09022020)

In the militarisation process, I discovered how militarism as an idea of people who were involved in military elites and relevant institutions ignore and treat women inferior to males. The men – in the patriarchal culture – divide and degrade women's sphere in roles: nurturing, a feeling of compassion and mind. Men must be brave and 'macho' as masculine warriors. Due to the quest to be regarded as macho, some man engages in warfare because they want to be a winner. The winner is proved truly brave and macho when forcing and mercilessly killing others without any feeling of compassion. In comparison, the pacifist is treated like women, being a coward with feminine traits (Spretnak, 1983).

The people of the village experienced violence on account of the anti-communist group's protesting in Soseongri:

One day, there was an incident where women were protesting, and anti-communist male protestors came to Soseongri to interrupt the anti-THAAD protesting. They surrounded the leader of the women protestors because she wore the hat written 'THAAD OUT'. The worst incident happened, then, they surrounded her with back and urinated. (SSIM-7, 08022020)

Male urine can be a physical symbol of male superiority and authority, and the act of standing up urinating is as a sign of superiority. They flaunted their masculinity in front of the women protestors to intimidate them. Within the imagined nation of Korea, the penis comes to stand for masculine power, the Korean nation, and the world at large (Cheng, 2021). In this light, anti-communism consent hates leftists, who are symbolised by the colour red. They consider leftists as North Korean sympathisers. This is a red colour complex in South Korea. This complex has been portraying an image of masculine power pervading social ideologies to maintain political hegemony. With this masculine superiority manifested as a male attitude, women are endangered and oppressed in society. Hence, the militarisation system and process in South Korea operates according to masculinity to maintain itself. It relates to obligatory military service of South Korean males. The military operates as an institution that augments masculinity and national identity, forging authentic Korean being through the male body (Kwon et al., 2007)

5.3.2.2 Forced women loyalty to the father nation

This section adopts the answers of women interviewees who associate patriarchal thought with military service. One of the women interviewees remarked about her experience of her husband. The question was how husbands respond to wives participating in anti-THAAD protesting:

My husband told me. 'I trust that the government's decision is good with the THAAD issue. They, the ministry of national defence, knew very well it more than population, thus, to work out safety. Furthermore, to fight against state power is unbeatable. Why do you have a quarrel anyway, there is no way.' I disappointed him, and to know this opinion may not differ by normal to the male idea in South Korea. (SSIF-1, 10122019)

In this sense, another participant of a group discussion elaborated her experiment with a family member in a personal interview. The thoughts of patriarchy and loyalty with the male perception dominating the nation can be seen from the following:

My husband urged me to stop protesting the anti-THAAD rally. He told me 'We can never stop nation's affaire. Your smaller opposition can never change them.' Even, my father told me 'Why are you protesting that men's tough business? Women does not understand national security because women do not serve military. You have to take care of children at home, this is patriotism to the nation' (SSIF-5, 09022020)

All male South Koreans aged 18 to 35 undergo mandatory military service for 20 months according to a conscription system. Since 1957, when conscription first began, males have been conscripted to reserve force training after official military service. This conscription influences people's perception of the importance of military activity. This conscription seems to be a mechanism to form a collective consciousness amongst citizens in South Korea. Hence, all people have the experience of preparing for war, both indirectly and directly. Through this forced conscription procedure, the majority of people in South Korea have participated in military training.

The feminist scholars from South Korea: Kwon et al. (2007) and Moon (1997), point out and analyse that military conscription is associated with a militarised nation and ideology which result in males perceiving military service as superior in developing nations. They highlight that the patriarchal and hierarchical logic of power from military conscription permeates a culture, social system, economy, and religion to drive political gendering (Kwon, 2000).

Moreover, according to Kim (2002), the gendered militarism drives a perception of division in a dualist system; males are combatant and protectors, and females are under protection. Put differently, the state is masculinised like a father protecting family members. The population is feminised, like mothers who support fathers and sons, who protect the nation. Hence, the population must obey all the government's actions and never doubt its decisions. The people must be entirely loyal to the country, because the state is a father protecting its people. These two types of social identification, filial piety and loyalty, are influenced by Confucianism in South Korea (Hwang, 1999).

5.3.2.3 Impact on community relationship

Most of the participants from Seongju remarked that the effect of THAAD as a militarisation phenomenon affects both women and men. One participant remarked:

I do not think THAAD affection damages only women physically and mentally. We, the residents, both women and men are harmed by THAAD affairs. (SSIF-4, 19012020).

This remark was confirmed by another male interviewee, who argued that:

I understand military activities damaged women and children's lives directly in the Korean War. Korean women were sex slaves during the colonial period, and there has been reports of sexual violence by US military personnel in Korean history. Here, in Soseongri township, the US military presence does not affect women only. It is a common problem for peace in the Korean Peninsula, and the greater East Asia. (SSIM-5, 21012020)

This information provides insight into the impact of the deployment of THAAD in South Korea – it is nothing more than oppression and violence of people of a smaller nation by a superpower nation. In the same vein, another interview employed a perspective as women regarding THAAD effects

It is not only damaging women by THAAD. Moreover, THAAD is harmful to Seongju and Gimcheon, and across all the Korean Peninsula. (SSIM-3, 15012020)

It is confirmed that people in South Korea are harmed by the US military presence: new imperialism, and empire in the militarisation process. This study points out the concept of empire during the militarisation process, its attack on humanity in general and its effect on women.

As above information from interviewees in this section indicates, the domination ideologies based on a dualist spirit as a mechanism in militarisation develop subordinate nations by imperialism, abuse women by masculine power, and the exclusion of grassroots groups by a small elite. An eco-feminist perspective points out the dominant spirit behind the militarisation of a patriarchal system oppressing women and natural resources. Therefore, the arguments emanating from people's experiences uncovered the gendered and gendering militarisation in military activities of empire to maintain the masculine authority of the military, attacking the lives of women.

5.4 WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE ANTI-THAAD MOVEMENT

The reasons why people resist THAAD deployment must make people rethink what national security and defence are. This section presents what the residents and other participants of resistance protest against. It focuses on women participants' understanding and behaviours rendering values of degradation on women, emphasising masculine domination. The emerging themes of this section serve as answers to key research questions in this study.

5.4.1 Considering children's future

The interviewer asked one of the elderly women residents participating in a rally of anti-THAAD why she came to join this protest? Like other elderly women, she stated:

'I do not have much time left to live here, but my child will receive this land deployed weapon as an inheritance to live. How can my child inherit dangerous land? That is why I dissent to THAAD deployment.' (SSIF-2, 11122019).

This remark was confirmed by other younger women in a discussion. The discussion with a women's group during a cultural rally in Gimcheon provided the following responses concerning their children as the reason for dissent:

I do not want my children to live in this kind of damaged district, so I want to change this circumstance'(FGD3-A), 'I came out to resist due to my children. Me neither. I do not want my child to grow up in this harmful environment.' (FGD3-B)

In an in-depth interview with a mother of three, the interviewee said:

Mothers would fight for their children if there was a 1% chance to transform this harmful area. It is the instinct of the oppressed is to protect children's lives. I started to resist THAAD deployment for this reason. (SSTF-8, 11012020)

The evidence as given above clearly shows that the US military THAAD for security is contradictory in terms of protecting people's lives in South Korea. The resistance of women resisters living around the THAAD base constitutes protecting their children's lives.

5.4.2 Willing to live together with nature

We live here, but US THAAD makes water pollution and air bad, shouldn't we protest? You know what, US army and Korean soldiers around 500 who stay there on the US base camp, so, we are worried that they used water from flowing

through our village. Electronic power is dangerous. We are farming here. That is why we protest US THAAD (SSIF-6 11012020).

Moreover, one of the grandmothers is the oldest, and she argued,

I miss to take some wild vegetables on the mountain where US military settled.

She got married to a man from this village and moved there. Her life in Soseongri cannot continue without natural resources. She hoped to take back a stream where the village used to wash clothes and vegetables. After the US THAAD weapons came to the valley, she has been worried about water pollution in the stream due to the waste of polluted water from the US base.

The key finding from following the above, from an interview with one of the peasants, indicates that nature-resourced bees and plants are interdependent. Along with nature's interdependence, farmers need interaction with nature to plant for a sustainable livelihood. For farmers, it is a daily routine in their lives to communicate with nature. They respond sensibly to climate change and environmental change, breathing with nature.

We, farmers, observe bees' activities due to the electromagnetic impacts bee's moving way. Bees are very important as flowers pollinated by bees bear fruit and make honey for bees. I worry and suspect bees can pollinate around THAAD. (SSIM-7, 08022020)

5.4.3 Speaking autonomous women's voices

I have participated in rallies protesting against THAAD at *Soseongri* for a while (PRS: Participation rally of Soseongri) – the solidarity rally on Wednesdays and the candle culture rally on Saturdays, and *Gimcheon* (PRG: Participation rally of Gimcheon); and the candle culture rally on Sundays. Every time during rallies, there is a section for women residents speaking out by themselves. Some women residents led the slogan ‘*Draw THAAD out!*’ Then, participants shouted ‘*Put Peace in!*’ Furthermore, one of the women residents had a speech provoking people to join residents’ anti-THAAD protests. Almost all women residents in Sonseongri are septuagenarians and octogenarians.

I am getting old and dying. However, my posterities should live without this bad weapon here, my homeland. There is only way to protect this road to prevent US military.

Women residents participate in all the rallies regarding activities for anti-THAAD protesting, voicing their opinions, protecting the street, and cooking for visitors. One of their activities is organising a choir group for resisting THAAD called the *Dandelion choir*. This group choir sing songs in their voices concerning anti-THAAD and world peace (PRS, 11122019). Below is one of the songs they sing:

*Go away THAAD and come on Peace, our land, by our strength,
Our humble prayer be a path toward peace in the world,
We shall prevail, we shall protect ourselves,
We shall sprout of reconciliation on the land of peace without war.*

사드 가고 평화오라, 우리의 땅 우리의 힘으로
우리들의 작은 기도가, 세계평화의 길이 되리라
우리 승리하리라, 우리 지켜 내리라
전쟁 없는 평화의 땅에 화해의 싹을 피워 내리라

There is a core theme about women's initiative to speak out in different ways. They have never doubted that the Korean government protects the population. However, the government did not include resident's opinions about decisions regarding THAAD deployment. This region has powerful political right-wing divisions. Hence, the grandmothers have always advocated the right wing belonging to former President Park's regime. However, they were disappointed with ultra-right wings (SSIM-5, 21012020).

When the president changed Moon, I believed in this Moon's regime to cancel this weapon, THAAD installation. However, it is still here, and Moon does not respond to us. Thus, who can we believe now? We have no choice to but to step out and air our views in protests (SSIF-6 11012020)

In this light, when it comes to the requirement of 'Can the Subaltern speak?' (Spivak, 2015), women residents can answer 'I can speak'. 'Subaltern' is a name that refers to the general, subordinated people; the poor, the female minority, and other marginalised people, class, age, gender, position, etc. However, the dandelion grandmothers noticed the dominant power as the US military attacked their way of life. Hence, the grandmothers as subordinates have started to speak to the dominant power. The way of speaking out resembled Minjung's spirit that in dance, singing and gathering of resistance has been resisting destroyed life circumstances across Korean history.

5.5 CHRISTIAN THOUGHTS ON THE MILITARISATION IN THE THAAD DEPLOYMENT

This section is based on the voices of church members, church leaders and theologians in Protestant Christianity from the fieldwork interviews and focus-group discussions, although this study traces the THAAD issue as a militarisation phenomenon. It was prudent also to hear the position of experts on the ecumenical movement. This section seeks to determine how South Korean Protestant Churches deal with the militarisation phenomenon, as revealed by the study participants. Moreover, the section answers research question three; How can eco-feminist theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea? The voices of an expert group and church leaders have experienced to participate in an anti-THAAD movement ensured the rigour and reliability of this research. The voices will authenticate militarisation affecting women and nature under the domination ideology based on dualism.

5.5.1 Exclude militarisation issue in Christian faith

The focus-group discussions drew the required perspectives of militarisation in terms of the THAAD issue to the Protestant Church members. The discussion with church members who perceive the issue of THAAD guide the asked Korean church members to respond. One of the participants maintained that

most Korean churches are not interested in THAAD issues except few of them those who are influenced around that region.(FGD2-B, 23122019)

Other participants agreed with this remark. Most of the local churches do not care about THAAD and the militarisation phenomenon. The discussion brought out a question of quiet reasons regarding social-political issues – particularly US military affairs in South Korea. It pointed out the role of pastors as Church leaders to respond to political issues in the Church.

These kinds of social issues for Christians are so perceived as the problem of national politics, not for the faith of Christian. Pastors in the Churches should theologically respond to social issues, but they should not bring up words of the political issue itself. (FGD2-C, 23122019)

From the above statement, the theme coming out is exclusively the US military THAAD and other militarisation issues as social politics in the Christian faith of South Korea.

5.2.2 Understood communists as evil in the Christian faith

Furthermore, as the above section treated the red colour complex account of the division system in the Korean Peninsula, a recurring theme in the Christian faith regarding the US military THAAD was associated with the red colour complex in Korean churches. The red colour complex representing hostility against North Koreans and communist ideology affected the Korean Christianity faith.

There is a strong voice about THAAD among Christians, maybe majority Christians, have the idea that anti-US military affairs link with pro-communist which is regarded as evil in the Korean Church. This over ideological warming frame in the Korean Church makes it difficult to bring it to the table. (FGD2-D, 23122019)

Cold War ideology provides the frame that communists are regarded as evil within the South Korean churches. During the Cold War period, the US leaders incited fear of the communist military power amongst the public in order to consolidate the US hegemony all over the world.

I remember, when attending worship in my Church, a pastor preached that we should fight in spirituality against North Koreans as communists are evil for victorious Christian. I used to believe in this frame for evangel. (FGD2-B, 23122019)

5.5.3 A Korean way of eco-feminist theology in the concept of life

I conducted a discussion with some Korean theologians on theological responses to militarisation and empire. One of the participants, firstly, elaborated considering ‘life’(Saeng-myeong) in *Oikos*:

When considering the survival of a nation, system, and personal in military activities for peace and freedom, theological position firstly has to consider a direction into Oikos, the house of God, in the world. As theological perspective, each nation has their own portion. Living things are also thought to be given each portion, which can be measured from a number of scientifically economic perspectives. I think the standard to give each portion should not be excessive, need to valence. It should be the foundation of all creation that has life diversity. (FGD1-A, 13122019)

According to this remark, it was an object of theological discussion regarding military activities, not for the state institutions or person. This group discussion emerged that distributive of life in terms of all living beings:

In terms of the view of nurturing life, militarisation depletes natural resources and energy to spend the military-industrial complex. The people's taxes are depleting resources as they are not used to preserve life, but for military purposes. It is injustice and unfair phenomenon of nature resources. I argue that eco-feminist theology also should challenge an unfair distribution of natural resources. (FGD1-B, 1312219)

All participants in this FGD problematised militarisation and the empire in terms of the notion of life. They also argued that a Korean way of theology dealing with militarisation issues is needed in the Korean Church.

