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2013년 2월

석사학위 논문

전지구화 시대의 한국의 스포츠와 미디어

MEDIATED SPORTS AND KOREA
IN AN ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

조선대학교 대학원

신문방송학과

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ABSTRACT

CHAPTER 1	1
A. TITLE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2	4
B. GLOBALIZATION'S CULTURAL PERCEPTION	4
I. Sportive frame for Robertson's Globalization as a problem	6
II. Global Cultural Economy: Sport contextual analysis	9
III. Sports Globalization	15
a) First sports globalization (1850s – 1920s)	16
b) Second sports Globalization (1920s – present)	22
CHAPTER 3	28
C. SPORTS IN KOREAN CONTEXT	28
I. Analysis on Media Sports	30
II. Media Texts Reading	35
a) 2002	37
b) 2003	40
c) 2004-2005	41
d) 2006	42
e) 2007-2000	44
f) 2010-2012	45
III. An ever-changing relation	47

CHAPTER 4	49
D. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS	49
I. Methodology	50
II. Interview questionnaire	54
III. The interviews	54
a) Deterritorialization; opportunities out there	56
b) Glocalization more than Globalization	60
c) Korean landscape	64
CHAPTER 5	84
E. CONCLUSION	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	91
APPENDIX	97

TABLE INDEX

1. TABLE 1	35
2. TABLE 2	52

ABSTRACT

세계화의 흐름과 구성요소들은 한 세기가 넘도록 우리 시대에 존재하고 있습니다. 하지만 정보기술 재료에 있어서의 과학기술의 발전 때문에 지금이야 말로 바로 세계가 세계적인 활동과 단체, 사상들의 분배가 증대되며 국가 간의 관계가 전례 없이 큰 영향을 받는 새로운 사회적인 패러다임 아래에 처하게 된 때라고 여겨집니다.

문화는 이러한 세계화의 흐름들 중 하나에 속합니다. 또한 이 한 흐름은 끊이지 않는 부의 교환에 영향을 받고 있습니다. 그리고 그 문화의 내면을 들여다보면 스포츠가 이러한 끊임없는 순환에 가장 중요한 역할들 중 하나를 맡고 있습니다. 하이브리드 패러다임에 입각해 스포츠를 분석하면서, 이 보고서에서는 두 개의 국가 신문에 나와 있는 연구를 이용하며 스포츠 미디어라고 불리는 연구 분야의 하나인 (Close Textual Analysis) 방법을 통해 어떻게 해서 매개적으로 사용된 이 문화적인 현상이 헤게모니의 양산에 사용이 되었는지, 혹은 국가 정체성 확립에 있어서 어떤 영향을 미쳤는지에 대해 설명합니다. 또한 이 보고서에서는 In-Depth Interview 를 통해 취해진 국가와 관련된 외국인 선수의 시각에 입각해서 지난 10 년 동안 동양과 서양으로 분류될 수 있는 타인에 대한 국가의 기술이 어느 방향으로 초점이 두어져 왔으며, 세계화된 세계에서 한국은 최근 몇 년에 걸쳐 얻어진 경쟁력을 보여주는 한국의 운동선수들과 사회적인 도구로서 이용되어지는 외국 선수들을 통해 스스로를 어떻게 인지하고 있는지, 또한 “그들에 반한 우리”라는 항상 순환하는 관계를 읽으며 이미 통합된 세상에서 이 사회가 어디로 향해 가는지에 대해 밝힙니다.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a noun used by many to describe our time; it does not matter if the ongoing topic is about cultural, political, economical or social experiences. Nonetheless, just a few have full awareness of its implications; its true reforming value. This process, which is certainly not new, has impacted every facet of our society on an unprecedented scale during the last twenty to thirty years, and sports and its mediated forms, as a cultural experience, have not been the exception; they also have been modified by it, thrusting them as one of the most important cultural, political and economical aspects of our era.

Sport have had specific set of cultural values for societies throughout centuries and since their institutionalization, rationalization, modernization, and more important, their merge with Media, governments have utilized them as a feature to produce hegemonic discourses to stir and harness a sense of belonging to a national cultural affiliation, shortly expressed as national identity.

While a substantial amount of research has investigated the role of sports and its impact on Korea's national identity, the main purpose of this paper is to understand if sport's mediated form, in an Era of Globalization, has influenced the production and reproduction of Korea's sports identity during the last ten years. Articulated as a question, the previous statement marks the departure for the research, as several other inquiries set out from it: Does globalization create a new global culture or reinforce and close traditional cultures of nation-states? Is deterritorialization a central concept of modernity? Is the sport industry a wheel of Globalization or just a consequence of it? Can sport carry national values and represent national ideology better than any other cultural form? What is the relation of sport and Media and how does it carry globalized notions? How do mediated discourses around sport affects the perception of concepts like gender, body, identity and nationalism? Do Governments use Media and mediated sports as a way to spread nationalistic values? How important has sport and its mediated version been for South Korea? How has sportive success been interpreted by Korean society through the message exposed by the national Media? How has the Korean Media pictured foreigner athletes during the last ten years? Has the Korean society integrated itself better to foreigners through sports? Has a more cosmopolitan national identity been shaped in South Korea? And if it has so, how heavy has been the role of sports and its mediated version?

Going from general to particular, on chapter 2, I provide a general review over Globalization's Cultural Perspective adhering the theoretical framework of the paper to the Cultural Hybridization Theory, mainly

describing the concepts of Ronald Robertson and Arjun Appadurai, while relating the Hybridization paradigm to real examples taken from sports industry. In an attempt to portrait the historical relation sports and Globalization have had, in that same chapter, I do a brief recapitulation of sports history and effects over societies, always keeping close attention to the bond between the cultural experience and Globalization.

On chapter 3, as I try to contextualized the South Korean Sports Media industry, I expose several concepts from a field of Cultural Studies and Media Studies denominated 'Media Sport Studies', described as an area where sport's everyday life politic is linked with academic interrogations in humanities and social sciences. In order to complement the primarily methodology - described lines ahead -, I take fifty articles from two Korean newspapers printed in English from 2002 to 2012 and analyze them through a qualitative method called 'Close Textual Analysis' with the intention to comprehend the current position of Sports Media in Korea toward the 'Other' and the dichotomy 'us versus them' in the production of an hegemonic discourse to reproduce national identity.

For the methodological part of the paper, on Chapter 4, I first explain the qualitative method call 'In-depth Interview', for then depict the procedure made to get the word and experiences of ten professional athletes enrolled or who used to be part of any of the baseball, football and volleyball professional leagues in South Korea. Based on a questionnaire built from general perspectives to more particular points of view, the players were invited to offer insights of Korean Sport industry,

Sports Media and their own relation with the country. Throughout a profound selection and interpretation over their answers and attitudes I present a full read around the dissertation's main topic.

Finally, on the concluding chapter, departing from general points to particular ones, I summarize the most important findings of the paper around South Korea's national identity and mediated sports' influence on this social construction.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALIZATION'S CULTURAL PERCEPTION

The actions and components of Globalization, as it is understood today, have been part of the world system for centuries. The large-scale interactions between social groups have their origins with the merchants, travelers and explorers interchanging commodities or cultural practices (Appadurai 2012), most of the times with the intention to impose their political and economical hegemonic practices on other groups or to conquer unexplored territories to expand their dominium, a course of actions kept during the establishment of modern nation-states all the way through the end of Colonization. Until then the problems presented by distance, time, and inadequate technologies made the picturing of a single

world system unlikely and the consciousness of the World as a whole remote; however, the recently expired XX Century, and the two world wars within it, accelerated the invention of informational and mechanical devices that contracted the world and manufactured a new set of relations amid nation-states, whilst spreading worldwide practices, organizations and ideas. In some sense the world shrink and world models became especially important to legitimize social practices inside nation-states, accentuating the need for social theories to elucidate this process (Robertson 2012); most of them comprise in Globalization theories.

The use of Globalization as a noun and its theorization by the academia has no more than forty years. For some authors is “the set of processes by which more people become connected in more and different ways across ever greater distances,” (Lechner and Boli 2012, 4) for others is the formation and enactment of world polity and culture (Meyer, et al. 2012) guide by an unique model resulting in an intensified global culture. There are also the ones who claim it is the expansion or boosting of the capitalist system and the neoliberal rules of the financial markets, where the main agent is the accumulation of capital and not the nation-states (Wallerstein 2012). These authors in addition to Giddens (2000), Beck (2000) Bauman (1998) and some more, give us the perspective of how wide, complex and incomplete the study still is; of how many variables can come into play and the endless results of them.

The American sociologist George Ritzer (2008) clarifies that Globalization has multiple types of analysis, from cultural to economical,

but also political and institutional(Ritzer 2008). Yet, all of these types of analysis hold a key element: to distinguish whether an increasing homogeneity or heterogeneity is been experienced. Thus, the investigation of isomorphic events or the statement of clashed civilizations form part of an entire necessity to clarify this phase of new political, economical and cultural order to understand how the agents interact, construct meaning and conceive their environs.

One of the analyses of Globalization is the Cultural Theory. Based on the degree of integration, separation and rejection amid national cultures three major paradigms in theorizing cultural aspects of Globalization are pronounced: Cultural Differentialism, Cultural Convergence and Cultural Hybridization.

While Cultural Differentialism, found in the work of Samuel Huntington called *The Clash of Civilizations* (1992) among others, says that the core culture is unaffected and the followed path is leading to a dangerous collision among world cultures; Cultural Convergence, by the hand of George Ritzer's concepts, tells us that the world is going towards sameness, a global assimilation. Standing in the middle of those two approaches Cultural Hybridization declares: "the mixing of cultures as a result of globalization and the production, out of the integration of the global and the local, of new and unique hybrid cultures that are not reducible to either the local or the global culture." (Ibid., 587) As a central concept of Cultural Hybridization Theory, Roland Robertson (1992) adopted the concept of 'Glocalization', described as a conflation of

Globalization and Localization; taken from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, often heard in business circles of the 80s, which sums up the complexity of local and global or universal and particular (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007) - to be explained and expanded in detail further down.

I. Sportive frame for Robertson's Globalization as a *problem*

For the social theorist Roland Robertson the concept of Globalization contains both: "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole;" (Robertson 2012, 88) the 'consciousness of the world as a whole' is an interrupted procedure linked to the rise of modernity, but not just a consequence of it, hastened by the 'revolution' of consciousness of the 60s, a time where ideas like 'the global village' of Marshall McLuhan (1962) wished to reflect the compression of the world, specially by interpreting the role of the Media (Ibid., 89). While the 'compression of the world' can be attached to the international trade commerce started hundreds of years ago, strengthened in the context of transnational change and global flows of our time.

To facilitate the analysis of globality - the orientation to the global circumstance - Robertson (1992) proposes a model called 'global field' or 'global-human condition' to illustrate the pattern of Globalization during the last century. Four aspects are portrayed in his model: 'National societies', 'selves', 'humankind' and 'world system of societies'; each one of them

with relative autonomy but also constrained by the other three. By narrowing to these four aspects, the author is not willing to throw a totalistic orientation to the global circumstance but to emphasize flexibility in order to comprehend different variations in the field. To put it in another way, he wants to make analytical and interpretive sense of how all the actors, including the ones who seek for the legal principles to order the world flows, visualize the world. We have to remind this is a cultural perspective of Globalization, where the 'causal mechanism' or 'driving forces' are ubiquitous, but not stated. The intention is to demonstrate the 'discontinuities and differences' of world culture in every agent, collective or individual.

Also, in Robertson's the model, a series of relativization processes are named to "indicate the ways in which, as globalization proceeds, challenges are increasingly presented to the stability of particular perspectives on, and collective and individual participation in, the overall globalization process." (Ibid., 92) The model squarely understood helps to point out the complexity of the constant transformation of our world, the impossibility to find one single position to read the vast directions where social agents have been walking and are heading to, and the differentiation effect of Globalization with its responses from diverse cultures.

In addition to the model explaining global complexity, Robertson's view of Globalization is rounded off with what he calls the central dynamic of the process where the 'particularization of the universal' and the

'universalization of the particular' have been encountering each other since the late XIX century, on what the social theorist call the 'take-off period of modern globalization', a phase of national identity construction along with tradition inventing (Ibid., 94).

Therefore the above cited term of Glocalization comes to exemplify the perspective of a world growing more pluralistic, the prowess of agents to adapt and maneuver the global just to export a novel cultural product, and to express the difference within parts of the whole, as well as recognizing the relational and contingent processes of global and local.

For the final purpose of the paper, the reading on Globalization or - as he adopts - Glocalization, by Roland Robertson, helps to set a theoretical framework to analyze sport, as a cultural practice, and the function it takes in the construction of identity in a globalized - glocalized - world. Since his ideas indicate a 'take-off period of Globalization' well at hand with the first wave of organization, rationalization, and institutionalization of sports; when international competitions, tours, tournaments begun; sports governing bodies were founded; and spectatorship grew in masses (Maguire 1999), the relation between these two social phenomena seems to have also existed for many decades and should be taken in consideration, as it has been over the last few years, with more academics researching about it and validating the subject as a serious aspect of cultural studies.

The reciprocal attachment of the particular and the universal, global and local, is clear on any modern sport when I go through their origins, like Markovits and Rensmann (2010) express: "The origins of the global emanate almost exclusively from the national and the local, and the latter two levels continue to persist as crucial characteristics of sports culture." (Markovits and Rensmann 2010, 17) As a result, sport looks like a rich scenario to find how this particularization of the universal and universalization of the particular practically occur.

Finally, the relativization processes aid to see the amalgamation or disintegration of long-established clubs, leagues, competitions; the movement made by players or teams among regions, countries; the importance of particular-universal contest like the World Cups of different sports, the Olympic Games, with the national pride on the front line; or even the transnational competitions: UEFA Champions League or Copa Santander Libertadores in America, just to mention a couple. It is in here, immerse on sport terrain where I can find emerging challenges to particular perspectives, to the sense of identity, and where the interpenetration of local-global has a cloudless scene: just let us think about football, with a different style everywhere, under the same seventeen rules.

