Korean sporting nationalism in the global era: South Korean media representation of the 2004 Athens summer Olympic games

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KOREAN SPORTING NATIONALISM IN THE GLOBAL ERA

SOUTH KOREAN MEDIA REPRESENTATION
OF
THE 2004 ATHENS SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES

by

Jung Woo Lee

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in Partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

Dec, 2007

Supervisor: Professor Joseph Maguire
School of Sport and Exercise Sciences

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the relation between mega sport event, media and Korean nationalism in the context of globalisation. Attention is paid to the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 summer Athens Olympic Games. A process/figurational sociological perspective was implemented in making sense of the global-national nexus in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. In this examination, the way in which the media promote the notion of globalisation and reinforce the idea of nationalism was addressed. The South Korean newspapers and television coverage were investigated in a qualitative manner, and thematic, discourse and visual/image analysis were carried out. Using an inductive thematic coding system, themes and types of media discourse of globalisation and nationalism were identified.

The research findings showed that the media coverage of the Olympic Games contains elements of both globalisation and nationalism. While the notions of a global festival and global fraternity were frequently used in celebration of emergence of a global society at the Olympic Games by the media, nationalistic discourses and expressions also accounted for a significant portion of the media coverage of the Olympic Games. It was also found that other notions such as Olympic ideals, war on terror and capitalist ideology were also central elements of the media coverage of the Olympic Games. In addition, the research outcome also points out that a unitary Korean nationalism, which supports reunification of the divided Korea, is becoming a dominant form of discourse on inter-Korean relations within South Korea. Therefore, a unitary Korean nationalism is evident in the South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games. Overall, the research findings suggest that a media version of the Olympic Games is both a supreme facilitator of globalisation and an ultimate identifier of the nation.

Keywords: globalisation, nationalism, media, Korea, Olympics, figurational sociology, a unitary Korean nationalism
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INTRODUCTION

1. Preliminary Observations

This research project is designed to produce a sociological account of intricate relationships between sport, media, national identity and the influence of these upon the culture of South Korea. To do so, the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games will be investigated. More specifically, the way in which the media representation of global sporting events is used to as a means of manipulating nationalism and of promoting a notion of globalisation is explored. In doing so, the specific characteristics of global-national nexus in South Korea, and the role of media sport in reinforcing and reflecting such dynamics can be explained.

This research project involves three principal parts. Firstly, a systematic overview of relevant literature regarding a number of concepts and theories upon globalisation, nationalism, and the media will be presented and compared. Secondly, a brief history of Korea will be introduced with a specific reference to a development of Korean nationalism and the role of sport in representing such nationalism. In addition, the influence of globalising forces upon South Korean society, and the country’s response to globalisation will be discussed in connection with the two major global mega sport events held in South Korea. These are the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and the 2002 FIFA World Cup. Finally, the empirical chapters will examine the way in which the media feature a notion of globalisation and nationalism in mediating the 2004 Summer Olympic Games.

In terms of methodology, two broad paths will be adopted: a review of secondary resources and empirical investigation. The secondary resources consist of a
number of sociological texts that deal with globalisation, nationalism, the mass media and sport. These materials will be systemically reviewed in order to establish a theoretical backdrop to the research project. Various historical documents and research papers, which discuss the formation of Korean nationalism and identity politics since the late 19th century, are also studied. Furthermore, a historical review of sport as a means of representing Korean national identity is undertaken. This will lay the groundwork for investigating Korean nationalism in the global sport arena in the 21st century.

With regard to empirical data, South Korean television and newspaper coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games is used. Firstly, in order to reveal complicated global-national dynamics in the global media event, the media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games will be examined. Secondly, a number of media discourses upon the Olympic Games will be also analysed. In particular, two of which are contradictory in viewing the Olympic Games as a field to promote global welfare and as a place to prepare global warfare against terrorism will be contrasted. In addition, discourse on corporate nationalism in the global media event will be also discussed. Finally, the way in which the South Korean media portrayed the North Korean Olympic team is investigated with a particular reference to national unification and a unitary Korean nationalism in South Korea. While empirical data are mainly analysed in a qualitative manner, basic statistical data are also provided where deemed necessary. Regarding research methods, discourse, thematic and visual analyses are conducted.

An original contribution to knowledge is one of the key considerations in writing a PhD thesis. Two points can be made regarding an originality of the research and its contribution to the field. Firstly, this research project attempts to investigate
non-western society from a process/figurational sociological perspective. As Dunning (2002) points out, while the figurational tradition of sport studies is relatively well established in some western European countries such as the United Kingdom and Netherlands, very few attempts have been made to explore non-European settings using the figurational approach. With regard to this, the current research is one of the few attempts to look at East Asian society exploiting the figurational perspective.