A Korean way of confessing God is needed on the Korean Peninsula. Western Christianity, the survival of the fittest, and Darwin's ideas are believed to have influenced militarisation. This is because Christianity was used as a tool as the West became imperial. Korean society is also Christianity centred just like the US, so theological reflection on Korean identity is needed on militarisation. (FGD1-C, 12132019)

To stress this point, another informant said:

We already have many beautiful notions in traditional philosophy and spirit. What about 'Sicheonju' thought in 'Donghack' for the Korean way of eco-feminist theology? Eco-feminism problematises human-centred and androcentric. In this light, militarisation is not interrogated with patriarchal culture; it lives in an interrelation and objectifies all non-male things. Sicheonju thought addresses all issues, including its militarisation ideology (FGD1-B, 12132019).

The above remarks can help to discover that Korean philosophy, theology and spirit are related to the concept of 'life'. Thus, this study discovered the likelihood of the life-centredness theology as eco-feminist theology to respond to the militarisation of the US military THAAD system in South Korea.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 5 described themes from collected data: semi-structured interviews, FGDs, observation and secondary data. I, as the researcher, organised the entire data resource into similar themes. From participants' statements of the THAAD deployment, four common

themes emerged: their feeling of fear, anger, sorrow destroying normal daily life, state violence, and unsecured national security.

This chapter presented themes relevant to the research questions. The research question is: How has militarisation and empire affected natural resources in South Korea? This study brings out the effects on natural resources by the US military THAAD system such as the impact on fruits and human bodies by the electromagnetic waves of the THAAD radar, blocking animals' path by the THAAD area in the middle of the mountain, and contamination of soil by the military helicopter from the THAAD base. Therefore, the US military THAAD influences natural resources, including animals, human bodies, soil and plants.

The research question of how militarisation and empire have affected women in South Korea guided the selection of themes. The US military THAAD deployment of a militarisation phenomenon cuts across dominating women: ignoring women's voices and forced loyalty to the father nation where all themes emerged from the data collected. In this part, it is the remarkable theme that the effects of the THAAD conflicts not only influence women, but also men in participants' understanding.

In addition, the notable theme discovered was women's activity regarding resistance in the anti-THAAD movement during the field research. This chapter discovered themes from women participants. The data collection stressed the motivation of anti-THAAD resistance in considering their children's future and willingness to live together with nature. Also, women speaking out of autonomous voices and acts against the US military are significant themes. These emerging themes can help to explore eco-feminist theological responses in the transformative research paradigm.

Lastly, during data recording to find themes, regarding how theology can be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea led to categorising themes. The statements of informants stressed a Korean way of eco-feminist theology. The concept of life was paramount to addressing the key research question.

Simply put, this chapter presented themes following the research questions regarding the effects on women and natural resources. Women's resistance in the anti-THAAD movement was emphasised. The concept of life derived from a Korean way of eco-feminist theology was suggested.

The next chapter will attempt to analyse emerging themes in-depth on the Korean way of eco-feminism centred on 'life' to answer the key research question.

CHAPTER SIX:

TOWARDS A WOMEN'S THEOLOGY OF LIFE IN EAST ASIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST US MILITARY EMPIRE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of the research was to explore how eco-feminist theology can be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural environment in South Korea. In order to fulfil this aim, it was imperative to identify that the presence of the US military THAAD in name of national security affects humanity and natural environment.

Following this, the previous chapter presented the data and analysed the experience of US THAAD missile system, its effects on the living foundation of participants and natural environment, the women's resistance for a living foundation, and how Korean Christianity responds to US military THAAD issues. The experiences of participants from the village of Soseongri and Gimcheon are that the THAAD installation is an unsafe and insecure weapon, not only for women, but for all humanity and the natural environment, and that THAAD seeks to uproot them from their living foundation in nature.

In this chapter, I explore some of the major themes that have emerged from the findings of this study to analyse and address the main research question further. This chapter, therefore, highlights a Korean way of eco-feminist theology in 'life'-centred theology. In order to respond to the militarisation by the US military empire, Korean types of eco-feminist theology are suggested.

Hence, the chapter consists of two sections: key emerging themes towards a Korean way of eco-feminist theology, and suggestions for East Asian perspectives of eco-feminist theology.

6.2 KEY EMERGING THEMES

6.2.1 Militarised masculinities as a hegemonic power

One of the factors that emerged during my field research is the influence of 'militarised masculinities' on national security. This theme appears to come up with the research sub-

question, ‘How has militarisation and empire affected women in South Korea?’ During the process of militarisation with THAAD deployment in Soseongri, interrogating the effects on the village people is focused on women’s experiences. As the previous chapter presented, the installation of THAAD influenced women’s lives negatively. Some women participants have suffered insults from other residents, family members, Church members, and public officers. The insults included degrading women for interfering in military affairs, as a hindrance to national security.

Women should not be involved in the work of the state, they should cook and nurture their families at home.

Because women do not go to military service, women claim anti-THAAD.

We are ashamed of your behaviour that of going to shout negative voices against the government when it comes to THAAD deployment. Please focus on nurturing your children.

Those are what we heard when we participated in the anti-THAAD movement from my village people and even our family members. The essential point was that women do not know national security. Don’t meddle with political affairs of government as a woman. As it is, women have to focus on their household (FGD-3, 09022020).

The group for FGD-3 constituted women residents in the critical perception of THAAD. They uncovered their experiments as women from shouting insults at the resistance.

That old lady came out again. She must stay at home. These affairs for national security are not her business (SSI-M-6, 21012020).

The grandmothers in Seongju were also criticised by public officers.

This study discovered that people who are pro-THAAD understand THAAD’s assistance to work for national security. Moreover, a notion of national security is understood absolutely in military affairs. They trust the government’s decision of THAAD deployment in Soseongri. Indeed, this idea is from the phenomenon that South Korea’s government joins an international military alliance with the US military, following this US military THAAD deployment legitimised in the name of enhancing its national security. The understanding of national security conceptualises a way of militaristic security and defence for the country. The idea of security is namely militarised national security in South Korea, fashioning women as ignorant in matters of national security. One of the informants remarked:

My husband urged me to stop protesting the anti-THAAD rally. He told me, 'We can never stop nation's affairs. Your smaller opposition can never change them.'
Even my father told me, "Why are you protesting that men's tough business?"
Women do not understand national security because women do not serve the military. You have to take care of children at home; this is patriotism to the nation (SSIF-9, 09032020).

Cynthia Enloe argues that the understanding of militarised national security is related to masculinity. The masculine identity, in an aggressive way, is characterised as protector, toughness, courage, violence, aggression, control and domination to protect women's weaknesses (Enloe, 2016:62).

The more militarised the understanding of what national security is, the more likely it will be that the conversation about national security-and international security-will be a largely masculinised affair.

In support of the above, Enloe importantly indicates that

militarism legitimises masculinised men as protectors, as actors, as rational strategists, while it places feminised people in the role of the emotionally informed, physically weak, only parochially aware protected (Enloe, 2004:154).

As she argues, military behaviours and activities encourage masculinity. What is the meaning of masculinity? Harding (1986) argues that gender is socially and culturally constructed characteristics, such as power, autonomy, rationality, activity, and the public are stereotypically associated with masculinity. Their opposites' weakness, dependence/ connection, emotionality, passivity, and privacy are associated with femininity. The role of males and masculine power is characterised by the military national security.

On the other hand, women and feminine roles are regarded as unimportant, and they are based on caring for the household. The exclusion of decision-making and protection of women was the objective of militaristic national security based on the gendered understanding of masculinity. This concept of masculinity and femininity in military affairs amounts to insults at woman who resist, ignoring and trivialising their household and voice. In thinking of the logic of militarised national security and the logic of masculinity, superiority is intertwined.

Many of feminist scholars on national security and militarisation (Eichler, 2014, Henry, 2017, Chun, 2002, Enloe, 2016, Tickner, 1992) emphasise that the concept of 'militarised masculinities' in international relations includes militarisation. They argue that militarised masculinity manifests itself in diverse forms, both within and beyond the military. It is significant to understand that the theme of militarised masculinities is constituted within and beyond public militaries. Hence, it speaks of militarised masculinities in the plural form (Henry, 2017:186).

Enloe (2000:226-7) also pays attention to the process of militarisation rather than focusing narrowly on the ideology of militarism in her ground-breaking work on gender and international relations in terms of national security. Regarding national security perspectives, she argues that, unless overcoming masculinised international relationships, it could not be demilitarised in the world. Tickner (1992; 2001) argues that militarised masculinities are central to the perpetuation of violence in international relations. For instance, he explained that in post-Soviet Russia held on to the Soviet notion of militarised masculinity by maintaining a policy of male conscription. This notion of militarised masculinity is created by military service as central to socialisation, citizenship, and patriotic duty.

This militarised masculinity demonstrates itself in multiple aspects and diverse forms within and beyond the military. Also, not only men, but also women can be fashioned and characterised by militarised masculinity, socially made rather than biologically given (Eichler, 2014).

According to the understanding of militarised masculinities from scholars in this study, the term of militarised masculinities is masculinity-centred and valued military behaviours and mindsets. The military characterises and conceptualises masculinity as a superior value to conquer and dominate an enemy. It is utilised hegemonic power. Therefore, women are excluded as 'other things', because masculinity identifies women with the enemy that does not help military affairs and national security; hence, women are demeaned and hated for being anti-THAAD. In particular, militarised masculinity as a hegemonic power degrades women who have no experience in military service and an understanding of national security. Also, the other values, apart from militarist ideology, are distorted as irrational thoughts in the hegemonic power of militarised masculinity.

When I participated in protesting anti-THAAD, I was so shocked that those who work in the county office and staff in support of THAAD said to women, “Particularly, women are totally crazy! Because they do not go to military service. Those ‘things’ are as a hostess in bar and coffee shop dissents THAAD” (SSIF-1, 10122019).

This was spoken by the mayor of Seongju. The documentary movie *Blue Butterfly Effect*¹⁶ (Back, 2017) shows and explains the background of this issue. He used to oppose THAAD installed in Seongju before confirmation of THAAD deployment in *Soseongri* of *Seongju* by the government. Following this thoughtless remark, his consciousness of women was uncovered. Two points emerge from this remark. Who are the women residents in Seongju in the eyes of the mayor? He calls women protesting ‘things’! A second question is why he belittled women as only fit for employment as bar hostesses and coffeehouse managers?

The remarks point to sexual discrimination. The selling of coffee and alcohol as women’s economic activities are linked with an androcentric culture that disparages women. Women who come out to protest are identified as absolutely the objective of that sexual culture. This is rampant misogyny (Kim, 2017). Hence, this aspect of sexual discrimination was demonstrated by the mechanism of militarised masculinities to women’s groups through executive power. The executive power in Seongju have’s idea is that women do not understand militaristic national security. This idea is also adopted by militarised masculinities.

One of the participants in FGDs held a separate interview to share her experience with family members. She said that her father-in-law, her mother, and mother-in-law disapproved of anti-THAAD activities. The idea is that a woman as a mother does not have to interfere with government affairs in national security. She was sorrowful because her mother and father did not understand that her actions were intended to prepare for her child to live in a peaceful country (SSIF-10, 090222020). Her insults hurled by her family members were not only coming from men, but also women members who had an ideal of militarised masculinities in national security. From this experience, it seems men and women have to pursue militarised masculinity, which affects how people are absorbed into many different layers in a hierarchical societal structure.

¹⁶ This movie is about the record of people’s protesting THAAD in *Seongju*.

The concept of ‘militarised masculinities’ is treated as hegemonic power to oppress women and feminine values in society. It reveals authority in a hierarchical structure: militarised masculinities in male/female over powerfully female/male militarised masculinities in executive power over the ordinary citizen. Sjoberg and Via (2010:5) support this argument that militarised masculinities permanently promote unequal aspects of the militarisation process. They indicate that:

If masculinism is the ideology that justifies and naturalizes gender hierarchy by not questioning the elevation of ways of being and knowing associated with men and masculinity over those associated with women and femininity, then the values socially associated with femininity and masculinity are awarded unequal weight in a competitive social order, perpetuating inequality in perceived gender difference. Social processes select for values and behaviours that can be associated with an idealized, or hegemonic, masculinity.

Therefore, in the process of militarisation in the deployment the THAAD in South Korea, females and femininity are excluded from decision-making pertaining to militaristic national security. Women and femininity are subordinated as protected ‘things’ because of the ideal of ‘militarised masculinities’. The concept of ‘militarised masculinities’ oppresses and degrades women and femininity.

6.2.2 Influence of militarised patriotism and Protestantism

During the fieldwork research, this theme emerged as a key finding in the anti-THAAD movement. To elaborate this point further, women of the anti-THAAD movement in Seongju postulated:

One day, there was an incident where women were protesting, and anti-communist male protestors came to Soseongri to interrupt the anti-THAAD protest. They surrounded the leader of the women protestors because she wore the hat written ‘THAAD OUT’. The worst incident that happened is that they surrounded and insulted her. They turned away from her and urinated (SSIM-7 08022020).

They were from *Taegeukgi Budae*,¹⁷ which means the national flag of South Korea, which rallies an ultra-conservative political community. The participants of these rallies shook the *Taegeukgi*, national flag and the flags of the United States and pro-Trump slogans. *Taegeukgi*

¹⁷*Budae* (부대) is a Korean word in *Hangle*, meaning ‘troops’.

crowds have faith that the US military intervention prevented communism from overriding the South during the Korean War. Their motto is to reinforce the alliance of South Korea and the US. The US flags symbolise more than an ally of South Korea. For the *Taegeukgi* protestors, the US is expected to be hawk-eyed against left-wing forces and other pro-North Korean sympathisers (Han and Hundt, 2021).

Patriotism is the feeling of love and devotion to one's country that materialises through a positive emotional attachment to the nation. Patriotism brings about feelings of solidarity and commitment to the government, institutions and the sizeable political community. However, the negative consequences of ultra-patriotic can legitimise war, terrorism and military conflicts. This case of 'militarised patriotism' in *Taegucki* crowds likewise elicits ultra-patriotic mood to justify military conflicts and militaristic security for their homeland security. Their militarised patriotic behaviour exposes violent inclination as aggressive in the protesting. The participants are almost all older men and women who have experienced the Korean War and military regime. Political vested interests instigate and provoke their experience of communists and US military alliance to protect the country. Thus, the anti-THAAD protests are treated as an anti-patriotic aspect and pro-communist North Korean.

Cramer (2007; 2009) contributes to the study of patriotism. In *Militarized Patriotism: Why the US Marketplace of Ideas Failed Before the Iraq War*, she indicates that this militarised patriotism is a leftover from the Cold War. It is notable that militarisation of the US happened during the Cold War with the creation of a large, permanent army, a vast network of overseas bases, and the blossoming of what has been called the "national security state". This militarisation happened because the US feared a large threat from the Soviet Union and communism. This collective fear led to a militarised political culture with two significant norms; to support strong national security policies, and to defer to the executive branch war powers. Hence, she identifies 'militarised patriotism' as the mechanism that enforces two norms of appropriate patriotic behaviour: the support for a strong military and deference of war powers to the Executive Branch (Cramer, 2007:n.12)

Her analysis is very important, especially in view of the aspect of demeaned women resistance by militarised patriotic violence that pursues the strong anti-communist and pro-US military alliance. The militarised patriotism within the pro-American political community reveals the important role of how military affairs centred on patriotic behaviour works in THAAD crisis.