II. Global Cultural Economy: Sport contextual analysis

Arjun Appadurai reading of the 'Global Cultural Economy' will be used to complement the theoretical frame of Roland Robertson on the same paradigm of Cultural Hybridization, reaffirming the position the paper keeps on the cultural perspective of Globalization:

For Appadurai (1996) the world is on a new order due to the intensity and speed of cultural transactions. While in the past geography and other natural factors interfered with the exchange, and the 'forces of cultural gravity' never were able to assemble large-scale groups; technological advances during the past hundred years have modified the range of transportation and information, and although he does not subscribe to the idea of one single community, he does emphasize the evolution of neighborliness - far away from Marshall McLuhan's proposition since for him the Media forms placeless communities -, as he sees a rhizomic world, where a cultural global economy is full of ironies and resistances; a procedure he frames in five dimensions of global cultural flows denominated 'scapes' and the 'deterritorialization' context (Appadurai 2012).

As almost the entire group of authors describing today's global interactions, Appadurai puts the conflict of cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization as a central problem. Against the homogenization arguments related to Americanization or to the models of neo-Marxists around consumer-producer tension, the academic says: "The complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain

fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics that we have only begun to theorize.” (Ibid., 97)

In an attempt to make an apposite medley of the social researcher’s dimensions of global cultural flows or ‘scapes’ and the actual swinging of sports I will defined those five dimensions and give a suggestion of how sport is connected to the landscapes and the ‘imagined worlds’ they form; by ‘imagined worlds’ Appadurai refers to the construction of worlds elaborate via people or groups placed in a specific time.

‘Ethnoscape’: The non-stoppable and hitherto unprecedented amount of migration through the countries’ borders. For example: sport players changing leagues or training in better facilities in richer nations (Maguire 1999); fans invading for a day, a week or even a month another city just to support their favorite team or to bother the opponent; entire clubs established outside the limits of the country housing a professional league: Canadian teams in USA’s competitions. (This is only to present a sport facet of a huge feature of mobilizing population following their imaginations for a better opportunity to satisfy their needs in diverse aspects.)

‘Technoscapes’: The global configuration of technology, both mechanical and informational, that permits the transit of vast material through what was believed impermeable boundaries in a free and quick manner. For example: the complex network of scouts fighting to capture

young talent in the most remote places of Africa or America, buying cheap labor that later will be sold in maybe millions of Euros (George Weah, the hero of Liberia was bought by Arsenal for \$20,000) (Armstrong 2007); the information generated by a Public Relations Office of a worldwide famous team - like Manchester United - to the international press about any internal matter; the easiness on which fans move from country to country or even continent to continent to presence a match. (Again, these panoramas are only for the purpose of citing sport cases in a full range of possibilities of labor, money or information transit.)

‘Financescapes’: the twenty-four hours worldly interconnected market where huge sums of money, through commodities, currencies, stocks and a like, are dealt. Sport industry has an increasing value in the financial markets since a few teams are now quoting in the stock exchange, and transnational companies (TNCs) are extending the volume of sponsorship in teams, competitions or leagues (Smart 2005) (Boyle and Haynes 2009).

In those three ‘scapes’ and their correlation with sport, we can feel the fluidity and irregularity, according to the angle taken for and by some nation-state, diasporic communities or any other social actor, of the landscapes. Thus the constructions made on the transactional market of legs, arms and whole bodies of sport industry, will vary on the vision of each agent attached to its own historical, political, linguistic environ.

Following these three 'scapes' are two more landscapes of images: 'mediascapes' and 'ideoscapes'; the former refers to the electronic capability to produce and distribute information to the world, but also to the images of the globe spread and created by the Media. Ensuing the concepts of 'reality' and 'social reality' of Walter Lippmann (1922) - termed as 'the world outside' of actual events the former, and our mediated knowledge of those events the latter (Shoemaker and Reese 1996) -, Appadurai (1996) also marks the lines between the 'realistic' and 'fictional' landscapes, where the images of the world are modulated by a lot of factors like who owns and controls the media. Meanwhile 'ideoscapes' are a set of images restricted to political agenda produced by states in line with their ideology or by counter ideologies with the intention of grabbing a piece of power (Ritzer 2008), for what the evolution of nation-states represents a dilemma, since not even the terms of Enlightenment like: 'freedom', 'rights', 'sovereignty' or 'democracy', to name some, have a single definition and all differ in their pragmatic application (Appadurai 2012) of the country-scenario.

For sport, the Media has been a catalytic power, and the binomial, started during the late stage of the XVIII Century, has found a boost in the last decade with the explosion of sport journalism and media content on sports (R. Boyle 2006). Therefore Media has also transformed how we relate ourselves to sport and the meaning we create out of it. For us, the distant and exotic are nearer than they used to be, and further in the paper I will identify in which level is sport and media really constructing hegemonic discourses where the global or universal is being

domesticated to local political projects(Armstrong 2007). Argument that leads us to the 'ideoscapes' and the premise that sports have been used by political ends; either by the controlling power or the opposition, like Houlihan (1994) explains it:

Sport has always been a resource within the international system available primarily to governments, but also to other non-governmental political interests and, while it has, on occasion, been the primary tool of diplomacy and policy implementation, it has more often been an element of a broader and more comprehensive political strategy. (Houlihan 1994, 209)

To scrutinize sport through the 'scapes', especially the last two, will let for a deeper understanding of the importance of this cultural domain. Ahead I will extend the idea of how sport, as a cultural form based in high competition, has been open to ideological and political operation (Boyle and Haynes 2009), most of the time as a fundamental sphere in the implementation of national identity, serving a fixed political end (Cashmore 1996).

Another concept used by Appadurai (1996) is 'deterritorialization', defined as: "one of the central forces of the modern world because it brings populations into the lower-class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies." (Appadurai 2012, 100) Although in the case of athletes, their mobilization is not similar to other social groups and goes into the

high-class, or at least medium-stratus part of the social spectrum of countries, it is feasible to say that sport players mainly pursue a more favorable place to develop their talent and therefore to earn a more suitable life style, like in the cases of the Caribbean people playing in Major League Baseball, or South Americans in European football leagues, that do not break ties with home but adapt themselves into self-invented diasporas at the interior of the welcoming countries. As Peggy Levitt (2001) describes it: "Instead of loosening their connections and trading one membership for another, some individuals are keeping their feet in both worlds. They use political, religious, and civic arenas to forge social relations, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders." (Levitt 2012, 125) Thus, the aforementioned dimension of 'ethnoscapes' brings a new feature to the global cultural politics: nation-states have now to deal with the force of migration, legal or illegal, to formulate laws to regulate this mobilization and keep the sense of nationality out of the battle of homogenization and heritage.

In a time where the speed, quantity and scale of flows are exponential, the disjunctures among the 'scapes', not only they are essential to comprehend 'Global Cultural Economy'. And since the landscapes are a global process, independent to nation-states and each territory will be affected in a different proportion or set (Ritzer 2008), more than a global homogenization, new repatriated cultural products, absorbed from the global into the local, will be generated, and it is the state, as Appadurai (1996) expresses it, "the arbitrageur of this *repatriation of difference*." (Appadurai 2012, 103)

Is in this negotiation of sameness and difference, in these disjunctures, adjoined to Roland Robertson's dichotomy of global and local, where I found another theoretical base to sustain and unravel the intimate relationship between sport, media, globalization and national identity.

III. Sports Globalization

Sporting activities have been invested with a unique set of cultural values in every society since remote times: the Egyptians, with celebrations dedicated to the pharaoh; the early Olympics in Greece and their praise for the balance of the mind and body, as Plato echoed it in his *Republic*; or the Roman amphitheaters, architectural invention, where gladiators and chariot races delighted Emperors and plebs (Scanlon 2006), are a few of many civilizations that mirthfully took pleasure in the 'games'.

Yet, it was until the late 19th Century in Europe, in the middle of the Industrial Revolution, when sport-like practices were endowed with rules and structures (J.C. Thring, in Cambridge published the ten 'laws' of football in 1862); sports associations, federations and clubs were established; and the media, in particular newspapers, started their long and fruitful relationship (Markovits and Rensmann 2010) (Bryant and Holt 2006). In sum, sports were institutionalized, rationalized, modernized.

From that point on, nation-states adopted and used them as a tool to create traditions, myths and national sentiments; the cultural form was embedded as a status symbol of nations (Elias and Dunning 1986), as a force to legitimize political discourses; as a field of battle without weapons to show the physical and mental strength and superiority over the 'Other'; and after the merge or alliance with the media – the mediatization and conception of 'media-events' - as the heart and motor of contemporary culture; an integral part of the global process.

A. First sports globalization (1850s – 1920s)

Although there is a lot of debate around the origin of many modern sports, there is no doubt that it was in England, or Great Britain, where most of them sprouted, or at least, found their structural bases. Like Wallace Reyburn (1975) pointed: "It is the English who have been far and away the world's most inventive when it comes to sports. Soccer, lawn tennis, cricket, hockey, modern boxing and athletics, badminton, bowls (...) all are English products." (Reyburn 1975, 12) Those English products, among many others, were associated with wealth, power and modernity: concepts of a progress yearned by any nation during the midpoint and late 1800s. Economically, politically and culturally, Great Britain, although not alone, was the most powerful actor worldwide: merchants, entrepreneurs, and bureaucratic and military functionaries took capital, techniques, machines and high culture, including sports, to the rest of the world (Goldblatt 2012), as they were the founders of international and transnational organizations on independent nations, like in the case of

Latin America, and some of their colonies – in Africa, Asia, Australia. Cross-cultural interchange between Western countries and with non-Occidental societies increased. The settlements of English and other Europeans around the globe spread the ‘civilized patterns of conduct’ of the modern and advanced, most of them validated and appropriated by the upper strata of other nations - not to say they were not contested in some places, nor to deny the previous assimilation of old non-Western cultural forms before the West acquired the control and power of global flow. The imposition of specific forms of conduct and their practice, sports incorporated, allowed the Western elites to reinforce their culture, habits, and identity (Maguire 2006) everywhere. The contrast amid the receiving culture and the expansionists caused the first wave of tension between local and global, the homogenization and heterogenization of national culture, in what Robertson (1996) suggested it was the take-off period of Globalization.(Robertson 2012)

It is realistic to say that due to the expansion of the pseudo English Empire, and some other Western modern nations-states, sports became global; standardization was promoted and international competitions started to flourish with a great response by the spectators (Smart 2007). What was just a hobby for a few ones transformed into a recreation for the mass; a gap in between labor where sociability could be easily practice (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007); a ground in which civic pride, localism and identity were generated. Baseball in the USA, or soccer (Associated Football) in Europe or Latin America “provided an opportunity for a gathering of people whose origins, identity, and purpose cut across local

neighborhoods, industrial occupations, employers, trade union membership – and united them around a bigger but comprehensible geographical location and identity. It also served to insert these nascent forms of working-class localism into a national framework and institutions.” (Goldblatt 2012, 59)

The participation of society in sports grew, the remaining anti-sports position was replaced by the speech that placed the cultural form as a paramount practice for the balance of the body, mind and society. (Bryant and Holt 2006) It was the proper venue to let one’s emotions flow in a regulated environment, outside and inside the field as Markovitz and Rensmann (2010) explained ensuing Elias and Dunning (1986) idea: an area “to experience and articulate emotions in a ‘civilized’ manner.”(Markovits and Rensmann 2010, 52) Each sport was defined by its own rules apprehended and respected by practitioners and followers. This sportization of the ‘games’ produced “change in the social habitus of people and of the societies they form with each other.” (Elias and Dunning 1986, 51)

At the same time, an intense industrialization permitted the improvement of communicational and printing technologies. Sports got distributed and commercialized in a perfect climate for their development, like Bryant, Zillmann and Raney (1998) argued: “As it did with many other aspects of society, the industrial revolution dramatically changed things as far as sports spectatorship was concerned.” (Bryant, Zillmann and Raney 1998, 257)

The expansion of lawn tennis to Canada, Australia, France and the United States of America and the organization of semi-professional tournaments made the racket sport one of the first to have a global profile.(Smart 2007) Cricket was also rapidly spread to the countries of the British Commonwealth, with a special strength in India, where the game was indigenized to the point some feel now is more local than English, as Nandy (2000) polemically asserts: “Cricket is an Indian game accidentally discovered by the English.”(Nandy 2000, 1) The Olympic Games of the modern era were also established after the foundation of the International Olympic Committee in Paris in 1894; Pierre de Coubertin considered the games to have the potential to promote world peace while engaging nation-states in a global competitive sport event(Smart 2007). And finally - just to mention a few of the numerous modern sports -, the case of football or soccer, named by Richard Giulianotti (1999) as ‘the global game;’ a suiting definition or nickname to the sport that has touched every continent, and has been appropriated by hundreds of countries since: it is easy to understand it; how cheap and flexible it is to play or watch it; the diversity of skills and physiques required; its ever changing three-dimensional space; and the uniqueness of the goal (Goldblatt 2012).

By the first years of the 20th Century all the nowadays known Federations and International Organizations that structured, regulated and administrated sports were already in function (the Fédération Internationale de Football Association started working in 1904 and the International Association of Athletics Federations in 1912), consequently

every single one of the nations who wanted to be included in this universal institutionalization had to adhere to them(Andrews and Ritzer 2007). Defined by Robertson (1992) as the 'universalization of particularism', glocal sporting traditions immerse within the universal structure rose: "distinctive corporeal techniques, playing styles, aesthetic codes, administrative structures and interpretive vocabularies" (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 545-568) emerged; local sporting cultures became glocal; sports mutated from being localized, with a insignificant organization or without it, to that of globalized following. What had started in England, or USA in the case of basketball or baseball, with a few students and workers playing, was to be manufactured in the "most universal aspect of popular culture." (Miller, Lawrence, et al. 2001, 1)

Two interrelated processes then appeared: severe forms of nationalism and intensification in globalization(Maguire 2006), or 'compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" - in the words of Robertson (1996).

But before explaining how national identity was launched through the development of sports and body achievement – mostly related with male body during the first part of the 20th Century -, it is necessary to define how indigenization occurred on the field of sports and the result obtained after most of the modern sports grasped local and particular meanings.

Arjun Appadurai (1996) has explained that indigenization is not the adoption of imported cultural norms *per se*, but the result of nationalist testing with modernity (Rumford 2007). Previously ditto, nation-states, as the organizing structure of modern society, became the regulators of global flows, in this case, of how the games were produced, consumed and played in their territory and their participation and success during international events; sports came to be used as symbolic representations of antagonisms between states. (Elias and Dunning 1986) For example, as an English sport, football was not completely welcome in Italy, where in order to de-emphasize its Englishness, 'Calcio' was the name given to the sport, closer to the old Florentine game. Or in Germany, a country of gymnastics and physical exercise – boxing during the Nazi regime -, two sports to enhance the body and spirit, who opposed to football and the model of achievement and record-oriented sports (Markovits and Rensmann 2010).

Like the aforementioned situations, nations around the globe did not simply adopt modern sports and its institutionalization. Neither every state saw as an apposite answer the swift from recreational sport to the pro body and record achievement vision. Folk sport traditions were not just simply replaced, some kept their endogenous origins intact (Gaelic football or hurling), although never hermetically sealed off (Maguire 2006), while others merged with the outsider to be globalized: football, basketball.

In a turn-of-the-century period where national identity was been highly promoted and interstate tensions were coming into sight, the field of

sports provided a playing arena where all countries stood a chance to compete with hitherto power states at a much more fair level “than in the reality of military, political or economic competitive process.”(Hedetoft 2003, 71-2) Organized sport was taken as an important sphere where national character could be forged, often serving specific political ends (Cashmore 1996). Each nation-state grabbed a new way of this universalization of sports and constructed its own sporting stereotypes to claim superiority over the ‘Other’, as Hugh O’Donnell (1994) notes:

[Sport can] “...function on an international level as a site in which advanced countries can and must act out their preferred myths through self – and other – stereotypes, and celebrate those qualities which, in their own eyes, make them more modern, more advanced, in short superior... This process routinely involves downgrading other national groups.” (O’Donnell 1994, 345-380)

In the period that Maguire (1999) names the third sportization phase (1870 to 1920) most of the modern nation-states were subscribed to supranational organizations and formed part of a world system; football and other sports have had since then a single controlling organism (FIFA, COI, ATP, PGA) and with a few exceptions, several and consecutive international competitions (World Cups, Olympic Games). Through these sport institutions Globalization has been reinforced as the world became more interconnected and viewed as a single place, whilst national identification has also been thrust because of the achievement ethos of sport quests. Using Robertson (1992) terms, sport is a cultural form where

the process of 'universalization of particular' and 'particularization of universal' can be found. And "[i]t is fair to say that one of the central issues in the literature of globalization and sport is the tension between the nationalist dimension of competitive sport and its globalization, the first dimension not necessarily constituting a barrier to the second." (Rumford 2007, 95)

B. Second sports Globalization (1920s – present)

According to Allen Guttman (2004) seven factors rendered sports into modern practices: secularization, egalitarianism, bureaucratization, specialization, rationalization, quantification, and a quest for records. All of these factors form, in one sense, the transition of sports from ritual to record and to professional competition (Guttman 2004), which has as its primordial feature the encourage of competitiveness and success at the top level - 'world record' 'world champions' (even if the leagues take place only in one single nation, like the NFL) are sport concepts that allege global stage supremacy (Markovits and Rensmann 2010). These social factors, and the consequences engendered on sports, were possible straightly to the development and intervention of the Media, particularly to radio and TV's live transmissions, but also to the trident made with sport related and non-related companies, specially American and European, that saw in this cultural practice a perfect set to promote their products and services attaching them to newly born cultural icons and international competitions (Boyle and Haynes 2009) (Smart 2007). All of these alterations in sports, and around them, brought the fourth sportization

phase, from 1920s to mid-1960s (Maguire 2006, Smart 2007), and set the terrain for the constant commodification and commercialization of sports in the subsequent decades.

Like in the previous phase, the scuffle between states, their struggle for world records in the form of sport achievement camouflaged economical, political and ideological tensions, with the difference that, during the period comprised between the 20s and 60s, sports and sportive competitions took a more determinant role on the media; the performance in the organization, operation and production of more prominent leagues, athletes and international competitions exposed by that Media was, and still is, of extremely importance for the hosting countries, since it was a platform to disseminate their ideology and show national pride and prestige to the world. The international competitions went from modest events with low participation and small significance to massive encounters suited to fuel discourses and narratives of international competition and national rivalry as more nations realized the potential benefits of taking part on them (Tomlinson and Young 2006). As such, Athens 1896, with only 200 athletes from 13 nations, received little attention from the press and therefore was barely noticed at the international scene, while by 1936, Berlin, the most controversial Olympic games in history - called the “Nazi Olympics” –, obtained the attention of several Western media companies and was the first global event to be radio broadcast live to international audience, aside being the first television content transmitted to the city (Roche 2000), whilst the national regime tried to impress Europe and other countries through their magnificent stadiums, ceremonies, and other

facilities; also using propagandistic and remarkable aesthetical films like *Olympia* (1938) of Leni Reifenstahl (Guttmann 2006).

The invention and mass distribution of the radio broadcasting system during the 20s, with its prominence on sports coverage (the first NBC radio network program was the heavyweight championship between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney on September 23, 1926) (Enriquez 2002), and years later, the initial transmissions of television shows, mostly by Western media conglomerates, enhanced the born of sportive figures like Baby Ruth in baseball, 'Red' Grange in Football (Wanta 2006), Suzanne Lenglen and Bill Tilden in tennis, Bobby Jones in golf, or the Afro-American Jesse Owens, that was the start of the Olympic Games held in Berlin 1936 (he won the 100 meters, 200 meters, long jump and 400 meters-relay contests), halting the propagandistic messages intended by Hitler's political party, which were supposed to be made to proclaim the power of the white race(Smart 2007) (Guttmann 2006). This sportive icons personalized and carried the discourse and narrative of the nations they represented, the will of their controlling groups to demonstrate superiority on physical body practices that involved schooling of the body, as well as in the construction of endemic and advanced ideologies; a time when sports lent their fighting spirit to nation-states, business and wealth generators (Smart 2007) "underlying the belief that sports shapes as much as society as society shapes sport." (Hundley and Billings 2010, 2)

After the Second World War the whole world was divided into two political, cultural and economical ideologies. Geopolitical and military

power steered the course of global flow and capitalist economic policies embodied by the U.S. and some other Western countries fought communist states for the indisputable control of the globe. Being an associated mass cultural form of the neo-liberal free-market, sport, in specific mediated and team sport, was also rejected by the communist parties for its idle purpose, viewed as a bourgeois pastime to seduce workers (nevertheless, the Soviet Union used the Olympics as another arena to confront the U.S. during the Cold War) (Markovits and Rensmann 2010). On the other side, the globally networked cultural practice continued its expansion attached to the cultural and political values (free competition and democracy) and technological developments of the West (satellite and video technology), and veered its direction into the pursuit of economic interest and the promotion of consumer culture (Jarvie 2006).

From the last years of the conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to our days, the dynamics of the second globalization (Robertson 2012), which contains what Markovitz and Rensmann (2010) articulated as the second sports globalization, and Maguire (1999) marked as the fifth sportization phase has entailed “an age of global capitalism and trade, new transnational migration, global communications networks, and cosmopolitan norms and institutions never previously imagined.”(Markovits and Rensmann 2010, 24)

The world went into a capitalist economical system; a society less burdened by working hours, without the restrictions of savings and the will to consume: the ideal scenario to nurture mass consumption, and develop

commercial recreation (Smart 2007). Transnational, international and national companies started to notice the increasingly power of global sports events and iconic global celebrities to promote commodity consumption (Ibid., 23), while the supranational sports organizations begun to utilize this revenue to keep spreading out their 'product' and expanding their limitless frontiers, - by the early 80s, the two biggest global sport events, the Olympics and the football World Cup had fix partners like Coca-cola, Gillette, Fujifilm, JVC among others; and the number of their associated countries went higher than those registered at the United Nations (see <http://www.olympic.org> <http://www.fifa.com> and <http://www.un.org>). According to Boyle and Hayne (2009) "[t]he games in Los Angeles in 1984 set new benchmarks in the marketing and sponsorship relationships which have now become an integral part of international sport." (Boyle and Haynes 2009, 52)

All this capitalist process of sports has the Media as the key element. As it is aforementioned, the growth of sports and its consolidated position within the entertainment and corporate sectors of economy has been carried by the hand of the 'Sporting triangle', as Boyle and Haynes (2009) denominated the conjunction of Television, Sport and Sponsorship. Television has had a particular role in the distribution sports 'mega-events' and creation of 'media-events'; the former talks about the international competitions with a clear beginning and ending in a space of time, and an organizational country or geographic territory (South Korea and Japan shared the 2002 World Cup) entrusted to host; while the latter refers to the television content that usually requires a special type of production and is

marked by the 'witness-to-history' role of the content (Roche 2000). Among the characteristics of the 'media-events' are that it should be live broadcasting; that "people in many nations feel obliged to watch and feel privileged to be able to witness the event," (Ibid., 167) in what Dayan and Katz (1992) refer to as 'an aesthetics of compensation': audience 'compensates' the fact of not being at the event with better angles of view, well informed reviews and comments provide by the television production; plus that are richly symbolic (Ibid.,168).

Media-events, the emerging of niches in cable networks with 24-hours-per-day of sport content, like Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) or Rupert Murdoch's News Corporations with numeral regional cable networks like Fox Sports in America and Latin America or BSkyB in Europe, and the increasing extension of the culture of celebrity sport stars, has placed sports in a powerful position in a mediated global culture(Smart 2007). Joined with the exponential amount of money spend by the transnational companies, as sports are being turned into business, and sport events and participants into commodities, sport can be described as the most transcendental thing in the world (Beck 2000) of the global neo-liberal free-market era. But also, as a unique cultural form where to find and analyze Globalization process and national identity discourses.

CHAPTER 3

SPORTS IN KOREAN CONTEXT

The theoretical and historical background of the paper (Chapter 2) have the purpose to describe, in a brief way, the role, evolution and prowess of sports in society as a cultural experience during the last three centuries; in particular within Globalization periods and from a Globalization Cultural Theory perspective. As it is stated, the first and second period of Globalization have been the flourishing ground for sports and their mediated version, while at the same time, these ones have also been acting as one of the catalytic forces of the global phenomena. Now it is palpable that the effects of the binomial dynamic of these social, cultural, economical and institutional processes - mediated sports and Globalization - affect every agent and structure of society; that we live in a 'smaller' world, and the flows of people, capital, ideas, images and technology had increased in an uncommon levels, evaporating boundaries or frontiers; that the words extensity, intensity, velocity and impact have nowadays acquired a new significance; and the symbolic meanings of identity, nationalism, cultural practices, social experiences and more, are

detached from local places; global is now the sphere of play for everybody and everything.

With this in mind as the bigger structure surrounding the research, on this chapter, I set my investigation on a recently developed and many times diminished field of Popular Studies and Media Studies called Media Sport Studies: an area where sport's everyday life politic is interconnected with academic concerns in humanities and social science (Rowe 2004). That means sports, as a part of culture and media studies, are reviewed in relation with their ubiquitous presence in the media and the carried effects on society. This analysis permits to capture the role of the mediated sports in our society as a vehicle of discourses and as a field to express and interpret identity, since this one, according to Stuart Hall (1996), is constructed within the discourse, usually by media and sports.

Beside the Globalization cultural theories, in order to make a more academic interpretation of media sports (mediated sports), defined by Rowe (2004) as the concept that "embraces all the media and sports organizations, processes, personnel, services, products and text which combine in the creation of the broad and dynamic field of contemporary sports culture," (Rowe 2004, 7) I also included into my study some readings about the processes of mediatization and culturalization - commenced two centuries ago and reinforced by the development of channels and techniques of communication during the last thirty-fourthly years - visibly identified in the symbiotic relationship of sports and media; one arraying from the other an innumerable amount of symbols, that turn

simple existence into meaningful experience, for the exchange of capital through a third partner called sponsorship. Without taking in the part characterized by mediatization and culturalization, I would be missing the excuse many cultural and media studies academics have used to start prompting this global cultural form into a valid field of media studies and sociological research. Those two processes clearly helped sports to become a crucial part of the politics of everyday life and put it in the focus of cultural and media studies (Rowe 2004). Nowadays, global events manufactured into media events like the Olympics, the Super bowl or the football World Cup, are the center of attention not only to transnational companies or media conglomerates, but also to the academia for the amount of symbolic meanings brought in on to the field of identities analysis.

Media Sport Studies have plenty sources to claim for: from live TV productions like Media Events (Dayan and Katz, 1992), to sport related films, or single photocopies of magazines or newspapers. Each one of the niches with its own particular mode of production, type of texts and different consumers; but all of them with a common point on the extraordinary amount of possible interpretations. Maybe it is the same nature of sport that enables to create narrative pleasures (Boyle and Haynes 2009) with a vast range of significations and mythologies without an effort (Rowe 2004). Holding to this point, Roche (2004) express it this way: “the media sport texts provide a set where collective identities (...) can be publicly symbolized and emotionally expressed;” (Roche 2004, 169) thus a vivid ground to take out meaning from it.

This chapter, following the analysis made by Giulianotti (1999), Boyle and Haynes (2009), Raney and Bryant (2006), Hundley and Billings (2010), Rowe (1995, 2004), Tomlinson (1999), Wenner (2006) and several others, is another attempt to value the socio-economic power and cultural influence of mediated sports, with the final and main purpose to serve as a background and a complement for the analysis on South Korean sports and the hypothesis that mediated sports, as an agent of Globalization and a consequence of it, have a function on the construction of a new national identity against the 'Other' - not in the hostile sense, but in the comparison use - in Korea.