According to Cramer (2007), militarisation emerged from the Cold War hegemony. It continuously produced and reproduced militarised politics, culture and patriotism in the post-Cold War era. This produced militarised patriotism demonstrating distorted masculinity based on males' phallic symbol as weapon of hatred to women, as seen from women inhabitants' experiences previously mentioned.

From *Taeguckibudae*, the targets of hatred are both women and unpatriotic activity. The participants of *Taeguckibudae* advocate pro-THAAD installation. They argue that this nation has to be armed to protect itself from the enemy's military attack. The nation's image is masculinised by those in the hegemony of militarised patriotism. The image of masculinised nation adopted the concept of a father nation. This concept of father nation is intertwined with a militarised national security and patriarchal ideals like the conventional perception that the father in the family protects the wife and children (Kim, 2002a:147). Patriarchy imposes rigid divisions of male and female roles in society.

Taegeukgi protestors represent their definition of patriotism, democracy and nationalism. This group has strongly advocated the dictatorship of the military regime since the 1960s–1970s. This military regime under Park Chunghee's dictatorship has articulated hyper-masculinist developmentalism to bridge Western masculinist capitalism with Confucian parental governance (Han and Ling, 1998:73). This hyper-masculinised state still remains along with the militarised political culture group, *Taegeukgibudae*. Han and Ling (1998) argue that the state as a father/husband has a responsibility for family livelihood and economic development. On the other hand, the society as a daughter/wife provides labour for the family to obey the state for economic development. In this light, *Taegeukgibudae* and pro-US military THAAD installation groups articulate highly masculinised patriotism centred by military affairs.

The patriotic behaviour and loyalty to this masculinised concept of the nation are seen in military service for males, and a supporting US military alliance. Instead of maintaining peace by physical military tension and military conflicts, building peace on conversation and reconciliation is characterised as unpatriotic thoughts, irrational and feminine. This militarised patriotism within the concept of the patriarchal nation has become a gendered phenomenon. In the context of anti-THAAD, militarised patriotism justifies the being of women and the value of femininity when women or femininity contributes to militarised behaviour for national

security through THAAD deployment. Otherwise, it oppresses women with phallic authority in hatred of femininity.

6.2.2.1 Challenge of militarised Protestantism in Korean Churches

Militarised patriotism has appeared in Korean Christianity as well. Some of the conservative Protestant Churches have a tendency to join and support this *Taegeckgi Budae* movement. This section interrogates how Christianity contributed to the presence US military with some Christians supporting a movement of *Taegeckgi Budae*. The theological background of Christianity is Christian Zionism; that is why the *Taegeckgi* group holds on to flags of Israel and the United States. Those flags symbolise the Christian contribution to the Back to Jerusalem movement (In, 2019).

Moreover, what appeared from this is an enthusiastic, anti-communist and pro-Americanism worldview. Kang (2018) asserts that the conservative and fundamental theology of the Protestant Church in South Korea advocates a militaristic way of thinking to all believers with the concept of a holy war. According to Icheol's research, a militant doctrine of war has been established through the official organisation of the Church. The Korean Christian churches defined the Korean War as a holy war. The holy war is termed God's War or Jehovah's War to cite stories of war and violence in the Old Testament. The tradition of biblical literalism in South Korean Protestantism has contributed to the acceptance of the holy war discourse (Kang, 2018).

From the colonial period (1910–1945), Korean churches incorporated anti-communism into their doctrinal system. The communists were enemies to be defeated. In the discussion on the spiritual discernment of Korea to overcome the empire, Yongbock Kim (2021:149) points out that Korean Christians are imbued with the belief that communism is an atheistic, evil, anti-God political ideology.

Therefore, in order to win the global struggle between good and evil, which is the core of the confrontation between Christianity and communism, it becomes very urgent to 'Christianise' Korea (Kang, 2007:74). This anti-communist view has infused Christian missionary passions in South Korea. Consequently, this aspect of militarised Protestantism has been established by incorporating fundamental theology and militaristic politics into US military propaganda in society.

6.2.3 Division from militarised dualistic thoughts

Another theme that emerged from this research was that of dualist thoughts in the militarisation process. Eco-feminists pointed out dualism and dualistic thoughts that justify the superior spheres dominating the inferior spheres. In other words, the aspects of separation, exclusion and denial underlie dualistic thinking, evoking distinctions between superior and inferior and supporting all kinds of domination. Greta Gaard contends that the nature/culture dualism of patriarchal thought affects animals and humans located within nature (Gaard, 1993:6). Eco-feminist Val Plumwood asserts critically that human-centredness and human/nature dualism are directly associated with the environmental crisis (Plumwood, 2005:123).

Dualistic aspects operate as a mechanism to divide, distinguish and exclude in the interconnecting world to maintain the superior's domination. In the context of militarisation, dualism support militarises ideologies that military behaviours are more privileged and authorised than other social activities. Military-centeredness in national security subordinates others in non-militarised domains. This study highlights the theme of 'militarised dualism' that emerged as revealed military-centred dualism in the militarisation phenomenon of South Korea. Though this militarised dualism is an aspect of the THAAD issue, the privilege based on national security in the US military accounts for the superior spheres that dominate inferior spheres. Militarisation aspects show us that natural resources can be identified materials to use it for military equipment. The deployment of THAAD weapons is always a privilege to society. The natural resources are always subjugated by military activities. The hierarchic structure in militarisation is that the highest level is the US military. The South Korean military, local officers, citizens, inhabitants, women resisters, and natural resources are at the lowest level. This level in the hierarchy is constructed for political reasons in militarisation and domination based on race, nationality, regional, gender, and human-centredness. This mechanism of dualism works to bridge the gap between elites, the US military and the government public officers, and ordinary citizens, residents and women in South Korea, thereby translating executive power to the grassroots and natural resources.

This study discovered how military-centred dualistic thinking divides into superior and inferior spheres in the context of deployment of THAAD as a militarisation phenomenon in South Korea as below:

Table 3: Militarised dualistic ideals

Militarised dualistic ideals	Superior/privilege	Inferior/degradation
	Protector as masculinity	Protected as femininity
	Deployment THAAD	People and nature around THAAD
	The authority of US military	The regulated military force in South Korea
	The father of the nation	Society culture

Therefore, this chapter proves that dualistic thoughts lead to separation and domination based on a hierarchical system and culture in the militarisation process.

Moreover, in the previous chapter, this study discovered that the collected data from statements present that THAAD provoked an ecological crisis: 1) electromagnetic waves, 2) occupying the ground where animals and plants live, and 3) contaminating soil with used oil and other chemicals.

Among them, this section zooms in on the data collected based on dualism that emerged from features of the divide, separation and obstruction associated with an ecological crisis. Participants remarked on the position of THAAD in the middle of the mountain; roads were obstructed for animals, particularly the Korean bear that used to come through this mountain to get food (SSIM-4, 15012020). They asserted that the THAAD deployment blocked the path for humans and nature.

The people in Soseongri and Nogockri used to come and go to other villages along the mountain valley road. Moreover, people used to get wild vegetables along the mountain valley, but the valley is now obstructed (SSIM-6 21102020).

In addition, they claimed that invisible impacts from the THAAD radar influence insects' activities that interconnect with plants for bearing fruits:

there are the potential effects of electromagnetic waves on the bee's path to fruit farming (SSIM-7, 08022020).

In this sense, dualistic thought in the US military THAAD deployment appears as the phenomenon of separation and distinction among all living beings-humanity, society, culture and the natural environment.

6.2.4 The US military authority ignores others: natural resources

The THAAD deployment as a military system has without a doubt affected the environment. The deployment of THAAD has not only disrupted local communities, but also contaminated the physical environment wherever it is located. In this chapter, these ecological influences by the THAAD are examined in-depth.

Another factor identified by the informants and literature as the reason for environmental damage by US military THAAD deployment is ignoring natural resources. It can support the argument that the US military empire ignored natural resources and their contamination by THAAD, with one of the informants explaining:

For the US military, the environment around the THAAD is not considered an important element. You know what? They throw out the oil from the helicopter onto the mountain yard because of some problem. They do not care about the trees in the mountain (SSIM-5, 21012020).

Moreover, in the process of the deployment of THAAD, the impact on the environment was disregarded. In order to deploy a military base or military installation, the local government must conduct the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) according to the law of EIA in South Korea. The EIA is designed to review, predict and assess the potential environmental impacts of the THAAD project before the THAAD installation. Paradoxically, the Ministry of National Defence (MND) in South Korea remarks that the THAAD in Seongju is a provisional deployment and needs a small environmental evaluation. One of the participants in an interview said,

we neither do not need to conduct the EIA or small size evaluation. Because we know that depending on the appointment of intercept altitude by the US military, it can be different to the result (SSIM-7, 08022020).

The above statements reveal that the military empire does not consider it necessary to have an EIA certificate for the mountain and farm fields in *Seongju* and the result and dimension of

environmental damage can be controlled by military authority. Their focus is only on the deployment of THAAD and running this weapon in surveillance of China. In other words, the US military authority, as the military empire in the militarisation process, reinforces the hegemony towards the centredness of military activities in the name of security. This hegemony subliminally disregards natural resources, particularly in the environment of the bases overseas.

One of the participants in interviews remarked on the ecological problem account of THAAD installation and the authority of the US military:

The problem is not only the THAAD deployment per se. It should be considered with an apparent purpose of the US military. The fundamental goal of the US military is to operate the radar of THAAD to detect and track military activity across the Chinese territory. However, whenever the radar is running, the vibration and noise are felt throughout Soseongri. We are so afraid of electromagnetic waves. We know that people cannot live within 3.6 km from the radar, but almost ten thousand people live in Nogockri of Gimcheon and Soseongri of Seongju. Even orchards and farms, animals and plants, are under the sphere of influence. As the US military promotes THAAD for military purposes, it is indifferent to whether it is ecological degradation. I think they are thinking this land can be used without any burden. Moreover, it seems that the US military does not consider local people to be human, except white people. Here we are, as humans are living. Why do they neglect us? Are we not human? Why don't they install THAAD in front of their house if it is safe! When the US military passed, we recorded our emotions and resistance in yelling, crying, and sorrow. I was thinking; that they did not treat us as humans. It is so painful. (SSIM-3, 04122019)

Karen Warren criticises the human-centeredness that threatens the existence of non-human entities. She argues that human-centeredness could not be tolerated in two senses: affecting the oppressed animals and nature and affecting the oppressors of human identity and society. Moreover, she argues that

the structure of human-centeredness distorts the possibilities for who we are and what we can become like humans in much the same way that the structures of racism and sexism do for coloniser identities and for masculine identities (Warren, 1997:348).

Relying on her argument, the human-centeredness thought in this militarisation phenomenon of the THAAD deployment indicates the US military authority's centeredness. As mentioned

above, the US military-centeredness subjugates the village people and the natural resources by ignoring environmental regulations and the harmful effects of THAAD to the local population. Significantly, the remark reveals the human-centeredness of military power manifested in the subordination of others in the name of national security.

The structure of human-centeredness affects the construction of dominant human identity and values in the cultures to endorse human identity and the virtue of the master. Hence, people related to the militarisation process neglect and degrade natural resources. The influence of the US military occupies the base of life for the people in *Seongju*. The lives endured by people before the installation of THAAD were based on the soil, water, and peaceful vibe, without any noise from military installations; missiles, helicopters and vehicles.

The US military authority, as human-centredness in this militarisation phenomenon, affects ecological denial and humans who are not the master. The master in the THAAD aspect of militarisation designates the US military as the protector and the Master of Security versus the South Korean government. The Ministry of National Defence in South Korea accepts the US military as master, rather than the population.

The military empire neglected the environment around the THAAD site. With the influence of this human-centredness based on the US military, the natural resource in *Seongju* is being contaminated.

6.2.5 Military defence system for national security

The noticeable argument regarding the relationship between militarisation and damaging the environment is the following (Gould, 2007:333):

Militarisation destroys ecosystems numerous times and at numerous levels including extraction, production, distribution, testing, transportation, disposal, implementation, and reconstruction ... Militarisation is the single most ecologically destructive human endeavour.

Military activities in the militarisation process are comprised of the production of armament and its testing, military training, establishment, maintenance and closure of the military bases, storage and transport of military equipment, accidents and decommissioning of obsolete military equipment. These military activities directly affect the soil, water, air, noise pollution, and devastation of flora and fauna diversity (Prebilič and Ober, 2005). Better stated, military

activities are environmental threats. Environmental threats from militarisation take the form of environmental degradation and resource scarcity (Foster, 2001:377). In other words, the damaging consequences of global military activities in the world are referred to as environmental degradation and resource scarcity.

In the history of the US military presence, the US military presence has committed various crimes against Korean people, such as sexual violence, noise from machines and guns, and environmental pollution on sites of the US military camps. Furthermore, the Ministry of Environment in South Korea reports highlight that the military locations have contaminated the soil due to the presence of dioxin, oil and heavy metals (Choi, 2003; Chae, 2018; Kim, 2009).

This crisis has threatened the soil where the bases and livelihood of local communities in South Korea are located. Moreover, the environmental pollution by the US bases has not been researched during the active use of a military base site, because the US military is not accessible to civilian experts to investigate because, according to the alliance between the US and South Korea, the land where the US bases in South Korea are located does not belong to South Korea. Therefore, currently, since the project of the US bases has been moved and reduced, the problem of land pollution on the located bases was seriously exposed.

Moreover, in the book *The Empires' Edge*, Sasha Davis (2015) describes through case studies the tremendous damage wrought on the people and environments of the Pacific region by US military activities in the name of security. According to him, US military activities justify maintaining militarisation and contemporary colonialism in the idea of inevitable international politics. This view supports this study, arguing that the US military and its hegemonic power as an empire influence environmental pollution through militarisation. To involve zooming in on the world order and conflicts in the post-Cold War in the name of security related to environmental threats, is an integral part of this study on the militarisation of US military bases in South Korea.

In terms of a military defence system, the THAAD differs from other US military bases in South Korea. The environmental effects expose the non-visual damage by electromagnetic waves of the THAAD's radar. It is related to a higher technical military weapon. Wolf (2018) elaborates that militarisation includes corporations in technologically leading branches of production – aeronautics, electronics, nuclear technology, industrial computer and information

systems and chemistry. This development in the military industry influenced contemporary militarisation that has trended in the use of high-technology defence systems and weapons to affect humans' bodies and environments. It is also exposed to the considerable growth of the armed forces, the enlargement of the defence systems, and new unconventional weapons of mass destruction (Prebilič and Ober, 2005:188). This perspective supports this study to confirm that it is needless to say that the THAAD deployment case as an unconventional defence system affects humans' body and the environment.

A definition of the term security denotes emphasising the protection of national values against foreign threats. In other words, it entails protection against intentional harm (Levy, 1995:36). This study posits that the source of the threat in militarisation in the context of South Korea is the US military in the name of security.