I. Analysis on Media Sports

My analysis in this Chapter will interpret and concentrate on the current position of Media Sport in South Korea, and the power media has on the formation of hegemonic discourses and national identity, in both terms: the self and the otherness (Morris 2006). For that I will examine one of the three parts comprised in Sport Media studies, called: messages or content of mediated sport texts. The focus on the readings will lay in the concepts of nationality, ethnicity, and the dichotomy 'us versus them' comprise in media sport texts.

It is necessary to point out that while studying Media Sport the researcher has to be aware of the interconnection between the three

brands of study, as Kathleen Kinkema and Janet Harris noted in their historical survey of the field of 'Media Sport Studies':

"Work on sport and the mass media concerns three major topics: production of mediated sport texts, messages or content of mediated sport texts, and audience interaction with mediated sports texts... but at the outset it is important to acknowledge the lack of clear demarcation between them. Considerable overlap exists, and certainly it is difficult and somewhat artificial to discuss them separately, although efforts are made to explore linkages." (Kinkema and Harris 1998 quoted in Rowe 2004, 10).

The explanation indicates that a holistic research is necessary to fully seize the reach and effects of media sport, therefore in my readings the other two parts or coordinates will also be at hand and will serve as a base where I can support my interpretations.

The three topics explained by Kinkema and Harris (1998) were mapped in the book *Power Play: Sport, Media and Popular Culture*, by Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes (2009), into coordinates to be able to explain them separately but as an interconnected areas. The first one was named 'political economy' and it is referred to the products and institutions that have a bearing on the production of mediated sport, a higher level in the structure of production. In the case of this paper, I have talked about Globalization, understood in the cultural hybridization

theories of Robertson (1992) and Appadurai (1996), as the process that is transforming the world with the enhanced flows of people, capital, technology, images and ideas, setting the local and the global, homogeneity and heterogeneity, into debate; in a new order of the global cultural economy. Also, I have done some research around the formation of South Korea after the agreement of truce between the split nations (Breen 2004; Kim and Jaffe 2010), the importance of sport in Korea's public policies (Lee 2003), and many other social issues related to sport and national identity around the Asian country (Shin and Nam 2004; Lee and Barnier 2009; Hong 2011; Park, Lee and Bretherton 2012; Hong 2012; Cho 2008). For without it, my readings on the sport text will be lacking of a base to interrogate and interpret them. During the development of this chapter several points of Korean society will be taken in consideration, since there is no message without the influence of other social institutions and before that message can be deconstructed, "it is imperative to be knowledgeable about their provenance and current institutional position." (Rowe 2004, 18)

The second coordinate called 'representations of identity-formations' referred to the reading of Media Sport texts made by the Media Sport researcher. Correspondent to this paper and to be used as a background to the final end of the paper, I will put 50 articles published on Korean newspapers in English, from 2002 to 2012, into interpretation trying to find an hegemonic and recurrent discourse on them, paying attention to the variables of nationality, ethnicity, and the dichotomy 'us versus them'. This will be done through an approach to rhetorical criticism commonly called

'Close Textual Analysis'. I will identify if there have been changes in the speech of the national media toward foreigner athletes in Korea and to Korean athletes abroad during the last ten years, and if those changes relate to economic imperatives of the media or to the cultural policies of the nation-state (Boyle and Haynes 2009).

In here I have to say that I am aware that this kind of "decodings" are just one of multiple readings a text can have, and even that this interpretation can be far apart from what the intention of the writer or the editorial line of the newspaper originally was, but to excuse myself, and with the intention to clarify a constant problem in Media Sport or any other category of Cultural Studies, I will quote the introduction of the book *Reading Sport: Critical Essays on Power and Representation*, written by Birrell and McDonald (2000):

"We never want to become so confident that we cast our own particular readings as the only authorized version and foreclose the possibility of other contradictory or complementary readings. All are polysemic, and the site of contested meanings, whether they are seen as dominant, subversive, resistant, transformative, or appropriative." (Birrell and McDonald quoted in Rowe 2004, 14)

Also, for my decodifications not to be merely subjective I will also utilize the work and proposes of several academic researches published, during the same period of time, in journals of sport, economics and social issues, and some others like the *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, related to the role of sports and mediated sports as a central element in the political and cultural discourse of Korea. Everything with the pursuit of telling a “‘sociological truth’ that can only be an ‘impression’ of reality.” (Rowe 2004, 17)

All of these studies have been made by Korean academics, or people attached to the Korean cultural and political life, and have a clear understanding of the tense and dynamic relationship between sports and the local political, economical and cultural context, for what can be useful to enhance my readings, taking off a little bit of subjectivity.

This will be just an external help to the main research method of the thesis Chapter 4) Consisting on In-Depth Interviews to ten male foreign players performing or who used to play in three professional leagues of Korea. I will take, through my own reading, the perspectives of foreigner athletes performing in Korea as a formula to understand if mediated sports, as an agent of Globalization and a consequence of it, has influenced in the construction of a new national identity, and if so, how has this process been presented.

II. Media Texts Reading

As it is stated before, for this part, close textual analysis will be used to see if the media has altered their approach to foreigner athletes in Korea and to Korean athletes performing abroad during the period aforementioned, and while doing so, try to find how has the hegemonic discourse taken the participation of and with the 'Other' among Koreans and how this speech has produced and reproduced the dominant ideology of the Asian nation.

The sample consist in 50 newspaper articles from *The Korea Times* and *The Korea Herald* written in English from 2002 - which was the World Cup year hosted by South Korea and Japan - to 2012. It is necessary to emphasize that the intention is to discover words or phrases with a significant impact on the construction of identity; statements reinforcing the dichotomy of 'us versus them', especially on Koreans performing and having success on international scenes and foreigner competing on Korean ground.

Table 1

	The Korea Herald	The Korea Times
Period	2002-2004, 2009	2002-2012

Keywords	Foreigner, korean, players, athlete, mercenary, hero, league, World Cup, football, baseball, volleyball, relation, culture, sport, competition, tournament.	Foreigner, korean, players, athlete, mercenary, hero, league, World Cup, football, baseball, volleyball, relation, culture, sport, competition, tournament.
No. Of Articles	25	25
Quoted Article Titles	After the World Cup	A Bright Future for Korean Football?
	Changes abound in KBO	Bears sign Japanese All-Star pitcher to deal
	Foreign imports making their mark in K-League	Cheetahs Out to Slow Up Chunma
	K-League changing its color	K-League to Cut Foreign Players
	KBL may allow more foreign players	Park Ji-sung Scores First Eredivisie Goal
	Korea cruises to 4-0 home win over Honduras	Take English Lesson
	Korea urged to use World Cup to nurture global brands	
	Korean players join European soccer clubs	
	Korean soccer raising the bar	
	More than just a game	
	Musampa arrives in Seoul	
	On foreign players...	
	Pride of Asia: Park Ji-Sung	
	Should the K-League allow more foreign players?	
	Team named for Japan clash	
	World Cup kicks off in Germany	
	World Cup star Lee Chun-soo likely to join PSV Eindhoven	

	'World Cup rivals should fear us	
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Working from the premise that “(c)ommunication is meaningful because of the culture that frames it (and) all communication exists in a cultural context,” (Hecht et al. 1993 quote in Armstrong 2004) it is necessary to state that in Korea the concept of “단일민족국가” that means “one single ethnic nation” is an hegemonic force and penetrates into every scale of society, therefore the believe in this social paradigm beside being present in the media, is tangible in the politics of daily life. Nevertheless, this single-mind vision of ‘Korean-ness’ has been confronted in this Era of Globalization and one of the twisting or restructuring periods happened during the 2002 World Cup, just a couple of years after the economical crisis that hit the national banks and the Korean pride. At that year the Korean government along with the media proclaimed the mega event as an opportunity to advertise Korea (Hong 2011) to the world, to show they were a modern nation. Therefore I took this turbulent time as a departing point to my study.

A. 2002

During the football World Cup words on renewal spread out in the Korean press: “The year 1999 marked a renaissance for Korean soccer” - marked The Korea Herald - to follow it with: “In line with its policy of full-scale support for the national team, the KFA has spent millions of dollars by hiring top-notch **foreign** coaches like Guus Hiddink and Pim Verbeek.”

(KoreaHerald 2002) In a sense the message presents Korea as the agent of its own change, by using foreigner expertise in areas where the nation is still neophyte but with great expectations for the future.

After the Korean Government used "Globalization" as its slogan (Shim and Park 2008) for the late 90's, the economical crisis hit the national market and the confidence built until those years took a strike and damaged the country's myth of national development (Lee and Cho 2009). Consequently, the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup was a perfect stage to reenter the global arena in a new set: welcoming foreigner intervention from one "*Sonjin Guk*" (선진국) or "advanced nation", that is a label Koreans utilize to depict a nation or its citizens who's status is perceived as higher in comparison to the nationals - in this particular case with a Dutch football coach -, and adapting that before proven successful style (although Netherlands has never won a football World Cup nor its league is consider to be a Top one) to their own benefit and standards.

In this aspect, the debris left by the Mega Event was seen by the media like this: "As French philosopher Guy Sorman put it, Korea was experiencing a "happy globalization", from its open-minded acceptance of **foreign** merits (...) The nation is abuzz now about how to make the most of this momentum of unparalleled patriotism and self-confidence. Businesses should benefit most from the "upgraded" Korean brands, resulting from the improved global awareness and national image of their homeland." (KoreaHerald 2002) The Korean media praised the effective branding of the Nation that was performance oriented towards the global

'Other' (Lee and Cho 2009), while at the same time presented Korea as a cosmopolitan society, where the foreigner was well-accepted, all thanks to the impressive run the national team had with some "help" from the Dutch coach.

For some academics through out the event "the foreign 'Other' was a powerful symbolic presence that grounded discourses of Korean nationality, furnishing with ideal norms and standards of value,"(Hong 2011) and thus, after the event or better expressed, after the outstanding performance of the national team among "advanced nations", Koreans were expecting their own nationals to keep competing in those superior standards "because they could" as this articles expressed it: "A number of the brightest stars of South Korea's World Cup campaign have already been linked with moves overseas." (KoreaTimes 2002) Also the Korean Herald said: "Lee also became the first World Cup player to sign an international transfer contract (...) Cha, 22, signed a contract with German Bundesliga side Bayer Leverkusen Saturday." (KoreaHerald 2002) Koreans were comfortable with the 'Other' since they have measured themselves with 'them' and achieved recognition, reaffirming ethno-nationalism in the face of Globalization. While at the same time, a desirable and valuable part of the 'Other', embodied on Guus Hiddink, was appropriated and molded to their own convenience; they accepted the superiority but always asserting the natural strength of their players: "Rather than saying that Hiddink has created something new, I think it's much more important to note that he was able to bring out our unique qualities and strengths. We ourselves were not able to identify these and

bring these out, but he could, from an outside point of view.” (“Hiddink’ u ga namgin gos un” [What Hiddink has left for us], Seoul: MBC, July 2002 quoted on Hong 2011)

The foreigner was not a threat since Koreans were at the same height, and even in some other sports with more national tradition, like baseball, the regional ‘Other’ was admitted: “Next season, domestic fans will be able to witness a Japanese hurler play in the Korea Baseball Organization (**KBO**) for the first time in its 21-year history.” (KoreaTimes 2002)

B. 2003

According to Hong (2011), the formation of national identity “it is shaped through relationships of both inclusion and exclusion, and the affirmation of what it is, is always accompanied by the rejection of what it is not – the Other as referent.”(Hong 2011, 321-345) In the case of Korea, the Mega Event was the right moment to assert what they were as a nation, in contrast and association of what the ‘Other’ was, first in the field of sports and then stirred into nationalistic emotion of their society. The press kept going with the triumph of nationals abroad: “Five of South Korea’s European-based footballers saw action Saturday with Park Ji-sung netting his first goal in the Dutch Eredivisie.” (KoreaTimes 2003) Also, in The Korea Herald: “Korean World Cup star Lee Chun-Soo will likely transfer to Dutch side PSV Eindhoven as early as in April (...) Lee’s

transfer to the PSV Eindhoven is a precondition to our exclusive marketing deal with the Dutch football team.” (KoreaHerald 2003) Koreans were playing at the highest level, these athletes embodied transnational cultural and capitalist business practices, working as national cultural icons in the reaffirmation of a national identity (Wong and Trumper 2002).

At the same time, inside the national leagues, since the ‘Other’ was no longer at top-of-mind position the Media started to gaze some other direction, prompting more into the internal production: “Kim’s exploits among a band of free-scoring Brazilians have provided succor for a domestic press that, since the World Cup, appears to have discounted the contribution made by **foreign** players in the **K-League**.” (KoreaTimes 2003) Thrust by new cultural policies the press also remarked the decreasing role of the foreigner in professional sport leagues: “The K-league has decided to reduce the number of **foreign** players teams can have on their books from five to four;” (KoreaTimes 2009) while of course this is just the exposure of a fact, it is true that the Korean media kept condemning the ‘Other’ to validated the ‘Korean-ness’: less foreign players is the same as more Koreans, without losing the preset quality standards.

C. 2004 and 2005

During the two next years the media continued with the trend of presenting the ‘Other’ as worthy if this was well aware of the Korean way

or style, whilst rejecting them if they could not accomplish that adaption, in what is a flexible nationalistic discourse (Hong 2011): "In his first year as head coach, Scotland's Ian Porterfield had a baptism of fire of sorts, getting used to the Korean game and way of doing business." (KoreaTimes 2004)

Meanwhile the 'Other' is welcomed because it is Koreanized; is thrown away if it cannot understand the system. This is not only perceivable in the Media but also in the politics of everyday life, maybe in a circular pattern of influence, as Billings and Hundley (2010) stated: "...it is hard to separate the negotiation of identity from how it is conveyed and shaped by media entities." (Billings and Hundley 2010, 3)

Certainly the position of the 'Other' was in a better situation since the 'Korean-ness' was well understood. The fluctuation between 'what we are' in opposition with 'what they are' had arrived to a desirable echelon for the Koreans in sports and hence in the social construction, or perhaps backwards, as Houlihan (1994) argues: "sport is a reasonably accurate reflection of the prevailing ideology found within a particular state at a particular time." (Houlihan 1994 quoted on Park, Lim and Bretherton 2012, 1-23)

D. 2006

I have talked before about the importance of Media Events (Dayan and Katz 1992), especially the ones related to sports, since, quoting Roche (2004), they provide a “secular, but (from a sociological perspective) quasi-religious experiences such as those of sacredness and transcendence, communal ritual and symbolism, and collective drama and emotionality.” (Roche 2004, 169) A sociological truth when we read what happened in 2002 to Koreans.

In 2006 Koreans were again facing a World Cup, a new Mega Event far from home, and the importance of media in what Dayan and Katz (1992) denominated the ‘aesthetics of compensation’ had a central stage. For Koreans was a chance to corroborate they had the level to compete with the “advanced nations” (선진국) outside their frontiers. And the media, before the competition, pleaded for the same nationalistic sentiments that clustered the streets of Seoul and other cities, four years back, as one entity: “The World Cup proved to Koreans to be far more than just a game. Few events brought them closer together. Each match the Korean team played instilled oneness into the minds of all Koreans.” (KoreaHerald 2006) this time the message also bearing a more enthusiastic and overconfident speech as The Korea Herald exposed it: ““We are now in much better shape with many experienced players who are currently playing in European leagues,” said Lee, comparing the team to the one that made the World Cup semifinals on home soil in 2002.” (KoreaHerald 2006) Or: “Korea, which made a sensational run to fourth place in the last World Cup, will have its first match against Togo in Frankfurt on Tuesday, a game that could decisively sway Korea’s chances to progress to the

second stage of the round of 16. Korea and Togo are in Group G along with France and Switzerland (...) The Koreans might make it to the last 16 by beating Switzerland and newcomer Togo." (KoreaHerald 2006) The message said and reaffirmed Korea as no longer 'small country' but at parity with the 'Other' in the sports arena. Nonetheless the press also recognized the role of the foreign coach, particularly since they found similarities to one Koreanized foreigner – Guss Hiddink – in the way he managed the team: "Advocaat resembles Hiddink in many aspects, and looks austere, but he in fact shows softness on the pitch." (KoreaHerald 2006) Again the other was accepted more through an opportunistic method creating a suitable narrative of 'Korean-ness' (Hong 2011).

Unfortunately the results were not the same and the national team failed to advance into the next round confronting Korea and their ability to place themselves in the global sphere, not only in sports but also in economical, political and social aspects: "Korea's failure to make it to the second round of 2006 World Cup in Germany deeply disappointed the public here, many of whom still vividly remember the stellar performance of the Korean squad in 2002. But that only testifies to the sheer difficulty of becoming an international soccer powerhouse (...) Experts say Korea's street cheering culture indicates the nation's potential and vitality - energy that can be used for other areas as well. One such area is global brand power. Although Korea has numerous conglomerates, only a handful of companies have noticeable brand power among foreign consumers." (KoreaHerald 2006) The moment left Korea, in a different set than few

years ago, but again with the concern to prove the 'Other' they could be at the highest level.

E. 2007-2009

Despite the negative result of the national team at the international event, the birth of new “glocal” stars, like Park Ji-Sung, who by that moment was playing at one of the best clubs in the world, or Lee Chung-Yong, whom also arrived to the EPL (English Premier League) among others, gave Korea a reason to be proud, to understand themselves able enough to compete individually and as a collective at the highest levels. In a sense, those ‘new’ Koreans playing in Europe, at the best football leagues, or in the U.S. at the MLB (Major League Baseball), made themselves a significant metaphor for the new emerging Korea; a globalized country. Again, sports were the ground to reproduce national identity, nationalism. Korea was now, not only receiving immigrants, but also exporting talent, making a brand for the country.

During the late 90's and early 2000's, despite the Asian crisis, this continent or region was in vogue, the growing rates had a slump but indicated a bright economical future. China was emerging with a new system, they opened their frontiers and commenced to do business with foreigner capitalist countries; suddenly it was not just Japan who was in command of the region, but the most populated nation as well. For Korea it was a wake up call to show they were not the ‘small nation’ in between

two giants, and sports were a way to do it. Articles with titles like: “Pride of Asia: Park Ji-Sung” (KoreaHerald 2009) or this other: “Lining up with the Brazilian and Eastern European footballers on the carpeted concourse at Incheon International Airport, documents have been handed over by players from Australia, China, Japan, Cameroon and even Guatemala - making Asia’s oldest professional league now the most cosmopolitan,” (KoreaHerald 2009) reflected the need to position the country as a reference in Asia, not a follower. The ‘Other’ now had to versions, the regional ‘Other’ and the Western “advanced nation” ‘Other’.

The case of Korea goes with Amara and Henry’s (2007) explanation that “newly independent countries have used international sporting events, and particularly the media coverage of that such events can attract, as a space to express their regional political and ideological concerns.” (Park, Lim and Bretherton 2012, 1-23)

Through these years Korea has been trying to build a brand at sports and hence for the country, now the world knows that Koreans have carved a style, as this articles reflects: “Korean **players** may not talk as much as their European equivalents but there is one thing they are very good at and Musampa, though he has been in Korea for a just a few weeks, knows that Korean teams never stop running - well, almost,” (KoreanHerald 2008) but they are still working for the Western ‘Other’ to identify them as different from the Asian ‘Other’.

F. 2010-2012

For the last years, in the Korean Media Sport, there are two recurrent subjects in the media: 1) Constant urge to prove Korea's legitimacy outside the national frontiers, and 2) A debate on the role of foreign players in national leagues.

The first one praising the success or exalting the pride of having several players abroad, usually supported by imaging the body of those representatives during competition or while excelling in their sports, since these forms epitomize national identification and affect (Miller, Lawrence, et al. 2004). Articles like: "The 24-man squad features 11 **foreign-based players**, including Manchester United midfielder Park Ji-sung and Lee Chung-yong of Bolton Wanderers along with 13 K-League **players**," (KoreaHerald 2010) or this other: "For Friday's friendly, Cho called on 10 **foreign-based players**, including AS Monaco striker Park Chu-young and Lee Chung-yong of Bolton Wanderers," (KoreaHerald 2011) tell the urgency to corroborate the fact that Koreans are producing in other nations and they are willing to represent the nation when they are needed. Even the same Media recognizes this trend: "In the Seoul media there is much talk and pride in how South Korean soccer exports perform in Europe." (KoreaHerald 2010)

The second point obeys more to the cultural policies of the nation-state (Boyle and Haynes 2009), the number of international players

performing in national leagues is related to the expansion of those competitions, to the development of new national players and to the influence that the foreigner can have to the game in Korea. As stated, Koreans now, during the last years, seem to welcome the 'Other' when it does not represent a threat to them and when it is "Koreanized" in his actions and behavior, in a more kind of usual social policy of developed countries playing in the Global arena. Titles and articles like these ones pollute the newspapers: "KBL may allow more **foreign players**," (KoreaHerald 2011) or "On **foreign players**..." (KoreaHerald 2011) The questions remain at more or less foreigners: "The Korean Basketball League is considering altering its restrictions on **foreign players** as the sport faces waning popularity and growing calls from teams for a change" (KoreaHerald 2011) and "Should the K-League allow more **foreign players**?" (KoreaHerald 2011) The subject in here is sport, but it is also a matter of cultural acceptance: "Some claim the KBO should consider bringing in more foreign players, but this would require a change in rules." (KoreaHerald 2010)

III. An ever-changing relation

Through the research and reading of newspapers – specifically media sports articles - printed throughout the last ten years in Korea, I have found that the relationship and play between the 'Other' and 'us' shows a non-stop flowing game. From the 2002 World Cup proposed as a propagandistic vehicle to demonstrate a cosmopolitan Korea with global recognition and social openness towards the 'Other', which in fact serves

as an example of globalization as a process that “does not displace or replace nationalities, but inflects their productive mechanisms” (Hong 2011, 321-345) since Korea constructed the ‘Self’ through the gaze of the ‘Other’, to the latest years where Korea has been reaffirming themselves as an “advanced nation” with enough resources to compete with the rest developed countries.

During these years Korea’s economy has grown enough to acquire a position of a powerhouse. The nation leaders long to position the country as a reference in the region, distinguishing themselves from the ‘Other’ Asian neighbors, contradicting the idea of an opened and cosmopolitan society, since on the backside of the coin, they do aim to show how willing are to go after the example or advise of other Western *Sonjin Guk*’s in areas where they think still are behind. That last point is also remarkable because it seems that the acceptance of the ‘Other’ also depends on how efficient or clumsy they are in a specific area.

It is also clear the role media play in the identity and ideology’s formation in Korea, no matter if its mediated sports or hard news, although the former ones have more power to stir the emotions toward what its wanted. At the same time these discourses reflect they are built immerse a global veering and the influence now and in the future will be major, like Hong (2011) explains it: “The emergence of these globally inflected discourses of nationality, and their flexible and dynamic manifestations through the mass media, have important implications for the production of nationality in the coming years.” (Hong 2011, 321-345)

With these interpretations in mind broadening my perspective, now I will turn to explain the research design and questions in the next chapter, number 4, to immediately follow it by the interviews and the interpretations of them.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

After the first three chapters, and once the theoretical and contextual parts are appointed, in this section I will explain and present the investigation's design and research questions formulated in order to answer: Do mediated sports, as an agent of Globalization and a consequence of it, have influenced the production and reproduction of Korea's national identity during the last ten years?

On Chapter number three I set out my interpretations of some articles printed in Korean newspapers during the last ten years - with the assistance of some other academic papers - to find if there has been a change in the way Media – Sport Media - deals with and portrays the role

of the 'Other' and the mutual relation with the nationals, in the construction of a national identity for the country. Also, as a second derivative point, I analyzed whether these changes on Media Text were due to cultural policies modifications or fitting Media companies' economical reason.

The result suggested a flowing cyclic state on the discourse carried by the Media towards the 'Other', or even in the same conception of the 'Other' and its impact on the production of a hegemonic discourse around national identity. That Media's message was clearly attached and responded to the cultural politics of Korea and the global impact on the country. I related this last feature to what Robertson (1992) called 'glocal': the globalization process intervening in the construction of national identities from outside but with the nuances of locality. That means nowadays there is no production and reproduction of what 'We' are without the 'Other'.

Nevertheless, since I do not yearn to fall into a 'media-centered' research that conceives the media as the origins of all discourses that circulate within society at any given time (Boyle and Haynes 2009), and in fact this paper is more focus on the perspective taken from the actors or agents, in this case, foreigner deterritorialized players performing or who used to perform in Korea, on this chapter I will show how the questions of the research were elaborated and how the interviews were designed to discover if "sporting forms and mediated versions of these forms are continually being shaped by and in turn shaping culture as a whole" (Ibid.,15) and or if these ones are the foundation from where the cultural

shaping starts. As well as to look for the role of mediated sports and athletes in the construction of national identity, how globalization is affecting them, or in what sense, and how do they read the cultural politics of the country they are playing at. Along with the aforementioned purposes, while the athletes were answering, I also tried to perceive their relation or affection with their home nations and with Korea, to realize if they see themselves as a representation of their community and or a model for the production of social discourses in their adopted country.

I. Methodology

With the aim to discover and form a full perspective about foreign players in Korea and what they were doing as sport professionals and regular immigrant citizens, and to take their personal opinion and view of Korea as their adoptive home, the relations established with locals, along with the perceived treatment from them, I found appropriated a methodological qualitative technique named *In-depth Interview*, since this one allowed me to construct initial rapport with the athletes, win their confidence and go into private questions to reveal the nuances of their life and interpretations of Korea, Korean sports and Korean people in relation with themselves.

In-depth Interview is defined as: “a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a smaller number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea,

program, or situation” (Boyce and Neale 2006, 3). As it is cited, these interviews should be individual, in an environment of confidence for both sides to obtain better and more constructed answers from the respondents, avoiding “yes” or “no” replies or even a denial to respond. For that matter I wanted and procured to perform the meetings in a location they would indicate me, giving them the freedom to choose the time and place to have the private dialogue.

To meet the athletes was a long and laborious procedure since all of them are high performing athletes and should obey a strict daily routine to keep their level of competition in optimum condition. Therefore, they have short and irregular periods to dispose, not to say time to have questioning sessions. Also, another limitation was that in Korea the Public Relations Department or Office from most of the professional teams in all four male leagues impose a lot of restrictions on players, as well as on journalists - or in this case, on a master degree student -. in order not to permit free contact between those parts. Hence most of the interviews were agreed through personal contacts or directly with the pros. In every single case the content was previously disclosure to the pros’ full knowledge.

The sample of the study consisted in ten foreign players and coaches from three professional male leagues that included the KBO (Korean Baseball Organization), K-League (Korean Football League) and the V-League (Korean Volleyball League). Some of the players and coaches were not longer enrolled on any league in Korea when the

interview took place, but used to play for a determinate period on them. As for the extension of stay, while a few of the players had been in Korea for a long period of time, others were newer to the country. It is also worth to state that the players were from different nations and ethnic groups: Spanish, Brazilians, Dominican, Canadian and Serbian composed the sample, with the intention of having a wider spectrum of opinions and experiences and to gain more reliable data for the final analysis. The interviews were made in three different languages: English, Spanish and Portuguese; all of them were translated into English for the final purpose of the paper.