Moreover, this research discovers the feature of this defence system. This defence weapon is monitoring humanity in order to dominate it. The military empire monitors human activities in the militarisation process in the name of security, such as that the THAAD radar monitors military activities and prepares for war and military conflicts. The government, as an empire, sends military officers to monitor the Church members' moods. The police, as an empire, monitors village members' movements to report to the government. As an empire, husbands and other family members monitor women's nurturing and control over the household. In this hierarchical level, being human is defined by hierarchal power. Humans at a low level are excluded and denied from a higher level. People in the higher level control people in the lower level in order to legitimate their power and benefit from it.

In other words, this process of militarisation pursues national security, ostensibly to protect people. In other words, the US military THAAD trace to protect the militaristic hegemony of the empire in the name of national security destroyed local and small communities. This study points out that the military empire promotes military security in order to remain the dominant power in the process of militarisation. Empires protect their hegemonic power, along with a hierarchical system of militarisation; not small communities and natural environments. In the process, women and natural resources are abused and exploited at the expense of the empire's determination to remain in power against all odds.

6.2.6 Calling a life-centred theology on militarisation

It has been revealed in this research the environment is under threat of being destroyed by militarisation which is influenced and shaped by international law systems. Preliminary studies from the field of militarisation and militarism have focused on the national security and defence system with environmental effects (Dycus, 1996; Majeed, 2004). In terms of the military defence system in international relationships, environmental protection efforts have emerged as the international law for environmental protection. Prebilič and Ober (2005) point out that the degradation of the natural environment is not dealt with among significant security threats in the traditional concept of national security, as human influences on the environment are not systematically observed. Moreover, Foster (2001) elaborates on the meaning of the term environmental security:

to focus on the nature of security, whether it is fundamentally a military phenomenon that, by implication, would tend to render environmental concerns largely irrelevant, or whether it is something more robust and inclusive that logically would encompass, and perhaps even revolve around, environmental considerations.

In the light of the above illustrations, addressing the challenge of natural environments by the military defence system in the name of security assists an extension of the notion of security to environmental security.

However, the discussion of security needs to consider gender equity, de-empire power, local community and natural resources in the context of South Korea. At this point, this study focuses on discussing the theme of life-centred theology from South Korea. Also, it presents this discourse of the life-centred theology that can be used to respond to militarisation related to national security by the military empire which is the focus on this study. It can be argued that the faith of South Korean Christianity on militarisation is to secure 'life', all living beings, biological, sociocultural and religion. Hence, this study argues for the development of a Korean way of eco-feminist theology to address the challenges of the militarisation phenomenon in the US military THAAD development.

6.3 TOWARDS A KOREAN WAY OF ECO-FEMINIST THEOLOGY ON THE MILITARISATION OF THE US MILITARY EMPIRE

Another key factor that emerged from my field research was the possibility of a life-centred theological approach to the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea. From the focus-group discussion with the theologians in South Korea, the analysis of militarisation focused on the concept of 'life' in terms of a theological perspective. As discussed in the Chapter 5, statements pertaining to the concept of 'life' in Korea in the face of militarisation by theologians are presented and analysed below:

The problem of militarism and imperialism is its ability to utilise and consume other 'life' artificially. So, the problem of militarisation is destructive to possess exclusively other existing materials for the sustenance of the empire. This aspect is the ruthless consumption of 'life'. (FGD1-A, 12132019)

According to this remark, the militarisation phenomenon of deployment of THAAD in South Korea does an injustice to the natural resources abused by the US military activities. The notable statement from the discussion was that the militarisation system is unjust and unfair in terms of life, because 'life', all living beings, are abused by military activities and developing weapons.

The theology of life has emerged through the world ecumenical movement with the world Christianity responding to the challenges of the ecological crisis. It was the World Council of Churches (WCC) that reflected on Western Judeo-Christian anthropocentric theology (Robra, 1996:29). The theology of life has developed into a holistic approach. Furthermore, 'life' is understood in connection with an ecumenical perspective. From their perspective, the 'life' link with social, economic, political and family is intertwined and profoundly united. In other words, natural life is interconnected with the human community, and its destruction is also related (Mpolo, 1983:166).

This chapter focuses on the Korean way of a deep understanding of life in order to deal with the likelihood of the life-centred theology as eco-feminist theology to respond to the militarisation of the US military THAAD system in South Korea. Moreover, as discovered about women's activities in the anti-THAAD movement in the previous chapter, this study attempts to find out the story of Life in women's resistance.

According to that, an eco-feminist theory in Asia focuses on accruing from women's resistance activities against a Westernised model of development in the global economic system (Shiva, 1989). This study also focused on women's activities and experience in the anti-THAAD movement. In this study, the observation of anti-THAAD resistance in the field research focused on women resisters regarding what they resist and why.

6.3.1 Identification of a Korean way in East Asia

Dealing with a Korean way of eco-feminist theology is firstly needed to identify it with the Korean way of life. Asia is a continent of many cultures and languages, and not a single geographical entity, but it has different climatic conditions and other terrestrial features. The unique geographical and climatic elements have contributed tremendously to the emergence of a great civilisation and partly influenced various forms of primal religions and world views (Holcombe, 2001:4). Historically, Asia has been defined as the 'orient', which contrasts with the 'occident', which is European centred. According to Edward Said (2003), the Western style of knowledge justifies Europe's dominance over Asian countries, mainly colonisation. Said (2003) indicates that orientalism is stereotyped ideologic terminology by the Western thought that orient people are uncivilised. The image of Asia has been disturbed by Western- centred way of thinking. In this light, according to Kang (2004:110), Asian theology has been developed with the spirit of postcolonialism undermining the prevalence of the Western-centeredness of traditional theological discourse.

One of the powerful arguments of the first generation of Asian theologians is that traditional Western theology is limited because it falsely universalizes on the basis of limited perspectives, which are the perspectives of white, middle-class men of North America and Western Europe.

Therefore, the definition of identity in East Asia, where the Korean Peninsula is located, is significant to discover a traditional theological discourse and avoid Western theology, particularly in developing a Korean way of eco-feminist theology.

In this way, this study highlights three features of characterisation of life according to the East Asian perspective. Regionally, the modern states of East Asia include China, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea and Taiwan. Firstly, as discussed above, according to Western

thought, East Asia is marginalised, and its way of life is despised. This study brings to the centre the East Asian concept of life.

Secondly, after the ruined Japanese empire, East Asia has been subordinated and separated into the conflict composition of the Cold War between the Soviets and the US. In the context of this subjugation South Korea, Japan and Taiwan follow the Western model of a capitalist regime and North Korea and China fall under the communist rule of the Soviets; hence, it is impossible to establish a common identity in East Asia. In another words, due to the fact that this extended ideology of the Cold War in the post-Cold War era, considering the 'East Asia' regional level, is not a natural form (Choi, 2008:73). The characterisation of East Asia has been influenced by ideologies of the Cold War.

Moreover, Lee (2020:128) emphasises the 'East Asia' regional level in employing the notion of peace by strengthening the sense of community at regional level. The regional level has to establish a non-hierarchical structure in contrast with Sino-centrism in China and Arianism in Japan. The goal of the East Asian regional level is for a sustainable, peaceful community.

In the case of South Korea, the militarisation phenomenon adheres to the Cold War hegemonic power and its military empire. To overcome this overwhelming authority in the context of South Korea needs a discussion that is centred on the regional level of 'East Asia' based on the non-hierarchical process. It can be called a de-empire.

In addition, for the identity of East Asia, Wonsik Choi (2009), who is a remarkable scholar of 'East Asia' discourse linked with the post-Cold War era in South Korea, adopted traditional religions and cultures of East Asia in order to propose an autonomous thought. This study also identifies East Asia in relying on the cultural value of East Asia's civilisation: typically, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism (not much influenced by Islamic culture) (Kim, 2016). In this light, this identity of East Asia provides a framework for addressing a Korean way of life in an eco-feminist theory that has emerged as a theme from collected data in this study. In short, the East Asian values' discourse emerged in search of hidden values in the Western way of values. However, this characterisation does not indicate which is superior: Eastern values or Western values. It is focused on de-Cold War ideology, de-empire and de-Western culture. Therefore, according to the theme of data analysis, whether 'life-centred' theology in South Korea can be used as an eco-feminist theology or not is discussed in the next section.

6.3.2 *Saeng-myeong* (life) on the militarisation of the US military empire

6.3.2.1 *Defining the Life in East Asia?*

Firstly, this section endeavours to define *Saeng-myeong* (life). The question of what life is has emerged since the end of the 20th century. Life has been characterised and distinguished in diverse ways: physiological, metabolic, genetic, biochemical and thermodynamic (Jang, 2014:168-9). Generally, the term 'life' is *the period between birth and death, or the experience or state of being alive* (Cambridge, 2022). In this light, it is notable that Jang (2014) and Lee (2010) indicate that it is biased to identify scientific 'life' in biology. Its biological perspective of the term life is that:

Life is a characteristic that distinguishes physical entities that have biological processes, such as signalling and self-sustaining processes, from those that do not, either because such functions have ceased (they have died) or because they never had such functions and are classified as inanimate. Various forms of life exist, such as plants, animals, fungi, protists, archaea, and bacteria. Biology is the science that studies life (Wikipedia, 2022).

Simply put, this definition promotes the term life as a frame between birth and death. However, this study focuses on at least East Asian ways of thinking about life relying on the discovered new theme proposing interrogating the militarisation crisis with the life-centred theology in the previous chapter.

The terminology of *Saeng-myeong* 생명(生命)¹⁸ is called 'life' in English and has multiple meanings. The Greek 'zoe, bios, psyche' can be the inherent meaning of life (Lee, 2010). However, explaining and translating the term '*Saeng-myeong*' from Korean to English is not complete only with the word 'life'. The Korean language system uses its Korean alphabet, Hangul, and has implied metaphysical meanings from Chinese characters. Lee (2010:159) explains that in the Korean language of Life, the term of *Saeng-myeong*, acquires not only a biological, but also a metaphysical dimension that means considering the fundamental nature of reality.

¹⁸생명(*Saeng-myeong*) is a letter in Hangeul, the Korean alphabet, and accounts of meaning in the Chinese 生命 (*Saeng-myeong*).

Saeng-myeong is a combined term for 'be born' and 'live breath' in Korean. The term 'be born' also means 'give birth'. '*Saeng-myeong*' is coined in two letters connoted each a meaning. The form of *Saeng* in the Chinese character 生 is portrayed as sprouting from the earth. The letter *Myeong* (命) also has an important meaning. In short, everything that lives between heaven and earth is Life. Life is all living beings and Life raises all beings to become alive as commanded by heaven. A human being exists between the heavens and the earth. As a householder who is commanded to take care of the Life of the earth together with the heavens and the earth, they must be able to understand the will of the heaven from all living things and take responsibility as an 'inter-esse' (Lee, 2010:119). The point of difference in understanding Life is leaping over an ecological frame between life and death in East Asian knowledge.

In essence, Life is not isolated as an ecosystem; it is manifested dynamics associated with relations of all beings between the human, heaven and earth. Therefore, simply put, the term 'Life' in Korea is not confined to the natural environment or ecosystem. It indicates all living beings on the earth and the activities that all beings sustain their status according to fundamental nature.

In South Korea, *Saeng-myeong* has been used with *Salim*(giving) for environmental movements and eco-movements. *Salim* indicates 'making things alive', 'mending broken things', 'feeding everybody', and 'creating peace, health, and abundant living'. *Saeng-myeong Salim* is translated as 'life-giving', but the more dynamic understanding of *Salim* has been associated with an anti-life phenomenon such as the aspects of oppressing and bothering life. *Salim* means returning to the origin of life from an anti-life phenomenon. Further, the theology of life-giving has been combined with *Minjung* theology. Seeking liberation for *Minjung* and natural resources from the oppression of socio-political, cultural, economic and all domination powers is Life-giving.

Besides, this study indicates the Korean perspective of Life from the woman theologian Soonhwa Sun (1987; 1991; 1999). Sun was the first Korean feminist theologian to write about 'Life' from a Korean view. She describes the understanding of life in three dimensions: biological, sociocultural and religion. According to her, the first dimension of life in biology has discovered an insight into the web of life. All creation-living organisms exist through a network of relationships linked with time and space. Each organism of creation constructs an

interdependent entity and cooperates with one another for survival. She defines the notion of life in social and cultural dimensions. Humans are social and cultural species that require close relationships with other people. The social and cultural life is formed between this relationship. Christianity discovers understanding a root, meaning, and goal of life from God in the Bible: God has life, he is a fountain of life, and all the creatures God made is life (Sun, 1999:96-100).

The term 'Life' appears to be embraced as biological life and as the processing of human civilisation's activities (economical activities, political structure and international interest) following the natural principle of Life. In other words, *Saeng-myeong* can also be understood as a concept of a socio-dynamic relationship for sustaining Life principles that embrace the relationship between rich and poor, men and women, and nature and humans (Lee, 2006). Hence, a life-centred worldview comprehensively understands nature and social relationships compared with ecology and, importantly, discusses the principle of Life.

Moreover, Kim (1992:160-6) points out that Western philosophy and science limited primitive thought of Life and the worldview of Life. They regard Life as inorganic and an ecosystem, but do not consider it spiritual Life that is communicated with each other of all beings. He stresses spiritual Life, namely that, in East Asia and South Korea, there is a vast tradition of natural spirituality, including human beings. Even animals, plants and minerals are all connected to the movement of heaven and earth as one unified ecosystem and the spiritual life system that communicates with one another according to his notion of Life.

6.3.2.2 A subjecthood of Life as spirituality

Accordingly, this chapter aims to address the research key question, the nexus between the notion of Life in East Asia and an eco-feminist theology from the Global South, which was treated in Chapter 3 where the theoretical framework of this study is discussed.

One of the features of eco-feminist theories from the Global South indicates discovering an alternative spirituality from traditional culture. This study offers principles of Life that can be used in an alternative spirituality as eco-feminist theology in East Asia. This study proposes principles or features of Life as spiritual resistance to the militarisation of military empire in the context of South Korea.

As mentioned before, the meaning of the Korean words *Saeng-myeong* presents all living beings existing between commitment from heaven and sprouting from earth. Life is namely all living beings and energy (power) to sustain them. Life has energy as such to interconnect and interact. The convergence that all beings are given nature by heaven (性or 生) and heaven gives nature to all living beings (命) has established the notion of ‘Life’ (Lee, 2010:102). Simply put, Life is given by heaven. The term ‘heaven’ (Cheon천天) is the word to indicate the sky and connoted sanctity of god.

Moreover, in Daoism, regarding Life, there is no directed explanation. In spite of this, the reverence for Life is related to *Dao* (도, 道), which gives Life. All beings exist between heaven and earth, cosmos, and *Dao* sustains and trances the heaven and earth, including all living beings. In other words, *Dao* is the ultimate beginning of cosmic substance and is being itself; the fundamental of existing and acting cosmos is *Dao* (Lee, 1999). From the perspective of Daoism, therefore, human and natural resource, all beings, are equal and interacted by *Dao*. The act of *Dao* is expressed as a rule of all living beings. ‘Retuning’ to an original state is the basic law of *Dao* (Lee, 1999:125). Furthermore, Buddhist understanding of Life is described as the notion of depending arising (연기, 緣起) that interdependence and interrelationship among all living beings, including humans (Go, 1999:148). Thus, the feature of Life is interdependence or interrelation.