Table 2

Interviewees' list				
	Nationality	Sport	Years in Korea	Language
A	Dominican Rep.	Baseball	4	Spanish
B	Dominican Rep.	Baseball	2	Spanish
C	Spain	Football	1	Spanish
D	Serbia	Football	8	English
E	Serbia	Football	1	English
F	Brazil	Football	4	Portuguese
G	Brazil	Football	2	Portuguese
H	Brazil	Football	1	Portuguese
I	Brazil	Football	3	Portuguese
J	Canada	Volleyball	2	English

The process of selecting the interviewees much depended on their availability, but also on my pre-reading of their profiles, since I was longing to have diversity with the athlete's pool. Thus, sport, fame, elapse of time, nation, ethnic, race and success were factors I took in consideration to commence my searching. My assumption was that the farthest apart they were and the contrasting their profiles were the more options and variables I would extract to form my conclusions.

The trysts were in random places, a few athletes preferred to meet at their houses, others at the team's facilities and two through Skype videoconferences. All of the interviews were made during a period of three months, from May to July 2012. Since the teams are all spread around the Korean Peninsula, I had to visit cities like Daegu, Gwangju, Suwon, Seoul and surroundings.

Most of the times the performers were knowledgeable of the content and required little information, openly agreeing to collaborate with sincere and straight answers. Before starting the talks, to ensure their complete confidentiality and show them the seriousness of the research, a Letter of Agreement and Consent Form were given to them.¹

II. Interview questionnaire

¹ The letter of agreement and the consent form are presented at the Appendix.

Although one of the characteristics of the qualitative technique *In-depth Interview* is to be open, without a strict format or closed-ended questions, before the rendezvous with the athletes I constructed a guideline to keep the interview within the research's intention, sometimes going deeper in certain subjects or skipping one another according to the information they were providing.²

During the interview a digital device was used to record the conversation and after the encounter the whole talk was transcribed to a Word Office document to further readings and interpretations. The audio files were kept on the interviewer possession and will not be utilized for further academic investigations, nor will the player's names or the institutions they belong to be revealed.

There was no retribution of any kind for the players after collaborating with the research but in several cases exist the promise to unfold the final results of this paper.

III. The interviews

Is stated that the world is on a new order due to the intensity and speed of cultural transactions, and the sport, as a cultural experience, is

² The questionnaire is presented at the Appendix.

closer than ever to this new order. I wanted to write this paper in the first place: to understand how Globalization is cementing fresh structures in sports, particularly Globalization's influence on its actors. For then - with a specific purpose -, to identify how these actors have been used by the Korean Media and the weight of the message this Sport Media produces or reproduces on the country's national identity.

"Do mediated sports, as an agent of Globalization and a consequence of it, have influenced the production and reproduction of Korea's national identity during the last ten years?" is the question attached to the research, the primordial part of my hypothesis and the one I wanted to answer through these interviews. Since I have collected data and fixed a posture around Korean Media's speech with my own text readings - helped by other researches -, and found certain repetition in the way the national Sport Media expose the relation between the 'Other' and the local, as well as the 'Other's' influence on the construction of an identity, thrust by Globalization's flows, to complement the study I needed the athlete's word: those deterritorialized citizens of the world who have moved from one point to other in search for better professional, economical or even social conditions to perform; those players who have named Korea as their adoptive home and have experienced the national culture in their own flesh; and have constructed a set of ideas around the country, understanding its society and embracing or rejecting what Koreans have edified through mediated sports for themselves in a Era of Globalization.

I wanted to hear the voice of the agents of change, their opinions, experiences and realities. Here is what I have read from them:

A. Deterritorialization; opportunities out there

For Appadurai (1996) the concept of deterritorialization is defined as: “one of the central forces of the modern world because it brings populations into the lower-class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies.” (Appadurai 2012, 100). In a sense the term is applicable to the athlete’s migration nowadays since they are also looking for better living conditions; nonetheless in most of their cases the position they acquire in their adopting countries is along the medium and high-class sectors, what makes them a special type of migration, one with income power, able to contribute to the flux of capital here and there, with considerable influence on both sides, not only economically but also culturally and politically. They form part of a new labor strata of workers, better understood in the words of Wong and Trumper (200): “They are alluding to people who, they assert, are not simply deterritorialized and live an existence that supersedes the nation-state but who share a new culture that is developing mostly around values of professional life.” (Wong and Trumper 2002, 168-193).

While talking to the interviewees I sensed that the first point of inflection for them is the amount of possibilities open outside their home

frontiers. Following Roland Robertson's "compression of the world", that mainly refers to the strengthening of transnational change and global flows of our time, it is patent that nowadays if someone can throw the baseball 90 miles per hour or kick the football with extreme spin, that person will have a chance to prove him or herself anywhere in the world, wherever he or she can find a professional league. Everywhere can be the space for a prominent sport player, as one Canadian expressed like this:

"I knew the league [V-League] is getting a little stronger and I knew that was a place where I can have success, where I might excel." J

With similar stress a former Spanish coach replied:

"I saw a challenge here [Korea]. I wanted to have more experience, more background... to implement a different working system." (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

Like most of the immigrants, the players knowledge about their new home at the arrival is almost equal to zero, they are just aware on the chances to perform and set for a wealthier life, as one of the football players with a lot of years in the country said:

“You perceive opportunities and you want to take an opportunity. [I] saw a big opportunity because I was twenty [years old] and I had a chance to go abroad. I didn’t know too much about Korea and of course I wanted to come even I didn’t know how it was, how it was going to be, but I wanted to take the chance. And there is always a financial side, because back home, you know you don’t get much money [at] that age. You cannot get pay because there is no money. I had to make sure I have a nice life you know, we don’t play football forever.” D

In the same line another football player, almost new to the league, mentioned that the first reason might be the family economical security, accompanied by the professional development:

“I love to play football, and I had talked to my family about moving out. In my life, the passion for the sport is really important, but I know that my family depends a lot on me and I want to help them in every sense, that is why the money is the bigger issue on the decision to move out [from Brazil].” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) G

In Maguire's (1999) sportization stages, he described the fifth one remarking the influence of global capitalism and trade on transnational migration and the role of communication networks (Markovits and Rensmann 2010). All these cultural, political and economical phenomena have thrust players to undreamed spots, like Korea, where they have no relation to it and therefore the adaptation is extremely harsh, as one Serbian player articulated:

"The adaption is the most difficult part. So you come here and its completely different, everything is completely different, the air, even the food. It was really difficult for me. I had a tough time for the whole [first] year, when I got here. Language and food and culture, no friends, no family, not this, not that. I couldn't even find clothes for me [He is extremely tall.] I didn't know nothing, I didn't know where to go." E

In an alike answer one baseball pitcher said:

"I felt alone, like who am I in here (...) It was difficult, I lost weight, as for food goes (...) I felt alone, because they talked and I couldn't understand, I wasn't use to the translator, you know English isn't my mother language." (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) B

For most of them arriving to Korea represents a challenge, and like any other immigrant the transition from one nation to another is a break with the country of origin, nevertheless, in the player's case I found that their connections and memberships to both countries collides, as Levitt (2012) expressed it: "Instead of loosening their connections and trading one membership for another, some individuals are keeping their feet in both worlds." (Levitt 2012, 125). For example one of the football interviewees mentioned:

"I've been here eight years, I love my country, my family is there, but I also looked to play for Korea's national team. You know, I'm here for a long time, it is also my home." D

What happens is that after a few years somewhere else the relation between the settling place, cultural practices, experiences and identities transform; like many scholars have gone to argue, the places are no longer supports of identity (J. Tomlinson 1999). It can be deduced that "it is in this Glocalization process where identity is formed, with new transnational citizens who embodied transnational cultural and capitalist business practices and, at the same time, willingly serve as national cultural icons for the formation and reaffirmation of national identities." (Wong and Trumper 2002, 168-193).

With the previous paragraphs, beside wanting to situate the main reason for athletes to move outside their homes, to run away and be deterritorialized citizens, I also long to set sport as major component in this world trade, because although the reason of this paper is to have a deep knowledge on the player's reading on Korea's Sport Media and the influence this has on the construction of the country's national identity, it is also necessary to establish the role between sports and Globalization, seen as a cultural hybridization force of our world.

B. Glocalization more than Globalization

Based on Robertson's concept of Glocalization, throughout the thesis I have wanted to state that the Globalization process is nowadays not the antinomy of global and local, but more the interpenetration of both terms, where local and national cultures experiment an influence of global systems and adapt those global cultural capitals to their owns while also exposing their own constructed forms or styles, in a modification of what is national and global, a balance amid heterogenization and homogenization.

Due to the intensification between the universal and the particular during the last ten years, the projects of Glocalization, understood as "the constitutive features of contemporary globalization," (Robertson 1995, 29) have rearranged what countries' see as local and, at the same time, have transformed our perception of global, since what it used to be faraway is now at hand, almost immediately, much of the times as a part of our local.

In Korea's case, particularly in the sport's industry, the project of Glocalization has been following political and cultural discourses of what is acceptable to bring from outside, most of the time based on the concept of *Sonjin Guk* (선진국) or "advanced nation", a term Koreans use to describe the nation or the citizens of any nation perceived as superior against the locals on a determinate field. For example, to develop a unique style respecting their natural characteristics, in the football industry Korean's have focused to import two different types of players: one from the Balkans and the other South Americans, specifically from Brazil, as one Serbian interviewee mentioned:

"There [have been] always players from ex Yugoslavia coming to Korea. They had connections and [Koreans] when they like something, they don't want to explore and bring other players, so there was always players from the ex Yugoslavia". E

Another West-European reaffirmed the idea:

"For an European to work in Korea is perhaps more K-League we will find mostly South Americans, Brazilians or players from Central Europe (...) an economical subject probably, or a traditional thing maybe, they use to bring players from one place, and

after a while it turns routine.” (Personal translation,
originally in Spanish.) C

It is good to emphasize the second answer because not only he is pointing the fact that South Americans and Balkans are more common in Korea for a matter of repetition and perception - Balkans are really tall and for Koreans is a vital issue, meanwhile Brazilians are known around the world as the best technique players in football -, but as well for economic standards, since West-Europeans would be more expensive and the football players' production in Brazil is such that the ones who do not go to other better-pay parts of Latin America, nor to European leagues - considered to be the top ones -, have a chance to perform and success in peripheral leagues like in Asia or Middle East. It is a financial and historical relationship within the world's nation-states, as the organizing structure of modern society. That means, most of the transactions go within a network on a bigger network or networks, everything is interconnected, and flows between the local acceptance and global trade.

Meanwhile in football the development in Korea has been gradually, another story goes with baseball. Due to the expertise and successful accomplishments the country has had for many years in international competitions and the recognition their league – KBO (Korean Professional Baseball League) - has, for it is considered to be one of the top five in the world. In this case, Koreans have put their attention on what is missing in the country, in other words, what the players farms have not been producing: pitchers; a vital position for the sport that requires to be tall and

have long extremities, along with great strength while throwing the ball, as one of the Dominican interviewees explained it:

“If you see, I’m the other foreigner pitcher in the team.

And there are only foreigner pitchers, not batters or fielders. It is what they need, so they bring us. We just pitch.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) B

Therefore most of the foreigners in the local league come to fulfill only that space, without really changing the way Koreans have indigenized the game, for indigenization is not the adoption of imported cultural norms *per se*, in this case from the United States – consider to be the game’s creator -, but the result of nationalist testing with modernity (Rumford 2007), ensuing for so many years a faster game with less power and different strategy.

The foreigner asset utilization might be different in baseball than in football, but the flow of capital and human resources obeys the same social, economical, political and cultural pattern: one nation has the working force or asset that other lacks, and the one with the shortage, if it has the economical availability will bring into their borders what is longing for. Nevertheless, it will not be at their will, as the hiring nation has also to play within a global frame. Therefore, again, the local project reacts to a global scheme.

C. Korean landscape

As I talked about it before, the importance of sport in Korean society is nothing new, since the regime of General Park Chung Hee, and more particular with Chun Doo-Hwan's "3S (Sex, Screen and Sport) policy" (Park, Lim and Bretherton 2012, 1-23) the symbolical role played by sports has caught the attention of academics, as well as its relation with the media. In the Asian country the clear control of the government over the message transmitted was conspicuous. "As Louis Althusser (1989) argued, the media, as an ideological state apparatus, continually produce and reproduce an ideology of dominant group in society to maintain the established power structure and thereby protect the interest of the power elites," (Lee and Bairner 2009, 390-410) and Korea has been a true example. The Media, or Sport Media, has helped building a message of prosperity and elite surrounding national athletes, leagues and representations on international competitions since the early 80's, with the creation of the KBO by the government and conglomerates (Cho 2008), but nowadays, or should I say, since 2002, they face a new stage, one that can be perfectly read on Rumford's (2007) words: "[i]t is fair to say that one of the central issues in the literature of globalization and sport is the tension between the nationalist dimension of competitive sport and its globalization, the first dimension not necessarily constituting a barrier to the second." (Rumford 2007, 95) As now it is not only the state nationalism constitution what is at stake but also the position the country keeps among other developed nations and the relationship with the rest of the world.

So, how do the players from other countries read the cultural politics of the country they are playing at? First, I wanted to know what are the diverging points of Korean teams compare to other parts of the world; written in another way, if the daily activities differ here and there. As a second feature I longed to understand how is the perception of foreigner players on the message they hear or receive by the national sport media and the effects they think it has over Koreans.