Life is exposed as an aspect rather than Life itself; it appears as some phenomenon. Thus, the phenomenon of all living beings in the cosmos is offered empirical knowledge of the natural law of Life. According to traditional philosophy in East Asia, there is a likelihood to understand Life through this phenomenon of the natural environment in the world. Besides, all beings are interdependent and they promote the sustainability of the cosmic nature.

Therefore, this study emphasises a principle of Life from these features revealed as the subjecthood of Life (Lee, 2010:66); that is, no subjectivity by humans or ecosystems. It is, as such, sustaining all beings as interdependence based on the strengthening of Life.

Yongbock Kim (2021:131-154) posits that historical resistance against overwhelming imperial powers is a phenomenon of Life called the story of Life. Korean people's spontaneous resistance against the Japanese colonial system and other imperial dominations was construed

as subjecthood spirituality of Life in returning to its original state. The subjecthood of Life promotes interconnectedness and interdependence of all beings in the cosmos to sustain harmonious interlaying of the natural law from heaven of sacred exist. In this sense, Life itself established activities to resist all domination power throughout human history.

Thus, it can provoke the use of notions that justify human exploitation of the environment, because the subjecthood of Life to natural resources is likely to resist destruction and exploitation. Otherwise, the issue of humans as subjecthood of Life that can save nature is rationalised.

However, it means that humans as a part of nature support the restoration of the subjectivity of Life, which is inherent to nature itself, rather than being humans as the subject and nature as the object. It should lead to understanding humans as beings who share the pain to support restoring the spontaneity, self-liberation, and spontaneous power of nature itself (Lee, 2006:58). In this vein, nature is the subject, women are the subject, and Life itself is the subject. Those are all interacting and interdependent. For this reason, as in Western eco-feminist theories, illumination and analysis of the relationship between nature and women as an object of human action are not discussed in the way of Korean eco-feminist theology for Life-centredness. It focuses on the subjecthood of Life through women's experiences and nature in human society. This is also spirituality to renew a militarised Christian faith and Church activities towards living together with all living beings in *oikumene*.

6.3.2.3 The notion of Life in light of the militarisation of the US military empire

The notion of Life is a characteristic of all living beings: organisms and inorganic matter, such as nature and humans, but it is also a social construct. The militarisation phenomenon by the military empire is a phenomenon of interruption of the subjecthood of Life activities in terms of militarised thoughts and activities influencing women being oppressed and abusing natural resources. This process of militarisation causes the destruction of Life in terms of leaning on a gendered bias toward women in a social construct and ignoring organisms and inorganic matter in all living beings.

When it comes to the sovereignty of militarisation of the military empire in the context of South Korea (even East Asia), this Korean way of eco-feminism is predicated that national security, in relying on weapons undergirding military alliance and military industry, is not a Life

phenomenon and is Lifeless, because in the militarisation system, the subjecthood of Life is oppressed.

Militarisation's procedure as national security formulates division into masculinity/ femininity, alliance/enemy, major-nation/minor-nation, human/nature, etc. Its militarised national security produces inferior areas that need military defence. About this dualistic phenomenon of militarisation, one of the Church leaders remarked,

According to the Book of Revelation, the dark forces are meant to seduce and topple the destroyers. They are not meant to be one. I don't think the existence of THAAD is a force in God's will. The man brought it on himself wherever it came from, but it's a Sin. Those who decided to deploy THAAD would have personal greed and greed for money. THAAD was not born to God, so it has no choice but to promote division. There will be a fruit of division anywhere. Militarisation itself is not suitable for the kingdom of God. (SSIM-2, 03122019)

From this statement, militarisation to promote division ideology or the phenomenon of destroying the kingdom of God is all Sin in the Christian faith. It can be explained in terms of life-centred theology. From the perspective of life theology, it is a sin that distorts thoughts on intrinsic features of 'life', interrupting the interconnectedness and interdependence of life phenomena in biological and sociocultural dimensions. A distorted consciousness of other Life into the inferior sphere as objectives of exploitation underlying dualistic thought promotes the disconnected relationship of Life. This distorted relationship emerges between Sin and evil. Sin and evil are not physical substances such as women and nature, which are inessential distorted relations between Life as God's creatures (Jun, 2002:184). Therefore, as a militarisation phenomenon, an eco-feminist theology for Life in East Asia affirms that Sin is all ideology and hegemony to disconnect all living beings.

Simply put, this study realised that 'life'-centred theological interrogation in light of that militarisation and empire destroys all living beings. This deployment of THAAD is a problem of life disconnection. The dimension of biological Life has been damaged. Sociocultural Life has also been destroyed because of the physical impact and ideological domination by the US military behaviour. Militarised hegemonic utilises masculinities, patriotism and anthropocentrism to justify destroying Life. Militarisation by empire in the name of security divides and destroys the Life that God creates, being interconnected and interdependent.

6.3.3 Life subjecthood spirituality in women's spontaneous resistance of anti-THAAD

All the spiritualities of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism have subliminally been ingrained in the culture and knowledge of the Korean people. However, the beliefs of the Korean Christian community treat those spiritualities as 'pagan'. However, Yongbock Kim (2021:149) discovered the story of Life in the historical consciousness of the Korean people's resistance against imperial powers as the spiritualities of the Korean people. Accordingly, this study also highlights two principles of Life linked to spirituality: spirituality as a subjecthood of Life (all living beings) and resistance as a Spiritual act of affirmation for Life.

When it comes to resistance as a subjecthood of Life, Yongbock Kim (2021:149) posits that historical resistance against overwhelming imperial powers is a phenomenon of Life called the story of Life. Korean people's spontaneous resistance against the Japanese colonial system and other imperial dominations was construed as subjecthood spirituality of Life in returning to its original state. According to Kim(2021)'s discourses on the story of Life, the subjecthood of Life promotes interconnected and interdependent beings in the cosmos to sustain harmonious interlaying of the natural law from heaven, sacred exist. In this sense, Life itself maintains activities to resist all dominating power throughout human history.

In the same vein, this study examines women's resistance to the anti-THAAD movement as a story of Life. Women's spontaneous activities in the anti-THAAD movement emerged, firstly, for their children's future. Their spontaneous resistance was exposed in protecting the path and land of the village against the US military carrying equipment of the THAAD system. It can be seen that Life promotes that women resist a Lifeless military activity in the THAAD deployment. This section illuminates the women's resistance more deeply.

6.3.3.1 Women's resistance based on liberation from masculinity

Firstly, I discovered the self-awareness of women participants in protesting. The important element of women's realisation about THAAD is that the method of awareness changed from depending on the husband's position to women's own experience. It was intriguing to discuss with women protesters organising 'dancing mom' in Gimcheon. They elaborated on their changed stance on THAAD. Most of them initially trusted that the deployment of US military THAAD was useful and needed installation for the country's protection. They also thought it was not a citizen's business, even though they did not know what THAAD was.

Moreover, they were influenced in the understanding of THAAD and national security by husbands who endorsed the military defence. Their husbands told them that the citizens could not beat the state, they advised the women to follow the government regime. These women's group members listened to the opposite voice and public education in the village about what THAAD was. It is then that they realised that THAAD was harmful to the village people and they changed their position to anti-THAAD. Furthermore, they participated in the rally of an anti-THAAD movement, and organised a women's group for the resistance activities.

I did not know anything about the US bases and the military alliance with my country. I have understood the need for the THAAD deployment based on the military alliance from my husband. But it was different view as to the THAAD deployment, I have heard (FGD-3 09022020).

At this point, this research highlights the change of consciousness for the US military THAAD on women participants. The consciousness as to the US military from husbands and fathers was a feature of masculinity based on the national security of military-centredness and militarised patriotism, as this chapter mentioned earlier. After women's experiences of the THAAD deployment as the militarisation process, women realised it was an unjust and an oppressive phenomenon, which perpetrates ecological destruction. This study argues that this transformative mindset is a major step towards liberation from patriarchal thoughts.

On the grounds that Namsoon Kang recommended three elements: being of Life is eager liberation, holistic being and interconnected being (Lee et al., 2002:332), women's resistance to the anti-THAAD is a liberation exposed as a principle of Life.

Furthermore, one of the informants remarked that she neglected and ignored all social injustice and oppression phenomena. She later came to understand that people's lives are inevitably linked to another.

I did not know anything about the US bases and the military alliance with my country. I have understood the need for the THAAD deployment based on the military alliance from my husband. But, I realised THAAD is harmful, and it is associated with international politics and societal economics. I have grown up without participating in political and social activities, and I didn't even care about social crises. I felt so sorry for disregarding it. The victims of political

oppression are my neighbours. It means I also can be the victim. I am determined to show my children how a mother's resistance transforms the injustice and oppressed society (FGD-3-F1, 09022020).

From the discussion, women protestors experienced men's militarised patriarchal thoughts locking women into immanence into private spaces – kitchen, dailiness and a nurturing household. However, they are determined to reject, and rethink from militarised thinking of husband and father in order to transform militarisation injustice. The point is that spontaneous women's activities do not underlay patriarchal power. This women's protesting did not surrender to the state's power and oppression, creating a spontaneous movement. In other words, the women's protesting in their mothers' name was no longer locked in immanence and individual area, but it was meaningful in political participation with their voices. This study argues a significant point as a story of Life of women protesters' metamorphosis towards spontaneous women beyond a designated biological mother and female by a patriarchal system. In this light, regarding the identity of women in the anti-THAAD movement, women are no longer identified as victims. Jeong (2019) argues that Korean women are often portrayed in two ways in anti-American narratives: They are compared to the Korean societal circumstances. In other words, 'deprived, disgraced and miserable' territory and female personality are reduced to the means of national reproduction. The body of Korean women became a symbolic and virtual battleground between Korean men and the US armed forces in Korea.

However, this study, in terms of the Korean way of eco-feminist theology, asserts that the identity of Korean women under the struggle of the US military THAAD is spontaneous women in resistance against the military empire. This aspect exposed a subjecthood spirituality of Life. Hence, based on the principle of Life, subjecthood life can be defined as spontaneity, self-liberation and autonomous power, redefining women's resistance. It avoids identifying women as victims.

Regarding women's resistance to THAAD, this study realised important elements. It was a spontaneous activity, and thereby women were liberated by militarised thoughts of masculinities and a distorted patriotism. This women's autonomy in resistance to military weapons enhanced the Life phenomenon. Mies also argues that the principle of autonomy from Third World resistance is that

This principle is no centre, no hierarchy, no official and unified ideology, and no formal leadership. The autonomy of the various initiatives, groups, and collectives is the only principle that can maintain the dynamism, the diversity, as well as the truly humanist perspective of the movement (Mies, 1998:41).

According to this argument, the women's resistance based on a subjecthood of spirituality pursued no hierarchal, militarised culture and militarised ideology towards all living beings. This subjecthood of Life in resistance is based on a spirituality of liberation from hierarchical masculinity in the militarisation system.

6.3.3.2 Women's resistance for all living beings

Empires have surveillance on the population, dominate humans, and destroy natural resources in the militarisation process in the name of security. The THAAD radar monitors military activities and prepares for war and military conflict while simultaneously disturbing the ecosystem. The military empire protects the military hegemony in the world.

The government, as an empire, has sent military officers to monitor the Church members' moods. The police, as an empire, have put surveillance on village members' movements to report to the government. As an empire, husbands and other family members have also put surveillance and control on women's nurturing and activities to block the household. The military empire ignored and disturbed natural resources. These are the features of militarisation.

The process of militarisation, protection and security of the military empire results in destroyed Life. It is exposed that humans at a low level are excluded and denied a higher level. In this militarisation system, higher-level control of people at the lower level happens to secure and legitimate their power and benefit. In this vein, natural resources are abused and destroyed at the lowest level in the militarised hierarchical system.

The village residents resist the protection and security of the land where they live as foundation for their life against the US military empire. Based on the observations of the grandmother's group in Seongju, this researcher discovered that the theme of 'protect the land themselves' was emerging. They organised a small group called *Jikimyi*, which means 'protecting the path', which is the only way to carry US military equipment for the THAAD system. The

grandmother's group and residents' guard block the road from the US military every day. The main song of the rally from 'Dandelion choir' presents their voice that, to protect the land from the US military, is the way of peace in the world, and to protect the nation ourselves in reconciliation with North Korea is the only way of peace (PRS, 11122019).

Women in anti-THAAD movements in *Soseongri* face a direct impact of the THAAD deployment. They act to protect their living foundations, including farming fields, water and the mountain. Their resistance movement is for the interconnection of Life in terms of trying to block the lifeless aspects of the US military THAAD and to open the path of all living beings' interaction.

6.3.3.3 Women's resistance orients communitarian activity

Their resistance movement provides a platform for developing a bond of solidarity with people from other areas. The grandmother group welcomed and took care of visitors to participate in protests. They cooked and prepared lunch for visitors to the anti-THAAD activities every day.

How can we send them back away without giving them something to eat? We cannot do that. This is our appreciation to visitors with our residents (SSIF-2, 11122019).

This thought is what let grandmothers make snacks or meals for visitors. Residents of *Soseongri* and protestors from other townships for the anti-THAAD movement bring any meals and snacks to share during the protesting event. I, as an interviewer, participated in protesting events every Wednesday and Saturday in front of the village assembly hall for a while. I experienced their sharing of food; rice cake, fruits, noodles, tofu and tea. This protesting event looks like a celebration or small party. Thus, the point is: this gathering with people from out of the village empowers this resistance to be enhanced and maintained. The feature of the movement consists of hospitality and sharing of food with people gathered. This resistance presents a community character when it comes to a subjecthood of Life.

Moreover, the evidence of a community character is shown in women's motivation for resistance to the US military THAAD.

As a mother's voice, our claim is not only for the participation in the decision making of the THAAD deployment. if there is a 1% possibility of taking out THAAD, we should shout our voice protesting THAAD for arable land where my children live and world peace (SSI F-1 10122019).

Here, I also discovered the other significant feature of women's resistance to the THAAD deployment. It is that, during the resistance to THAAD, women have experienced oppression, exclusion and hatred whereby their thought and considering extended consciousness from my region, my food, my family up to our world peace, our nation's divisional system, and our natural environment. To stress this idea, the participants said that:

We are all harmed in this conflict; both men and women are struggling. As well as this THAAD deployment is not confined to women and men in Soseongri and Gimcheon; it is problematised to the Korean Peninsula, East Asia, and across the World.' (Yoon keum soon). *One day, my son asked me why mom participated in the protesting so actively? I told my son; that mom wants to join the anti-THAAD movement because of the peace of the World. We know that the THAAD issue is not a problem for my family in Seongju, it is a crisis for world peace (SSTF-9, 09022020).*

The anti-THAAD movement influenced the creation of spontaneous women's activities in a formulated new community. The women's autonomous subject has not been expressed for individual goals but the community. This is moving towards Life.

Furthermore, some Christians from Protestant Churches consider who God is in this circumstance of residents struggling with the THAAD system. Most of them and I believe in God, who stands with the weak.

Hence, we as Christians get together with residents (SSIM-5, 20012020).