On the paper it has been said that sport is a platform to disseminate national ideology's message and through its practice acquire international prestige during global competitions. Therefore, it is necessary for a country to develop its own style of play, but moreover to construct its own sport culture. For Koreans has been no different, and due to an historical Confucianism in the country there is an unwritten rule to protect the sense of community, as it is extremely important for social relations; more than in most of the Western countries. Thus it is implicit that the individual comes always behind the team, as Shin and Adam explained it: "that these communitarian ethics tend to empower a nation but disempower the individual." (Shin and Adam 2004, 223-244) Which constitutes a breaking point for most of the deterritorialized players coming to Korea, captured in the words of a few of them, as this Canadian athlete said:

"The way the players are treat, compare to other countries, [in Korea] they have little personal freedom, because they have to live together (...) for what I was

used to is for players to live on their own with their families. And this is very different in Korea, we all live in one dorm, and that is pretty difficult to adapt when you used to something else.” J

In the same sense, since in here the community is preferred over the individual, the deviant conduct is reproached in every mean, sometimes for the good as social security is granted in this country, but others times restricting personal expressions, for what the foreigners playing in this kind of system have great dilemmas, as some of the Brazilian interviewees clarified:

“Around my relation with the society, I think they are too repressed, they cannot say what they think, everything is mechanized (...) although the new generation is beginning to do things a little bit different, they know what is happening right now. There is a generation’s big collision.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) I

Other with more years of experience went on the same road by saying:

“I think Korea will have cultural difficulties. In my opinion, Korean culture is experiencing a heavy transition, being more westernized, and it is happening

now. There is a big confrontation between the younger's and elder's opinion. The conception of life."

(Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) F

On the same social order point and in relation with Confucianism's best: the age hierarchy, the players or coaches commented on how this is inimical to sports or general work:

"Age has a great social importance, most of the times above events, they understand that if a person is older signifies that he will be right, even if its just by respect, but he has it, and in football that limits a lot, because football is subject to changes, evolution." (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

Beyond this statement one Brazilian coach went to say:

"In Korea the players' [age] average is 28 to 30, and you find active players of more than forty years old, because the rookies respect the veterans, and coaches give preference to the older ones over the younger players." (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) H

Situation that according to one Canadian player can be detrimental for sport's development in the nation:

“Except for the NBA and MLB in the United States, players around the world have to be in a major league or competition by the age of seventeen or eighteen, to acquire more experience, they must be playing. And in here, their formation ends in the mid twenties, this is a step back for them. It is completely faraway from international patterns, specially to play in Europe.” J

But for some, away from the pitch it is not necessarily awkward, just a measure they have to take in order to fit the welcoming country, a correct move to be respected while showing basic education toward the country's culture, as expressed by a Serbian footballer:

“What I can see, on the pitch you don't have time to concentrate and see how is younger or older, but then outside you can see younger players try to listen to the older one (...) if you want do it, you get some respect for that, but if you don't want to do it nobody will force you, you know its their culture so if you don't want to that means you don't respect their culture.” D

For a Dominican baseball player the adaptation took time to stay here:

“At the beginning I found it really difficult (...) but when you understand the system, well you take it normal, now I feel myself immerse in the system and if someone older comes I say hi to him, it doesn't feel weird. Inside me I have the feeling that everybody should have respect for the other, but now I take it as their culture, I just wish nobody will mess up with me, and I don't think it will happen.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) A

Nevertheless, for some foreigner players is something that goes beside them, because they feel Koreans do not integrate them and they will not do the effort to be part of this society, as is mentioned in this quote by a volleyball player:

“Mostly is just in between Koreans, for example when an older players wants to come down a little bit on the younger players, they have the foreigner player leave because is just something the foreigner players won't accept or understand, so we just leave the gym or the room all together.” J

When it comes to what it is consider sport's principal elements like tactics, techniques and strategies, sport, as a cultural experience, has to be related to the local and national characteristics, that means the citizen's racial and genetic aspects. So no matter if football or baseball or volleyball is global, in a sense of a transnational industry, the sport per se is emanated from the local. Therefore, it is another adaptation foreigner athletes have to do said a Brazilian:

“Where I played football is more physical, and here is more technical and faster. They have better facilities. The young players really train hard, when I was at home you don't really train hard, you don't really eat much, you don't live sports life (...) here, they become professional really young, although they don't play professionally, but the mind is very strict (...) they train two, three times a day.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) F

A volleyball player point out the diverse form of rehearsing in Korea, compare to other national leagues:

“They believe in training long hours and getting lots of repetitions where in other countries where I have been, they will train maybe an hour or less but very intensive, without even time to sit and drink water.” J

But also how Koreans have indigenized the game:

“The way Koreans receive the ball, they do it with their arms, and it is just a physical, practical thing. Because Koreans are smaller people and they have smaller hands compare to other countries that I have played.”

J

Most of the interviewees remarked the discipline as a feature of Korean sport and Korean people, which is not easy to go after, according to many of them, one Brazilian player, that just came to the country, commented on that:

“If a Brazilian player had the discipline of a Korean player he will never loose a single cup. I am saying this because I have experience playing with big Brazilian names. They are not better because they do not have discipline.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) G

We said that these athletes embodied transnational cultural practices, transnationalism defined by Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) as: “processes that interconnect individuals and social groups across

specific geo-political borders,” (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 62) and for that they also bring their own forms, or calling it in sport’s language (regarding that the term ‘language’ might be misused here) their personal tactics and techniques, and for this I wanted to know how open or close Koreans are to changes, to obey or ensue the ‘Other’ recommendations, observations and advices. Through their answers I tracked a pattern similar to the one Hong Sun-Ha (2011) called “double-gaze”, where she explains that the ‘Other’ is welcomed to Korea or into Korean society only if, in a way, he or she is Koreanized (Hong 2011): accepts the unwritten laws of society and add its knowledge without deforming the natural essence of the locals. As it is aforementioned, this is not only palpable in the Media message but also in everyday life’s politics, with the athletes not excluded from this as some of answers by a player with several years in Korea denoted:

“I experienced something you can call exclusion before. But since I’ve learned the culture, learned the language, then sometimes they even try to scream [at] me when I do something bad, like one of them.” D

One of the experienced Dominican athletes said something in the same way:

“Now I’m older, then some of the players respect me because I speak their language, so they respect that,

and I know their culture so they try to listen to me and pick up some advice, but before honestly I didn't even care, you know." (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) A

A factor in sports, as in many other areas, but with more weight because of the activity's competitive nature, is the capacity and success than the 'Other' has on the team or group's – company, enterprise – performance. Nonetheless much of the interviewees agreed that in Korea the foreigner has to be very tactful when he approaches locals:

"I knew not to try to change the way they try to do things. I would just do things myself in ways that I know I would have success with, and some other pick up on that and realize maybe this is something to adapt to our own game (...) they are open to get things to improve their game but you have to be subtle in the way you make suggestions." J

One Spanish football coach explained how a foreigner could change the style:

"It is really hard to changes things here, but you have to start with other foreigners and having results with them, then the locals will follow. They want to improve,

but it is definitely hard for them to follow a foreigner word.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

In here, another point to stress is that the answers also went in close relation with the athlete’s cultural background and their own country’s cosmopolitanism, as we can see with what one Serbian player said:

“It is pretty much similar to my country, we have the same mentality, we are friendly but reserve (...) what happens [is that] they are still at war with North, the patriotism is in a higher level, so they don’t want to open to foreigners that much. When you get to know them you get some, a better approach, but still they are very reserve with foreigners.” E

Finally, one of the Brazilian athletes summarized if Korea wants to be a connected focal point of sport development, willing to build many receptor points for global flows – as he read Korean society – they should be more moldable:

“The persons who are receiving should adapt to the other, as the other should be able to adapt in a certain way, but for the sportive side, I think the incoming persons need to have a bigger role as protagonists

compare to the ones that are already in here.”

(Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) I

After these questions and before to start talking about the role of sports, in particular for Korean society and the link with the Media, I wanted to listen their opinions or forecasts about Korean sport and the relation with society, and here is what I heard in a regular basis:

“The new players are arriving with a completely different mentality. Basically, on the team, we have three player's categories or phases with absolutely different thoughts: the athletes how are 29 years old or up, the ones between 24 and 28, and the new players below 24; totally different types of characters in one same group. They are coming with a new set, naturally transformed, regarding the culture. You can see Globalization's reality, it is here, the coffee shops, transnational companies, you can sense a different young guy, put in this global light. Now the player's profile is changing, every day more westernized and those players will reach leadership stratus, will climb to the highest positions in Korea and will turn around the country. It is a slow process, although it seem that in Korea everything has been faster, in 20, 30 years they have emerged so quickly.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) H

For most of the Brazilian interviewees Korea is changing because it is needed, and this process reflects on the national sports:

“The Korean football is a time bomb. It will explode and that will depend on many factors. The cultural one is limiting a lot, it is simply not suited to the rest of the world.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.)

F

In these last words I found a connection to what I truly believe is Globalization: the synergy of local and global, the push from the latter and the permissive form of the former in a flowing and adapting game. Our world, now, in words of Appadurai (1996), “it is a site for the examination of how locality emerges in a globalizing world, of how colonial processes underwrite contemporary politics, of how history and genealogy inflect one another, and of how global facts take local form.” (Appadurai 2012, 95-103)

Once the interviewees expressed their opinions on the future of this country, seen by foreigners interacting in with locals, the questionnaire was formulated to appreciate, in their perspectives, the role of the Media and figure out if they thought mediated sports have a part in the construction of a new national identity in Korea.

First I wanted to know the differences they found between the local Media, particularly the Sport Media, and their own country's Media. As many other points, the answers were attached to the sport they perform in, so for footballers the Media was slender and limited according to this Brazilian footballer:

“The difference in here is that football has not enough coverage (...) In Brazil, when a game is over you have tons of reporters trying to ask you your impressions on the game, and here, at the end of a game you will have 3 or 4. That is why I found the passion for football is minor. In Brazil there is football every single day and hour.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) I

Meanwhile for baseball players Media was more abundant:

“They are everyday at practice. And as far as I know there are always games, live or recorded, on TV. It is similar to the U.S.'s press in terms of amount.”
(Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) B

But one experienced Brazilian went over to say he felt the Media is more manipulated than in his country:

“Media in here is not worried about football, they have not acknowledge the potential football has over society and as a business. They are using information, carelessly, to control the population, that happens a lot in here (...) There are many problems Media does not expose because they do not want people to find about it and that happens as well in football.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) F

In the way the interviewees feel about the relation with the Media I registered some repetition in the answers, specifically marking the lack of depth in the questions they received, which they explained in two different ways: A) The foreigner has no opinion on important matters. B) The reporters feel limited because of the language. Some of the statements marked both, as a Serbian and Canadian players said:

“Well definitely yes [feel different treatment by the Media]. Because you always have a translator, so that means it’s a different approach. They really don’t ask you many questions or details because they don’t accept from you to know this or that. And as a foreigner they will ask you something different.” D

“Yeah, I actually can [feel different treatment by the Media] because they... it seem that a lot of the times,

maybe the half of the times, the questions that the media would ask to foreigner players were kind of lollypop, puff out of questions, just more kind questions to throw down to an article, must of the times the Korean players were asked legitimate questions.” J

A Brazilian soccer player said they are more interested on his personal life than in football related business:

“Really easy, they do not have specific questions on football. More like how are you and your partners, your wife and kids. In Brazil you have to explain what happen on the pitch, more tactics, hard stuff.”
(Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) I

Subsequently I needed to grasp how the interviewees thought TV influenced on the fans and what this message produced on this supporter culture in the country, towards them as foreigners and into the game. Speaking about the supporter’s attitude in Korea toward the game they all coincided in the fans passivity:

“They support all the players. I cannot complain myself. I have had bad moments, as any other baseball player and I have always received the same encourage from the fanatics. (...) At the beginning I asked why are they

screaming that much if the game is one-sided. Now I see it as a positive thing, although they are not winning, they enjoy the game.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) B

Another Serbian player said:

“I always get good attention from the fans. Even when you don’t play good, that it’s the biggest difference in Europe from here in Asia, like Japan and Korea, even if you don’t play good and you loose at home 5-0, it doesn’t matter they always applaud and cheer you, in my country they will kill you.” E

And although none of the athletes related this characteristic directly to the Media, they did see it as a part of Korean culture, said a footballer:

“I believe is part of how they live in general. Not only the way the deal with sports.” F

In another statement the interviewees consented, related to Media-Fans influence, was the amount of concentration on the national teams and in what local players are doing abroad by the local press:

“From what I have seen, they are the biggest fans of the National Team, is everywhere, and then probably some European leagues or American where Koreans are in.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

One Serbian football player said they are more aware of the performance of Korean players in the English Premier League (EPL) than what is happening here thanks to the Media:

“There is a big interest because they have two big starts. You can watch Manchester United games or Arsenal games, even Bolton games, yes [there is] big interest on the EPL. It gets more coverage from the Media than our League (K-League).” D

But despite the local coverage, one Spanish coach mentioned an important issue related to our time and the difficult for the local Media to impose one single discourse; he said that he feels a change on the fan culture since nowadays in Korea most of the people have Internet access and can go around other information sites:

“Change is happening in a general way in Korea, not only with fans, mainly because of Internet, it has open an access channel to world information, and Koreans

are reading that as well. It will have an effect in Korean sports.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

To close the conversation, the last questions were formulated to know if the players believe Mediated Sports and sport itself have an influence in society, plus to catch if they felt something could be done in Korean sports to make them better suited to international standards or more cosmopolitan, in a thick sense (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007).