Some of the people from another city moved to the Soseongri village. They elaborated

that to be with people affected by THAAD is the Christian faith.

They also said that

to secure them is living together. Being with sorrowful people is protecting people (SSIM-5 20012020).

To live together in the land is living with all beings in interconnection with all beings: the mountain, a stream, and soil, with people. Therefore, they moved their ground to the Soseongri region is also a story of Life relying on a subjecthood of Life. Hence, this study discovered sharing time and ground with people under oppression is coexistence with humanity and nature. It can be that the subjecthood of Life is exposed as a spirituality of community, namely coexistence.

Identifying human beings as an image of God guides humans who have a subjecthood of Life to participate in God's Life to refine lifeless situations. Humanity coexists in a community without an exclusive, not monitored for domination, and humans live together with all being in *Oikos*, God's house. The identity of humans supports and contributes to all living beings to live together, cooperate and coexist. It maintains and protects the ecological and social relations of Life as the *Oikos* God created in God's image.

One of the women participants suggested the vision in the Korean Church to respond to the US military THAAD deployment.

I am surely opposing THAAD in my country and across the Korean Peninsula as a Christian. Because THADD is not for the way to secure life and to oppose the war ... I hope the church becomes a community to help each other in living together in harmony. It is not the church power that treats the weaker recklessly (SSIF-1, 10122019.)

Accordingly, this study argues that a Korean way of eco-feminist theology in East Asia is based on an understanding of Life. Life is moving on its own toward interconnection and interaction with all living beings for harmony. This chapter focuses on the women's resistance activities against the THAAD deployment as the story of Life. The subjecthood of Life in women's resistance is presented as an alternative spirituality for women's liberation and living together with all living beings against militarised masculinity dominations in the militarisation of the US military empire. This notion of Life in God is based on this Christian faith:

God created the whole *oikoumene* in God's image and constantly works in the world to affirm and safeguard Life (Coorilos, 2013:4).

This discourse can be used as an eco-feminist theology from an East Asian perspective in order to respond to militarisation and empire.

The point is not that the Christian God is on the side of the US military; that is a misunderstanding of God in Korean Christianity. The Christian God is on the side of Life, of all living beings, and giving Life for the interconnection of all beings. This spirituality in Christian faith is needed for Korean Churches to resist the US military empire in a militarisation phenomenon in South Korea.

6.4 SUGGESTING A WOMEN'S THEOLOGY OF LIFE IN EAST ASIAN PERSPECTIVES

Lastly, this study suggests an East Asian Women's theology for Life instead of using the term 'eco-feminist theology'. Using the discourse of 'eco-feminism' from a western-centred perspective in the context of South Korea is a limitation for embracing 'Life'-centred theology. Moreover, ecology is identified as "the study of the natural environment, including the relations of organisms to one another and their surroundings" (Odum and Odum, 1959:2). This study rethinks using the word 'eco'. using the word 'eco(생태)' is deemed a scientific approach to the crisis of women and nature from a Korean perspective. Namely, it is a scientific approach that underlies adopted mechanical philosophy to the crisis of women and nature.

The term 'ecology' still reveals the dualistic way of feature with that organism and its environments, not in non-duality. Thus, this study points out that this notion of eco-feminism has the challenge of overcoming the dualism that legitimises women and nature oppression.

In contrast, the concept of Life in East Asian philosophy can embody biological, socio-cultural, and religious considerations. This consideration of Life assists in reducing the tendency of gendered and gendering, implication a privilege of masculinity and femininity in the social phenomenon. It can operate to overcome the dualistic way of thinking to divide into two spheres.

East Asian women's theology for Life does not lose vision of the fact that it is an ecological position and focuses on those aspects of oppression that affect the human relationship with the environment and the Life of God.

Moreover, this East Asian women's theology for Life highlights women's resistance against all kinds of aspects of destroying Life and Lifeless in the context of regional elements. Through the women's resistance against ecological crisis and not only militarisation forces, but also masculine domination, theological reflection is a likelihood in the context of traditional perspectives in East Asia.

In sum, a principle of East Asian women's theology for Life underlies women's experience of ecological crisis. To present and represent women's struggles is important in terms of uncovering the reality of the ecological crisis in marginalised aspects. Although, using 'women' instead of 'feminist', this women's theology for Life has not lost the elements of feminism that

is the critical perception of patriarchy and socio-political structures. Using 'women' zooms in on women's experiences in their own context of reality.

The academic harm of Western-centredness is to internalise the problem consciousness of Western women, which is advantageous to the experiences of women in our society as a universal one in the process of accepting Western knowledge. As a result, there may be a problem that prevents us from having an independent, problem-conscious awareness of women, thus bringing up inappropriate theories in South Korea.

Warren provides a metaphor, the 'quilt' to explain the formulation of eco-feminist theories in diversity and perspectives. She explains that quilted blankets create quilts as 'Eco-feminism' from different cultural, social, historical, regional, race, class and national backgrounds. Local women's experiences in differences of ecological crisis connect to make a border blanket: eco-feminism (Warren, 2000:67). She emphasises that local women's experience in diverse situations has characteristic ways of resistance. The principle of eco-feminism focuses on local women's experiences in the context of domination power forces oppression of natural resources and humanity. This knowledge is complemented by the life-centeredness of theology in South Korea to respond to the militarisation phenomenon of the US military empire.

Simply put, the feminist theology from a Western viewpoint, which is not based on the experiences of Korean women, does not involve Korean women as the subject, but reconstructs them into a frame of a universal concept and objectifies them.

Starting from recognising these limitations, as a response to global ecological feminism, it can propose a women's theology for Life that reflects the experiences and realities of Korean women while also having some universality that can also contribute to women in other regions. (Ex. African women's theology for Life) The methodology of a women's theology for Life can be proposed using an empirical study. Therefore, this research used the qualitative research methodology, which is an advantage to uncover hidden women's stories and their perceptions of Life from reality. It is a way to approach the challenges of the Church in the world from Minjung's experiences.

The focus of this study was to explore how an eco-feminist theology helps to respond to militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. This chapter concludes the study with

suggestions that the Korean or East Asian way of eco-feminist theology, focused on a concept of Life from Korean traditional philosophy, is based on East Asian cultural and ideal knowledge. That could help to close the research gaps identified during the research and writing of this study.

6.5 CONCLUSION

According to the research questions, this chapter offered key themes from the data collection. Collected data from empirical research were analysed thematically, and four themes came up: militarised masculinity as a hegemonic power, the influence of militarised patriotism and Protestantism, militarised dualism, and the US military authority ignoring others. These themes analysed the effect upon women and nature by the militarisation of the US military empire in the context of the THAAD deployment in South Korea. Moreover, the theme emerged that the military empire related to national security destroyed the local community. This theme adopted a life-centred theology on militarisation.

This chapter focused on the key theme that the Korean way of eco-feminist theology is based on life-centred theology. It presented an understanding of Life in East Asia and discussed Life on the militarisation of the US military empire. The principle of Life was highlighted on a subjecthood of Life as spirituality. The principles of Life in East Asia are treated relying on religious spirituality. Their influenced cultures are Taoism, Buddhism and Confucian thought. However, this chapter cannot deal with life discourses in each religion's knowledge. It is a limitation of this research. Further, this chapter provided that the Life subjecthood as spirituality was discovered by women's resistance to the anti-THAAD movement and is defined as a story of Life. This chapter provided features of the women's resistance: liberation from masculinity, for all living beings, and with the community.

In addition, this chapter proposed a women's theology for Life from East Asian perspectives in order to respond to the militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. As a Korean way of an eco-feminist theology based on Life-centeredness, women's theology for Life in an East Asian perspective can offer a subjecthood of Life as spirituality to respond to the militarisation by the military empire is Lifeless and destroying Life phenomenon.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters sought to answer the key research question and respond to the study's objectives. This chapter summarises and concludes the entire study. This it is divided into four main sections. In the first section, I present a summary of the chapters, highlighting key findings and arguments. In the second section, I revisit the goal, research questions, objectives, and an overview of the approach and organisation of the study. The third section follows this referred value of the study and contribution to new knowledge. In the last section of the chapter, I deal with suggestions for further research.

7.2 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter 1 presented the background to the entire study, being a militarisation phenomenon with the US military presence and the THAAD deployment in the context of South Korea. The chapter also the presented geographical and academic location of the study. Next, the chapter highlighted personal and academic motivations to the study. Having discovered a scarcity of literature that debated the militarisation of empire on an eco-feminist theology in the context of South Korea, I highlighted the need for this study; that it endorsed interrogating a militarisation phenomenon, focusing on women and natural resources through the US military THAAD deployment in Seongju. The chapter concluded by discussing the limitations and significance of the study, by key concept, and by giving the outline of the chapters in the thesis.

Chapter 2 presented the literature review related to the phenomenon of militarisation in South Korea in terms of the US military presence. The historical presentation consisted of the impact of the Cold War on the division system and the US military bases on the Korean Peninsula. An interrogation of the US military THAAD system and South Korean Christianity's responses were dealt with this chapter. Having elaborated the discourse of militarisation, the study also distinguished between militarism and militarisation in the global phenomenon of empire.

Chapter 3 developed the theoretical framework for this study, proposing an approach to militarisation and empire. This chapter followed the historical emergence of eco-feminism by comparing feminism and ecology. It provided the ground for using eco-feminist theories as a

theoretical framework in this study. The principles of eco-feminist theories were presented focusing on dualism and Christian triumphalism. Eco-feminism from Asia was described relative to the features that indicate three points: 1) problematisation of economic or political structures to impact women and natural resources; 2) focusing on the generation of women's resistance against the military empire; and 3) discovering alternative spirituality from traditional culture, developmentalism and women's resistance. The relevance of this theoretical framework, eco-feminist theories, was emphasised to operate underpinning across this research project.

Chapter 4 presented the methodology. It was highlighted in this chapter that the research method used qualitative research in a transformative paradigm to identify relevant themes and patterns within the collected data. For the data collection, semi-structured interviews, FGDs, and observation methods were utilised to seek the research objectives. I chose the research site to be Seongju County and Gimcheon City, where the US military base for THAAD deployment is located, as well as where the rally of the anti-THAAD movement and their community are settled. The sample size was 26 people, consisting of 13 females and 13 males. The methods for data collection utilised were semi-structured interviews, focus-group discussions and observation. Collected data were analysed in thematic analysis. I used the triangulation method during data collection and analysis to determine the increasing validity and reliability as a researcher.

Chapter 5 contributed to the understanding of the reality of militarisation at the THAAD deployment site by focusing on women and nature. This chapter described themes found as the answers to research questions. Natural resources being affected were uncovered, i.e. electromagnetic waves, the blocking of the path of animals, and the contamination of soil. The influence by the US military THAAD on women was discovered, namely that women's voices are ignored and women are forced to be loyal to the notion of the father nation. Not women residents only, but also men were affected by the THAAD system, as was stressed by the participants. Women's resistance in the anti-THAAD movement was highlighted in the themes. The motivations of women's resistance were presented as the need for a better future for children, willingness to live together in harmony with nature, and that autonomous women voices are heard. Western Christianity in South Korea's support for militarisation also emerged as a theme. Moreover, the concept of life for a Korean way of eco-feminist theology was suggested in this study.

Chapter 6 responded to the research objectives of the study. This chapter discovered the logic of domination from a remarkable eco-feminist theory that subjugates women and degrades nature in a militarisation phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea. The hegemony of militarized masculinity in the process of militarisation ignored women and femininity as worthless and inferior. This study discovered that in the division system of South Korea, militarised patriotism influenced women to understand the nation and national security in military activities and behaviours. The women's loyalty to the father nation is taught in the household and nurturing kids; not attending anti-THAAD movements, which is male business, whether it 'agrees' or 'disagrees' with the THAAD system for national security. During the data collection, this militarised patriotism uncovered aggressive and abusive aspects of women. The question of influence to natural resources by militarisation was interpreted as human-centredness and militarised dualism affecting and damaging nature. This study discovered how military-centred, dualistic thinking divides into superior and inferior spheres in the context of deployment THAAD as a militarisation phenomenon in South Korea: protector as masculinity/protected as femininity, the authority of the US military/the regulated military force in South Korea, and the father nation/the mother home.

Furthermore, a part of South Korean Christianity's faith influenced Christians to advocate militaristic national security as peace-making in the THAAD deployment. Their belief in pro-Americanism and anti-communist views has infused Christian missionary passions in South Korea. The Christian faith endorsed the US military affairs without any doubt, because God sent the US military to protect South Korea from the evil communist North Korea. This study interpreted this aspect a militarised Protestantism has established cooperating fundamental theology and militaristic politics to propaganda US military priority in society. This Christian faith supports to remain militarisation in South Korea. Also, the theme emerged that the military empire, related to national security, destroyed the local community. This theme adopted a rethinking of security that should have to embody protecting life.

Moreover, this chapter referred to a Korean way of eco-feminist theology. Firstly, identification of the Korean way was dealt with in the East Asian perspectives. Life in East Asia was defined and discovered as subjecthood of Life as spirituality. Life under the militarisation of the US military empire justified that militarisation by empire in the name of security, dividing and destroying the Life of God's creatures, which are interconnected and interdependent.

Further, this chapter emphasised women's spontaneous anti-THAAD movement to exploit features of Life's subjecthood. The elements were discovered to be liberation from masculinity towards all living beings, and orienting a community in women's resistance underlying the subjecthood of Life.

Lastly, this chapter suggested a women's theology for Life in East Asia, instead of the term 'eco-feminist theory', on the militarisation of the US military empire in the context of South Korea.

This chapter, Chapter 7, presents the conclusion of the research. This conclusion includes a review of objectives and their achievement of the study. The value of the study and its contribution of new knowledge highlight the integral parts of the study. In the following section, the research gaps and suggestion for further research are presented and a chapter summary concludes this section in the chapter.

7.3 VALUE OF THE STUDY AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO NEW KNOWLEDGE

The study offered a conceptual contribution, claiming that militarisation is related to the concept of empire. Through a critical analysis of the militarisation process in the world, the US military strategy as a global phenomenon reveals features of the empire. This study understood that the term 'militarisation' constitutes 'martial politics', and the militarisation phenomenon is defined as a systemised and socialised military force affecting civilians.

The concept of empire is defined as a new imperial sovereignty in the contemporary world. The Empire's sovereignty has no limits on the territorial boundaries of reigns. This study presumed that the militarisation phenomenon in South Korea associated with the US military presence presented elements of the empire. The US military presence in South Korea has sovereignty over military practice, military defence and wars. Thus, the sovereign power, along the militarisation process, is operating centred by the US military in the world, influencing civilians of South Korea in the name of national security. In the study, exploring sovereign power as the empire to dominate objects on the militarisation phenomenon was presented, focusing on women and nature in South Korea. This explanation provided domination forms to women and nature by the US military behaviour in South Korea. The perspective of the empire contributed to understanding militarisation from a macroscopic, global phenomenon to

a microscopic view in personal and ecological aspects; that is, it helped this study to discover hierarchical power on militarisation processes to oppress humanity and nature from the perspective of the concept of empire.

Supported by the findings from a critical analysis of the existing US military bases in South Korea, the study provided information on the US military THAAD system installed in Seongju against the historical background of the Korean Peninsula. Highlighting a regional characteristic in South Korea in the study consisted of the Cold War, and the division system attributed to the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea. This valuable case on the THAAD system as a militarisation of an empire phenomenon contributed to uncovering its influence on civilians. The study provided a general understanding that the US military THAAD is part of MD (missile defence) systems from the US military, contributing to world order. However, the study argued critically, exploring that the THAAD phenomenon is ostensibly purposed to protect South Korea from the ballistic missiles of North Korea, and ultimately the aim is monitoring China. The study provided a critical analysis of the THAAD system phenomenon in the context of South Korea, in particularly, uncovering and emphasising the US military THAAD system in terms of new weapons used. The X-band radar contributed to invoking a problematised aspect of militarisation in the contemporary world.

This study utilised a theoretical framework employed as a lens of eco-feminist theory for zooming on the effect of the THAAD system on women and natural resources. The point of value is that an eco-feminist theory analyses the militarisation phenomenon in the US military THAAD deployment. Analysing the ideological root of domination in the militarisation process contributed to pointing to dualism and Christian triumphalism by an eco-feminist theory. Moreover, using the value of an eco-feminist voice from the Global South in this study contributed to problematising social structures, focusing on women's resistance, and seeking for an alternative spirituality.

This study found the answers to research sub-questions regarding how militarisation has influenced women and natural resources using empirical research. Simply put, for collecting data, this study undertook a first-hand visit to the research sites, Seongju and Gimcheon.

The methods of collection were semi-interviews, FGD, and observations. These methods and tools served to increase transparency to display reality explicitly. In order to understand a

phenomenon, assembling data from participants was overarching. Using the triangulation tool for the trustworthiness of the study was mostly presented by scholars' arguments in the literature related to the research topic, a researcher's argument as participant observation, and the study participants from whom data was collected. Therefore, the study contributed to denoting a phenomenon from participants directly affected by the THAAD deployment. In other words, this empirical study contributed to an understanding of how the THAAD influenced women, and natural resources were presented from participants' statements. This method of research is empirical valuation to prove that the militarisation of empire affects women and nature.

Further to this study's theological contributions new knowledge is also suggested. There is a point that this study suggested “a women's theology for Life in East Asian perspective” in order to respond to the militarisation of the US military empire in the context of South Korea. The perspective underlines that ‘Life’ (*Sangmeong*) in East Asia is understood as suitable to Korean people instead of using ‘eco’. Also, the meaning of ‘Life’ consists of sociocultural and biological. The study denoted that a women's theology for Life helps to deal with societal problems in biological and sociocultural realms of Life. In addition, this study suggested that the women's theology for Life to highlight women's experiences of socio-politic structure and women's resistance to all living beings. This study also discovered the subjecthood of spirituality within an East Asian perspective of Life. Hence, the study attempted to establish a spirituality of subjecthood in women's experiences as the means to promote all living beings’ lives together towards the demilitarisation process. As spirituality, this Life's subjecthood in the resistance contributed to an eco-feminist theology in East Asia to respond to the militarisation of the US military empire. This point contributes to the Christian faith towards demilitarisation.

7.4 REVIEW OF OBJECTIVES AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENT

The major assumption that influenced my motivation for conducting this study was the concern that the US military THAAD system influences the crops and women's bodies in Seongju County. Pertaining to this phenomenon of the US military THAAD deployment, the Korean Church's response was lacking and excluded the challenges of women and the environment. In this view, the study interrogated this research topic as an eco-feminist theory. Thus, the key research question of the study was:

How can eco-feminist theology be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea?

In line with the key research question, four critical sub-questions guided the study. These were as follows:

- I. What is the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea?
- II. How has militarisation and empire affected women in South Korea?
- III. How has militarisation and empire affected natural resources in South Korea?
- IV. How can eco-feminist theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire on women and natural resources in South Korea?

In the light of the above critical questions, the following objectives were sought to be achieved.

- I. To explore the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea.
- II. To identify how militarisation and empire affect women in South Korea.
- III. To investigate how militarisation and empire affect natural resources in South Korea.
- IV. To analyse how eco-feminist theology addresses to reflect militarisation and empire, which impact women and natural resources in South Korea.

Following these objectives, first of all, this study justified the phenomenon of the US military THAAD development appearing in the militarisation process of the military empire. The US military THAAD development in South Korea as militarisation by military empire challenged humanity and natural resources.

The study also sought to understand the concept of empire as sovereign power to dominate others in the hierarchical system. Therefore, the first objective of this study focused on exploring the relevance of the notion of militarisation and the US military empire. The main purpose for this undertaking was to prove that the US military empire promotes a militarisation process of the THAAD development in the name of security.

The second achievement for the research sub-question has been focused on women's voices in Seongju County regarding their experiences of the THAAD. Women residents protested against the US military activities for the THAAD deployment, and their awareness of the national politics between the US and the Korean Peninsula pointed out the sovereignty of the US military. Moreover, women's experiences highlighted that militarised masculinity excludes and ignores women and feminine values in the decision-making and the processing of militarisation.

Thus, the achievement of the second research question about the roots of the effects of women in the militarisation process constitutes the discovered themes: militarised masculinity, militarised patriotism, militarised Protestantism, and militarised dualism, which influence subordination to women and degradation to nature in militarisation.

In this vein, when it comes to the natural resources damaged by the US military THAAD structures, this study investigated the residents' statements and works of literature about the US military equipment damaging land, soil and water. Through this investigation, this study discovered the blocking of the interconnection between humanity and nature. As mentioned above, an eco-feminist theory points out that militarised dualism influences the destruction of natural resources.

This researcher also conducted FGDs with Korean theologians for the last sub-question to reflect on the theological way. The key theme emerged as 'life-centred theology' to illuminate the militarisation and empire issue. Thus, this key theme of 'life' has provoked this study to illuminate Life in East Asian traditional knowledge as a Korean way of eco-feminism. The achievement at this point is establishing a subjecthood of Life as an alternative spirituality to respond to the militarisation and empire. The study discovered a subjecthood of Life in women's resistance against the US military THAAD development. Hence, this study addresses the main goal of interrogating how an eco-feminist theology can respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in the context of South Korea with the Life's subjecthood of spirituality in the Christian faith.

This suggests a new knowledge, a women's theology for Life in East Asia. I expect that even if this suggestion is not completely established knowledge, it can benefit the Korean Church in responding to the US military THAAD deployment, affecting humanity and natural resources. During field experiences as a researcher, it was hard to discuss my research with a women's resistance group in the Soseong village and Gimcheon City, who were older members and not easy to gather. Thus, I conducted an interview with one of the youngest women members as a representative. Moreover, some participants were scared to expose their real names and of strangers visiting the anti-THAAD movement, because they had experienced trauma from an experience when government officials came to inspect people's activities to report to the government. As such, I, as a researcher, disclosed my identity to the community. Whenever I participated in the rally of anti-THAAD in Soseong village hall and Gimcheon station, the

residents warmly welcomed me to do research. They wanted me to reveal this THAAD situation in an academic way. Unfortunately, during fieldwork, the Covid-19 pandemic broke out, and I had to stop doing fieldwork, because I was not able to access people's gathering, because of social distancing. Despite this drawback, I hope this study will contribute to understanding the militarisation of the US military empire through the research of the phenomenon of the THAAD deployment in South Korea with an eco-feminist theology as new knowledge: an women's theology for Life in East Asian perspectives.

7.5 IDENTIFYING THE GAPS

This study interrogated the militarisation issue in the context of South Korea in terms of theological reflection. The phenomenon of militarisation – the US THAAD deployment – is understood as a militarisation phenomenon in a global system.

The causes of militarisation have been established with a structural approach: global military alliance and the arms race, as well as a mono-factor approach in politics, economy, culture and society (Kim and Suh, 2016:86). Thereby, this study can be located to the mono-factor approach in eco-feminist theology. In addition, the militarisation phenomenon by empire also provides room for research. Thus, this study's position is that militarisation by the US military empire in the context of South Korea influences women and natural resources negatively. The research was approached critically with an eco-feminist theology.

Militarism and militarisation were considered critically in terms of feminist, human justice and eco-justice perspectives. While there has seldom been an analysis of this research problem in both eco-feminist outlooks and theological reflection, this study employed an eco-feminist perspective as a theoretical framework to analyse the US military THAAD phenomenon in the South Korean militarisation process.

This study interrogated the militarisation issue in the context of South Korea in terms of theological reflection. The phenomenon of militarisation, the US THAAD deployment, is understood as a militarisation phenomenon in a global system. The causes of militarisation have been established with a structural approach: global military alliance and the arms race, also a mono-factor approach in politics, economy, culture and society (Kim and Suh, 2016:86). Thereby, this study can be located within the mono-factor approach in eco-feminist theology.

In addition, positing the militarisation phenomenon by empire is also a gap of research. The position of this study is namely that militarisation by the US military empire in the context of South Korea impacts heavily on women and natural resources. It is approached critically within an eco-feminist theology.

It has been inclined to consider militarism and militarisation critically in terms of feminist, human justice, and eco-justice perspectives. There has seldom been an analysis of this research problem in both eco-feminist outlooks and theological reflectional. As has been highlighted above when discussing feminism and ecology, this study employs an eco-feminist perspective as a theoretical framework to analyse the US military THAAD phenomenon in South Korea as a militarisation process.

In addition, much of the research has been focus on the discourse literature research. This study, however, pursued empirical study in qualitative research methodology. The empirical study of qualitative research used interviews and focus-group discussions on collecting data from fieldwork and real life situations. This study demonstrates the subjectivity and historicity as knowledge of exploring US military THAAD in South Korea being a militarisation aspect.

7.6 OVERALL CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study interrogated how the deployment of Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) by the US military impacts women and natural resources in South Korea. The phenomenon of militarisation was confirmed by the deployment of the US military weapon THAAD in Seongju County. Militarisation underpins the concept of the empire that the empire was defined as a new form of sovereignty in this study.

This study addresses the key research question of how eco-feminist theology can be used to respond to the effects of militarisation and empire on humanity and natural resources in South Korea. Thus, the research used eco-feminist theories as the theoretical framework to investigate the effects of the THAAD on women and natural resources.

The eco-feminist theory points out that the Western philosophy of dualism and Christian triumphalism influences the destruction of the environment and the oppression of women. However, the eco-feminists from the Global South offer perspectives against the socio-economic structures of the West that destroy natural resources. This perspective from the

Global South emerged from women's resistance against the Western-centred development as an empire. The principle of eco-feminism in the Global South assisted in providing an alternative spirituality to respond to the socio-economic and political system of exploitation of nature and women's lifestyles.

This study employs the qualitative research methodology to address the research question. Observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus-group discussions were the instruments used to collect data. The data presented in the study were intended to answer the following research sub-questions:

- 1) What is the challenge of the US military THAAD deployment in South Korea?
- 2) How has militarisation and empire affected women in South Korea?
- 3) How have militarisation and empire affected natural resources in South Korea?
- 4) How can an eco-feminist theology be used to address the effects of militarisation and empire to women and natural resources in South Korea?

This study uncovered challenges of the US military THAAD deployment, namely residents' feelings of fear, anger and sorrow. Their normal daily lives are destroyed by the THAAD deployment. It was presented as violence by the state regarding militarisation associated with the national division system. Also, the challenge was accrued to the THAAD as the military defence system is not protecting the residents in Seongju and Gimcheon.

The data presented probed how the US military THAAD affects natural resources in various way for instance, electromagnetic waves, blocking the path for animals and contaminating soil by the location of the THAAD base. The experiences of women residents illuminated how the THAAD deployment influenced women's daily lives: ignored women's voices, forcing women to be loyal to the father nation, and impacting community relationships. In addition, the data presentation based on eco-feminist theories focused on women's activities for children and living together in speaking out in women's autonomous voice.

To address the question of how eco-feminist theology can be used to respond to militarisation and empire, collected data exposed three themes of Christian faith in Korea excluding militarisation issues. They understand communists as evil and provoke the need for a Korean way of eco-feminist theology in South Korea.

The data collected were analysed thematically, and the following key themes emerged: militarised masculinities as a hegemonic power, militarised patriotism and Protestantism, and militarised dualistic thoughts influencing women and natural resources through militarisation by the US military empire. The themes further focused on the damaged natural environment, pointing out how the US military authority ignores the natural environment.

In addition, this study highlighted the theme of national security in the THAAD as a military defence system. In the name of security, the military empire protects its hegemonic power along with a hierarchical system of militarisation, not taking care of small communities and natural environments. Thus, this study invoked a life-centred theology on the militarisation of the military empire in the name of security.

Therefore, the study answered a Korean way of eco-feminist theology to respond to militarisation and empire regarding the key research question. This study illuminated a Korean way of eco-feminist theology in East Asian knowledge of Life. According to the principle of eco-feminism from the Global South, the study discovered an element of Life with the subjecthood of Life as alternative spirituality. It also focused on women's resistance to the US military THAAD deployment to find features of Life subjecthood.

Hence, this study showed that the women's resistance embraced the subjecthood of Life to lead to liberation from militarised masculinity, embody all living beings, and create a community that lives in harmony with nature. Moreover, this study suggested a women's theology for Life in East Asian perspectives to respond to militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. In sum, eco-feminist theology can be utilised in the way of the Global South perspectives that include resistance to empire and seeking alternative spirituality to respond to the militarisation by the US military empire in the context of South Korea. The resistance to empire is based on women's activities in their voice to survive with all living beings. Women's resistance to the military empire in South Korea is needed to address challenges of security that the Korean churches should secure. The knowledge of Life in East Asia assists in seeking alternative spirituality to respond to militarisation in no-exclusion challenges: humanity and nature. The subjecthood of Life presents an alternative spirituality. This subjecthood of Life as a spirituality serves to interconnect all beings that support the Korean Churches to resist the sovereignty of the military empire dominating all living beings. Furthermore, Christianity in South Korea,

with this spontaneous spirituality of Life, can follow the way of demilitarising the US military empire against militarised masculinity, patriotism and Protestantism.

However, this study has not investigated discourses of security regarding a women's theology of Life in East Asia. It needs further study for a new notion of security for Life in a theological approach. Thus, I want to close by proposing further research topics. The subjects treated below deserve further study. In addition, this study expects to lay the foundation for future work on women's theology for Life in East Asia.

Suggestions for further research

A re-thinking of security in a women's theology of Life can contribute to the re-thinking of 'security'. Focusing on life-centred theological approaches can be used to respond to a militaristic ideology of national security on the militarisation phenomenon. This study suggests the notion of 'Security for Life', instead of militarised security that underlies militarised masculinity, militarised patriotism, and human-centredness. In the name of security for Life, South Korean Christianity can argue they have put measures in place to protect biological, social-cultural and religious 'life'. Moreover, it can suggest comparative research that investigates environmental security in international politics and the security for Life in a women's theology for Life.

This study endeavoured to discover practices regarding demilitarisation in women's resistance. Despite this, this study used an epistemological approach to provide perspectives on demilitarisation. This research did not deal with the challenge of practical methods to change a social system and institutional politics of militarisation. Thus, further research can deal with practical activities for anti-militarisation in the Korean church regarding women's theology for Life.