Most of them do perceive themselves as role models, they think foreigners can have an impact on Korean society since they go out of the typical mold and that brings a particular perspective:

“Foreigner players, they are some kind of icons, I think they make difference. They do many commercials. People try to dress like them, to have the same haircut you know.” (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) A

One volleyball player explained why foreigners could have a bigger impact than locals:

“I think volleyball players are certainly cultural icons because they are in commercials and magazines and

stuff like that. The foreigner players are put in a pedestal right away because they are suppose to be... they call them 'The Team Ace', so they are put in the front for most things in the Media." J

During these questions, as well as the players, sport itself was mentioned to have a huge power over society, a point condensed in this answer by a Spanish coach:

"Sport has the power to change the life of people (...)
Football is a new sport in here, and there are others like volleyball, baseball or Olympic sports, there are a reference. All of the famous athletes are an example for new generations, positively as well as negatively, the form a cultural pattern. It is the reflex of a society, then, sport has to be part of social change, like a snow ball." (Personal translation, originally in Spanish.) C

Finally, in a more personal way, and with complete knowledge of the players that their answers could be used on the paper, we talked about the difficulties they have experienced in here compared to other countries they have been, with a similar response:

"Its difficult to get a spot in one of the [Korean] teams, since they only allow one foreigner player, it is

controlled (...) I know some countries will have 2 or 3 or 4 foreigner players, but not in here.” J

Completing the words of this Canadian athlete another Brazilian expressed:

“Something in here is the resistance of the national market in every area against the foreigner. We have had a lot of difficulties with referees, against some coaches, because they think more foreigners is a limitation for the Koreans.” (Personal translation, originally in Portuguese.) G

Beside that statement another Serbian football player mentioned the lack of opportunities to young foreigners:

“Opposite to what happens in other developed countries, in here [Korea], they like to develop their own players, but not foreigners.”D

With all the presented insights by the foreigner athletes I had enough material to complement my research on Korean Mediated Sports and Korean society, and answer my hypothesis as fully as I understood the relation between the Globalization and Media Sports and the influence

on Korea. Again, in a “‘sociological truth’ that can only be an ‘impression of reality.’” (Rowe 2004, 17)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The point of departure for this paper was based on a personal interest to find out if a change in Korea's national identity has happened throughout the last ten years, since during this same period the world has been driven by Globalization's flows in an unparalleled way. For that, primary I wanted to analyze one of the greatest state apparatus: the Media, in particularly Sports Media: as according to Stuart Hall (1996) identity is constructed within the discourse, usually by Media and sport. Secondly, I wanted to get an insight from deterritorialized athletes performing in Korea, not only as professional sport players but as normal immigrants as well. The whole procedure with the intention to distinguish how important or real is the influenced of Mediated Sports in society and if the cultural good has thrust Korea into a different discourse over its national identity.

Set on the theory affirming Globalization not as a deconstruction force of cultural identities but as a producer of them, it was important to describe how Koreans have constructed themselves, for centuries, through the concept “단일민족국가”, that means “one single ethnic nation”; an idea not suited to global modernity context with its abstraction from local particularities and the institutionalization and regulation of social and cultural practices (Giddens 1990) for then to observe if there has been a confrontation to this vision and if the “Korean-ness” has a new meaning for the citizens of this country.

As one the most important global cultural experience sport is a unique stage to find and analyze Globalization process and national identity discourses, as sports are created from local or national traditions but, during the last hundred years approximately, used by nations in international competitions where they can prove alleged superiority over others; an essential aspect to national identity's formation, in a game of inclusion and exclusion. Nevertheless, this thesis offers the belief that what people's experience primarily captures are the mediated sports rather than the sport itself, in other words, sports media-events and the message presented by the Media is where the true prowess of sports lives, following Tomlinson's explanation that "[f]or the majority, the cultural experience of globalization is not a matter of physical mobility, but in staying home." (J. Tomlinson 1999). That means the role of the Media for sports, among lots of the cultural expressions, is transcendental in an Era of Globalization.

Recognizing this thesis is just one interpretation of the many possible, the intention to juxtapose the interviewees' answers' interpretation with the close textual analysis made on Korean newspapers was to provide a necessary balance in the search for objectiveness while affirming the power Korean Media has have on the formation of national identity discourses for many decades with controlled messages showing what is "us" (self) and "them" (other), a task specifically made by Korean Sports Media due to the extensive strength mediated sports can have over national pride and self-understanding, since the nature of sports is to win or to lose, be better or be defeated against the 'Other'. There is where

resides the difference between sport and the rest of cultural and social experiences: sports are an arena everybody agrees to play at, nobody challenges the result and the winner can proclaim superiority without international disapproval. Moreover, as I expressed, mediated sports carry that message of dominance attached to the emotional meaning of winning, what makes it more authoritative, as it is in Korea.

Thanks to the repetition on responses and the reiterations detected on the newspapers' content it was possible to identify that global experiences like international leagues or mega-events as the football World Cup or the Olympic Games enter the spectrum of Koreans carrying local political projects, which it does not denote a lack of confrontation by parts of the audience, but implies that for most of the citizens what is happening in England and the English Premier League or what is taking place in the United States with the Major League Baseball is being presented under the urging agenda to demonstrate Korea's legitimacy outside the national frontiers, with a major emphasis on the Korean stars having success - as minor as this could be -, and meanwhile this agenda can be objected by locals, as Cho Young-Han (2008) mentions in the article *Broadcasting Major League Baseball as a Governmental Instrument in South Korea*, its influence on the reaffirmation of ethno-nationalism in the face of Globalization is still true.

For Korea, after the thundering economical growing for the most part of the 80's and 90's, the new century brought the necessity of enhancing the country's presence as a developed nation-state, and

international sport tournaments based in high competition have been a perfect field to verify their strength in a global era (marked by neoliberal capitalism). Therefore the reproduction of the national teams has served as a metaphor for the reasserting of the nation, while the Korean deterritorialized or transnational players are constructed as an indicator of Korean commodities' improvement in a global market.

It is interesting to see that in a sport so global as football is, Koreans have put especial attention to it since hosting the World Cup in collaboration with Japan in 2002, trying to advance equally as fast as their economy did a few years ago, and while the national teams, in both genders and diverse categories have been outperforming their status-quo, the national discourse by the Media can be read as paradoxical, for they have been extolling the migration of national players to higher level leagues such as the, aforementioned, EPL or La Liga in Spain, and marking it as a success of the nation, when the exit or lose of their best athletes can also be understood as a reference for the peripheral status of the nation on this sport. A detrimental hit to the national league, since it shows a lack of ability to hold on to this kind of players, with the fans truly aware of this fact, showing a less passionate behavior to local teams while taking practices from remote culture supporters, confirming the idea of an increased coverage of international competitions by the Korean Sports Media and the thin cosmopolitanism this broadcastings have on Korean supporters culture.

On the other side of the coin it is easy to detect how Koreans perceive themselves as a central core house of baseball. As a sport played basically in North America, the Caribbean countries, beside Japan, as the major competition of the KBO in Asia, Korean Sports Media recognizes the local tournament's affluence and continually hands over the message of prosperity and global power. Therefore despite the constant exposition of the American MLB Koreans have not preferred the foreigner league and keep clustering stadiums with a sense of pride and appropriation to regional teams, remote to the U.S. fan culture, with unique practices and ways to relate to players.

The construction of who we are as a nation goes in relation to who we are not, and for that there is the need of the 'Other' as a reference and contrast. That is why the thoughts and eyes from foreigners related to Korea was procured as a methodological form to read the country's present reality, since through their experiences and readings on the Media, fans and society, not only as a regular immigrants, but also as an influential figures, they fulfill the reverse side of the binomial game: we are and are not what the 'Other' is and is not. For Koreans this interaction - according to the interpretations made - when it comes to this "Other" immerse in Korean society or reality, respond in two parallel roads: the foreigner is welcomed if he can bring advance notions on certain field for the nation without truly modifying the natural characteristics of locals, and if he or she can appropriated and molded him or herself to the convenience of local social values, expressed in a short way, if he or she can be "Koreanized". The other factor shaping the relation with the

foreigner, that has an impact on the national identity of the country, is the level or expertise the locals have on a determinate area.

The debate on Sports Media about the role of foreign players in national leagues features both ideas mentioned above. For example, in the case of football, since Korea is relatively new to the global game, the message transported by the local Media in relation to the foreigner is based on how much difference a player can have on a team, which can sound logic due to sports' competitive nature, nevertheless the foreigner is also treated as a external decoration figure to the team, that means, he is put right away as a image or symbolic allusion to the internationalism of a squad or the entire league, but never fully integrated to the reports or hard news of the game, unless he has been in the country for several years and posses what can be call as some degree of "Korean-ness". Beside the previous characteristic, specifically in football, the foreigner should be from a nation identify as an 'advance country' (선진국) for Koreans with certain business-wise link, and these immigrant players should not occupy more than just a few spots on the team, since too many or too good could be in harmful for the locals, thus, the constant swinging on laws dictating how many players from abroad is always affect by the Koreans' condition of expertise. In a strong evidence that mediated sports and sports per se are always form by and around culture as a whole. Consequently in football the number of foreigner players per team has fluctuated over the last ten years - in 2003 the number went from 7 to 4 in rosters of 23 players, and now, on the new rules one team can have 4 foreigner players, but 2 should be from the AFC (Asian Football Confederation) -, keeping

Brazilians and some South Americans along Balkan footballers as the main source of importation. Most of the times these upcoming players are not figures that would demand to have a special treatment on and outside the pitch in comparison with their teammates.

Again, as a counterpart, in baseball the role of the foreigner athlete is different, not in the aspect aforesaid about this players functioning as symbols or in simple words as action figures to sell the league or the team, but in the way they are perceived on the diamond. Almost every time an immigrant athlete comes to the KBO is to fulfill the pitcher role and he is seen as a complement to the great nature of Koreans using the bat. The pitcher is cheer up by the fans because he has a determinant part on the result, but since he only pitches one game out of five or six, his participation in the team and the Media conduct toward him is appreciated not as threat for the locals, therefore he is more welcomed as an integrant. Through the last ten years the number of foreigners has not changed a lot, but there is a fix position on the fact that they should not interfere with the number of field local players.

As a complement point in Korea football teams do not develop foreigner players in their youth academies, while baseball teams do keep players who can jump from the developing to the major squad.

Going from particular to general, other aspect of the research was to comprehend how Koreans have worked on their branding on sports and

its mediated form through the last decade to place themselves on the map as a competitive, cosmopolitan and develop country but there is still a contradiction on the forms they take by separating the western foreigner from the regional “Other”, be named Japanese, Southeast Asian or Chinese. The closeness with these countries has brought up a diversion on the discourse about other countries residents, since they do not want to be appreciated as another Asian nation, but as an Asian nation with neoliberal western personality.

At the beginning of this chapter it is denoted the fact that the immediate impact on the production of national identity is not sports per se but their mediated variation. Nonetheless, as the number of foreigner increases in and off the field of play, sports will eventually have a long-term influence in Korean society. Younger generations will have the power on the age scale in a few decades and these new Koreans are now growing among aliens, non-native, non-Korean citizens, and while I do not think consolidated traditions will be lost, I do feel the connectivity, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism of our times will transform the meaning of Korea for Koreans.

As a final feature I want to mark that the national identity in the country is truly affected by mediated sports, since they are a space to experience Globalization and articulate meanings, and these ones generate habits amongst citizenry, but it is certain that message is temporarily limited and always follows the cultural politics of Korea and the

global impact on the country, indicating that the national identity, like most of the experiences in an Era of Globalization, is in a perpetual flux.

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APPENDIX

Chosun University 조선대학교

2012/2013

Dear Competitor:

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the Department of *Journalism and Broadcasting* at Chosun University under the supervision of Professor 이희은 (Lee Hee Eun).

I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

The purpose of this study is to know why foreigner athletes come to South Korea to pursue their professional/sportive goal, how is their relation with the local culture and with their own countries, how are they welcome by Korean society and by their own population. How local media pictures them and what do they read in those images. And to trail what role is Korean sport playing in the global cultural process.

This study will focus on foreigner athletes that are taking part in any professional or amateur sport in South Korea, as competitors who are no longer part of any South Korean organization but have taken part of such institutions. It does not matter if the foreigner also has a Korean passport. Therefore, I would like to include your person as one of several athletes to be involved in my study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 30 minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study; however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained in a locked computer. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 010-2715-5255 or by email at javiermolina82@hotmail.com.

You can also contact my supervisor, Professor 이희은 *Lee Hee Eun* at helee@chosun.ac.kr.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Student Investigator.

Javier Molina V.

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Javier Molina V. of the Department of Journalism and Broadcasting at Chosun University. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my

questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I could withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

1. With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

☐ YES ☐ NO

2. I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

☐ YES ☐ NO

3. I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

☐ YES ☐ NO

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What brought you to South Korea? Why did you choose to come here? (Deterritorialization) How easy or difficult is to come to Korea?
2. Now that you are in S. Korea, how close or distant is the relation with your country?
3. How is process of adaption to the South Korea way of life? What is the biggest barrier that you faced? (Language, culture, style of play)
4. How different is the life here than in your country? Can you place your country in a better or worst economical, social and political situation compare to South Korea?
5. How is the process of adaption to the South Korean's professional leagues? What is the biggest barrier that you faced? (Language, culture, style of play)

6. How different are the technique, strategies and tactics of game in here, comparing to other leagues that you have played?
7. How open or close are they to learn other ways to approach the sport?
8. Do you think the kind of sport matters to be more accepted? Why? What are the differences that you can point out?
9. Does the Korean concept of "One single race nation" apply to sports too?
Does people express national pride on or around the teams?
10. Can you identify traces of social hierarchies related to age in your team? Do you think Asian social hierarchies are inimical (unfriendly) to competitive success? Yes, no, why?
11. Do you think your teammates treat you different for your looks? How good or bad you play also inflects some influence to the way they relate to you?
12. Do you think Koreans in general, teammates, coaches, media, fans, etc acceptance increases with the years you have spent here and your relation with their culture?
13. Do you think athletes in S. Korea are cultural icons comparable to other countries? And if so, where do you think the foreign athletes fit in the picture, they are as famous or more than the locals?
14. Can you sense a different treatment from the media toward foreign athletes?
15. Do you think sports media in Korea overemphasize the performance of their athletes on international leagues or competitions?
16. Can you feel the fans being more receptive to what foreign athletes do on the field of play than to how locals perform?
17. Do you think Korean supporters subculture is more related to their local game or they prefer to follow other leagues and teams?
18. Is there any extra demand from the directives or coaches to the foreign players?
19. Among your team and league, have you felt any form of racial discrimination?

20. How do you perceive sports nowadays? Has “play” become spectacle or has sport become an industry?
21. In your perspective, what is more in Korea important profit maximization or utility maximization? Why?
22. What will you do to improve the level of competition in S. Korea’s sport?