African women's theology could be investigated to discover the life of African indigenous cultures to deviate from Western-centred eco-feminist theology. It can explore the phenomenon of militarisation focused on women and nature in the context of Africa and other countries from the perspective of the women's theology for Life, for instance, by interrogating the situation of taking natural resources from the African continent and Asia to Europe and China. For instance, it can be researched how a women's theology of Life can deal with this ecological crisis in different contexts of countries in the world.

The theme of militarised Protestantism is exposed as militarised patriotism relevant to pro-Americanism in South Korea and needs more in-depth research. Relative to this, militarised patriotism and Protestantism can be further researched in South Korea and other nations, as well as militarised patriotism in churches: how to expose militarised patriotism, based on Christian faith in other countries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Semi-Structured Interviews Participants

No.		CODE	DATE	PLACE
1	MALE RESIDENTS 7	SSIM-1	03122019	SEONGJU
2		SSIM-2	04122019	SOSEONGRI
3		SSIM-3	15012020	GIMCHEON
4		SSIM-4	20012020	SOSEONGRI
5		SSIM-5	21012020	SOSEONGRI
6		SSIM-6	21012020	GIMCHEON
7		SSIM-7	08022020	SEONGJU
8	FEMALE RESIDENTS 6	SSIF-1	10122019	SEONGJU
9		SSIF-2	11122019	SOSEONGRI
10		SSIF-3	11122019	SOSEONGRI
11		SSIF-4	19012020	GIMCHEON
12		SSIF-5	09022020	GIMCHEON
13		SSIF-6	11012020	SOSEONGRI

Focus-group Discussion Participants

NO.			CODE	DATE	PLACE
1	MALE 6	THEOLOGIANS FROM SOUTH KOREA	FGD1-A	13122019	SEOUL
2			FGD1-B		SEOUL
3			FGD1-C		SEOUL
4			FGD1-D		SEOUL
5	FEMALE 7	CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTIVISTS	FGD2-A	23122019	DAEGU
6			FGD2-D		DAEGU
7			FGD2-B		DAEGU
8			FGD2-C		DAEGU
9	FEMALE 7	WOMEN RESISTERS	FGD3-A	09022020	GIMCHEON
10			FGD3-B		GIMCHEON
11			FGD3-C		GIMCHEON
12			FGD3-D		GIMCHEON
13			FGD3-E		GIMCHEON

APPENDIX 2: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



30 March 2020

Ms Minwoo Oh (218088055)
School Of Rel Phil & Classics
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Oh,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00000594/2019

Project title: Militarisation and Empire: An eco-feminist Theological perspective in the context of South Korea

Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 25 September 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 30 March 2021.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during COVID-19 must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM

Consent form in English

Consent From

Introduction

I am Rev. Minwoo Oh, a Doctoral student at the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. The area of my study is Systematic Theology and in the context of the challenges by US bases presence to people and nature in South Korea, how eco-feminist perspective can help to reflect militarisation and empire?

Purpose of the Study

The educational process of completing a Doctoral study in this institution requires research and writing a thesis on my findings. The proposed topic of the thesis is “Militarisation and empire: an eco-feminist perspective in the context of South Korea.”

This study aims to examine the existing phenomenon of militarisation by the U.S. military in South Korea and how eco-feminist perspective can help to reflect militarisation and empire affect people and nature in the context of South Korea. The work also seeks the participation of farmers, civils of village and environmental institution leaders to find out how their understanding militarisation and empire in their context of South Korea.

Your consent to participate in this research is therefore requested

Informed consent signed.

To participate in the interviews, one needs to sign the consent form and also to show that you are aware that I am undergoing research which its aims is known to you and your agreement to participate.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study from the beginning to the end will be highly appreciated. Your participation is voluntary. It is your discretion to either agree or stop participating in the cause of

the interviews. The interview may last for at most one hour. Your cooperation will be needed in case the need for follow up arises.

Identification for participation.

Participants have been selected as a member of the Seoung Ju affected by US military. In addition, activists, church leader and theologians who are available to participate in this interview, can share their experiences which will contribute to the specific understanding of militarisation in the context of South Korea.

Confidentiality

Participation and records of attendance will be highly confidential, and all will be used for this study. I will be the only one who will have access to these transcriptions. If at any time during the interview, you choose to withdraw from the survey and interview data will be destroyed immediately. Although there are no foreseeable risks in the assistance of this study, you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. To ensure that data collected cannot be linked back to other participants, data will be kept in a secure place on-campus and destroyed after five years. In addition, names and identifiable information will not be included in the theses.

Monetary benefits

This participation of the interviews is only aimed at contributing to the field of knowledge in the area relating to militarisation and empire in the context of South Korea. There is no penalty for not participating or withdrawing. All participants will not gain financially by the researcher. Moreover, this researcher does not have any economic benefit to the interviewee.

For more information, you may contact the following.

Research Student:

Rev. Minwoo Oh

PhD candidate, School of Religion Philosophy and Classics

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg

Email: omw8356@gmail.com Cell phone: +270621849732 S.Africa, +821050556814 S.Korea

Research Supervisor:

Dr Lilian Cheelo Siwila

School of Religion Philosophy and Classics

University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Email: Siwila@ukzn.ac.za Cell Phone: +2779 458 0868

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

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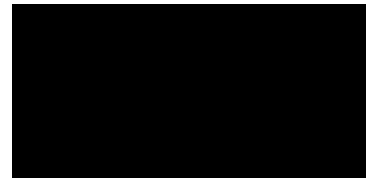
Private Bag X 54001, Durban 4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

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Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your anticipated contribution to this work. Minwoo Oh



Acknowledgement of participating:

----- (Full names of participant) haven understood the task involved and what this study seeks to project I consent to participate in this research project.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

면담 및 단체면담 동의서

이름: 오민우 吳珉優

본 연구자는 “군사화와 제국: 한국적 상황에서 생태여성신학적 관점으로” 생태여성신학적 관점에서 군사화와 제국에 관하여 고찰이 가능한가에 대한 질적 연구 중이며, 남아프리카 공화국, 콰줄루나탈 대학교, 종교철학과전학부 조직신학 박사과정 중에 재학 중입니다.

연구목적

1. 미국군인에 의한 군사화의 현상이 한국 내에 어떻게 발현되는지 연구한다.
2. 미국군인의 의한 군사화의 현상이 한국 여성들과 생태계에 특별히 어떠한 영향을 주는지 고찰한다.
3. 이러한 미국군인의 군사주의 및 제국주의에 의한 군사화를 생태여성신학적 관점으로 분석할 수 있는가에 대해 연구한다.

본 연구의 면담자로서 아래와 같은 내용으로 요청 드립니다.

1. 동의서 내용: 면담에 참여하기 위하여 본 연구의 목적과 내용, 동의 내용에 관하여 연구자를 통하여 정보를 전달 받았음에 동의 합니다.
2. 면담 참여: 본 연구에 참여하여 주신 것에 대하여 감사드립니다. 이 면담을 중단하거나 동의하는 것은 참여자의 결정에 따를 것이며, 인터뷰는 1시간 정도 소요되며, 혹, 후속 조치가 필요한 경우 협력 할 수 있습니다.

3. 참여자 확인(증명): 참여자는 한국에서 미군에 의한 군사화로 영향을 받고 있는 마을의 구성원 혹은 신학자, 교회지도자 및 활동가가 참여할 수 있습니다. 참여자가 경험한 미군에 대한 데이터는 군사주의와 제국에 관한 생태여성신학적 관점에서의 연구에 큰 기여를 할 것입니다.
4. 비밀유지: 면담을 통해 얻어지는 모든 정보는 기밀성을 유지할 것이며, 본 연구에만 사용될 것입니다. 또한 이 동의서 사본은 연구자만 사용 가능합니다. 면담 중 당신은 정보 전달을 취소할 수 있으면, 모든 정보는 즉시 폐기 될 것입니다. 이 연구에 참여하는 것은 위험성이 없을 것입니다. 언제든지, 어떠한 이유로 정보수집을 취소할 수 있습니다. 수집된 정보는 다른 참가자와 연계될 수 없으며, 모든 정보는 학교 내에 안전한 장소에 보관될 것이며 5년 뒤에 폐기될 것입니다. 뿐만 아니라, 성함, 개인적인 정보는 본 논문, 연구에 포함되지 않습니다.
5. 금전적 이익: 본 연구의 목적에 따라 군사화와 제국에 관한 연구에만 사용되므로, 참여자는 금전적 이익을 요구 받거나, 요구하지 않는 것에 동의 합니다.

연구자: 오민우 목사, Ph.D 학생, 종교철학과전학부, 과줄루대학교

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오민우

는(은) 본 연구의 내용을 이해하였으며, 질적 연구를 위해 면담에
참여하였음에 동의 합니다.

서명:

날짜

APPENDIX 4: GUIDING QUESTIONS

Interview and FDG Questions

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH MEMBERS OF SEONGJU VILLAGE:

1. What do you do? Farming or another job?
2. Who is involved in the food-producing as farming?
3. How is farming after installation THAAD?
4. Where are you living and farming? How many kilometres away from THAAD?
5. What is THAAD about? What is your understanding of THAAD of US military?
6. Why does the U.S. military want to deploy the THAAD in South Korea and Seongju in your opinion?
7. What is your experience about the presence of U.S. military in Seongju?
8. What is your understanding of militarisation and empire? (U.S. military THAAD)
9. What is this Anti- THAAD Movement for you and how can you do it?
10. What is the impact of THAAD on the surrounding environment?
11. What is changed your life after the US military installed THAAD to your context?
12. How do you as a village community address this issue in nurturing life?
13. For the church leaders
 - Do THAAD issues affect the church's ministry?
 - What is the role of the church in this context of THAAD?
 - What is the part of the church in anti- THAAD movement?
 - Does the church help the victims of THAAD?
 - The response of the Church doing about THAAD conflicts in your church's congregations?
 - What do you think about militarisation in South Korea?
 - How do you reflect the theological witness in the context of militarisation?

FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSION AMONG THE PEOPLE

- What do you do? Farming or another job?
- 1. Who is involved in the food-producing as farming?
- 2. How is farming after installation THAAD?
- 3. Where are you living and farming? How many kilometres away from THAAD?
- 4. What is THAAD about? What is your understanding of THAAD of US military?
- 5. Why does the U.S. military want to deploy the THAAD in South Korea and Seongju in your opinion?
- 6. What is your experience about the presence of U.S. military in Seongju?
- 7. What is your understanding of militarisation and empire? (U.S. military THAAD)
- 8. What is this Anti- THAAD Movement for you and how can you do it?
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면담 및 단체 면담 질문서

1. 당신은 어떤 일을 하시나요? (직업)
2. 먹거리(농사)는 누가 짓고 계시나요?
3. 사드기지 건설 후에 농사는 어떤가요?
4. 당신이 살고 있는 지역은 어디이며, 미군기지과 거리는 어떻게 되나요?
5. 당신이 이해하고 있는 미군에 의한 사드기지는 무엇인가요?

6. 미군은 왜 사드를 성주에 건설하고 있는지요?
7. 미군과 사드기지에 대한 당신의 경험은 무엇입니까?
8. 미군과 사드기지로 인한 군사화와 제국에 관한 이해는 무엇입니까?
9. 당신의 삶에서 사드 반대 운동은 무엇이며 어떻게 합니까?
10. 사드기지 건설로 인해서 생태계에 미치는 영향은 무엇입니까?
11. 사드기지와 미군이 당신의 삶을 어떻게 바꾸었습니까?
12. 당신이 속한 마을 구성원들은 어떻게 이 문제를 극복하려고 하나요?
13. 교회관계자 및 신학자
 - 사드 이슈가 당신의 목회에 어떠한 영향을 끼쳤나요?
 - 사드 기지 건설 문제에 관해 교회의 역할은 무엇일까요?
 - 교회의 사드 기지 건설 반대 운동은 무엇일까요?
 - 사드로 인한 피해자들을 위해서 교회가 할 수 있는 일은 무엇일까요?
 - 당신의 교회와 교인들에게 사드로 인한 갈등이 발생에 대한 교회의 역할은?
 - 군사화에 대한 목회자로서 어떻게 생각하시나요?
 - 군사화 상황에 대한 신학적인 증언은 어떻게 해야 하는지 당신의 생각은?

APPENDIX 5: LETTER FROM THE GATEKEEPER

09-06-2020

The Ethical Clearance Committee
University of Kwazulu-Natal
South Africa

Dear Ma'am/Sir,

Sub: Minwoo Oh – Permission for Research

Minwoo Oh is hereby permitted to conduct interviews within the members of Seongju-gun in South Korea. Seongjujeil Presbyterian Church, Rev. Cheolbong Seo will be the local contact community herby have no objection in this regard. Ms. Minwoo can to submit a Research Proposal to the University on the subject preferred, in fulfilment of requirement for her studies.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Seongjujeil Presbyterian Church

Rev. Cheolbong Seo

cc: Ms. Minwoo Oh (omw8356@gmail.com)



APPENDIX 6: PHOTOS FROM THE FIELDWORK

The photos by researcher, Minwoo OH



The banner in Soseongri: people's Hands mark on the banner that says 'No THAAD Yes Peace.'



Painting 'No THAAD' on the wall of a resident's house in Soseongri.



Resisters' holding the banner showing 'US troops Go back' in the rally of anti-THAAD.



The protesting group of walking toward the US THAAD base on the valley of Dalma mountain.



On the front of the US military THAAD base- the blue ribbons, the symbol of peace, are tied by protesters.



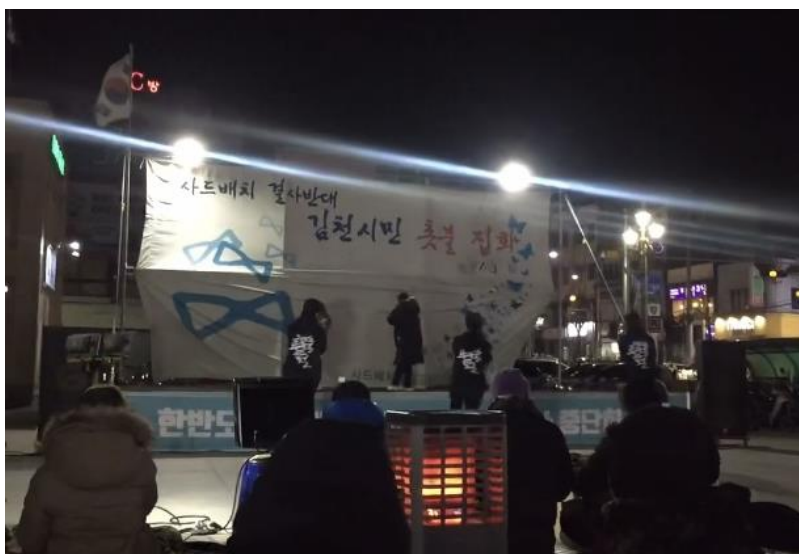
Participated in the everyday protesting in front of the US military THAAD base.



The helicopter for suppling of necessities to the US military THAAD base.



A cultural festival on Wednesday rally in Soseong village hall.



The performance of the dance mom group in the Saturday rally of anti-THAAD in Gimcheon.