Secondly, South Korean sporting nationalism based on a unitary Korean nationalism which highlights the national unity of North and South Korea seems to be the most distinctive feature in this thesis. While the inter-Korean relations are one of the crucial political issues in South Korea, the topic is relatively marginalised in the field of sociology of sport apart from a few sport policy oriented study. In this sense, the research has raised the sociological significance of national identity politics of Korea based on a unitary Korean nationalism in sport. In consideration of the two points identified here, it seems that the research project makes an original contribution to, and thereby enrich, the knowledge base in the field of the sociology of sport.

2. Globalisation and Global Sport Cultures

Research on globalisation and its consequences has been conducted in various fields of academic discipline (Hall, 1991). Robertson (1992, p.8) defines globalisation as “the compression of world and intensification of consciousness of world as a whole.” Similarly, Giddens (2001, p.74) defines it as “the intensification of worldwide social relation and interdependence.” Globalisation, however, is often described in economic terms, but this perspective is too simplified. In fact, this phenomenon includes the globalisation of cultural, political and social issues as well
(Giddens, 2001; Maguire, 2000, Sklair, 1991). For instance, purchasing imported goods is linked to the global economy, voting for a politician who supports a transnational movement is connected to global politics, and assuming that a particular product or brand is better than others with or without conscious is related to global culture (Cantelon and Murray, 1993). In the context of global sport culture, watching NBA basketball or the Premier League football in Asian countries, the migration of athletes from other continents, and preferring Nike or Adidas to other brands can be considered as examples of complexities of global culture (Maguire, 1999). From this point of view, it seems to be evident that of which global culture consist. Nevertheless, in fact defining the character of global culture is no easy task.

Relating it to the terms capitalism and consumerism, Whitson and Macintosh (1993, p 236) assert that global culture means ‘highly capitalised consumer culture’. In a similar vein, McKay and Miller (1991, p 86) also claim that, in their research of Australian sport, global culture can be analysed together with ‘globalisation of consumerism, and the cultural logic of capitalism, all of which transcend the confines of the United States’. These definitions of global culture tend to excessively emphasise the economic factor, and thus provide a overly simplified vision of global culture. On the other hand, Featherstone (1990) explains that global culture cannot be understood as a single homogenised culture. He also argues that through the binary logics of ‘Homogeneity/heterogeneity, integration/disintegration, and unity/diversity’, only a small part of complex culture can be detected. Thus, according to Featherstone (1990), this binary thinking must be avoided.

Regarding the diffusion of global culture as multi causal and reflexive processes Appadurai (1990, p. 296) proposes an elementary framework for exploring global experience. His theoretical model contains five dimensions of global cultural
flow that can be designated as 'ethonoscapes', 'mediascapes', 'technoscapes', 'finanscapes', and 'ideoscapes'. He employed the suffix '-scape' to stress that these experiences are not fixed relations but are 'perspectival constructs' depending on various kinds of social agents from a transnational community to every individual. Maguire (1999), in addition, further develops the concept of these flows and applies these to sporting contexts. Ethonoscapes indicate temporal and permanent movements of people all around the globe which has brought a socio-cultural changes to the place where we live. In relation to sport, a migration of sport talents towards foreign sport leagues in order to find a suitable place to play, to sign a reasonable contract for their performing and to sell athletes’ abilities to possible investors can exemplify ethonoscapes at work in the sport worlds. Technoscapes demonstrate the rapid flow of technology on a worldwide scale. A circulation of state-of-art sporting equipment and a spread of sport science technology can be seen as technoscapes in the global sport arena. This globalisation of sport technology has also resulted in standardisation of sport at the global level. Finanscapes mean an impact of global economy upon a particular nation, and the changes that the nation experiences due to the borderless economic activities. In the era of footloose economy, capital is no longer fixed to one location but is freely moveable. Similarly, sport sponsorship and marketing activities appear to carried out at a global level without serious restrictions. Moreover, in consideration of the amount of money involved in global sport business, it is no surprising that a globally commercialised sporting practice has a significant implication to a particular region’s sport consumption practice Mediascapes imply the production and dissemination of information globally through newspapers, magazines, television, the Internet and other forms of media Live and recorded broadcasting of sport events at a global level can be seen as mediascapes in sport
Finally, ideoscapes are closely related to mediascapes, especially media images, and refer to an intentional spread of a particular state’s or class’s ideology and the reaction of counter-ideologies to enhance the state’s power. In a sporting context, the prevalence of particular notions such as the ‘winner takes it all’, ‘no pain, no gain’ or ‘just do it’ can be understood as a consequence of ideoscapes at work. Not only do these expressions represent a particular class’s interest and society’s dominant ideology but they also underpin a particular company’s advertising campaign which will eventually contribute to enhancing the company’s profit (Coakley, 2003; Sage, 1998).

Harvey and Houle (1994) also explain the character of global culture through multidimensional concepts. According to them, global culture consists of three dimensions. Firstly, it is ‘a mass culture’ that is ubiquitous in every part of the world. Secondly, it can be viewed as ‘a fragmented culture’ which is linked to the expansion of modern individualism that is the emergence of individuals who are concerned with global ethos. The final dimension is the creation of new forms of solidarity that transcend national boundaries. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that although local culture is so penetrated by global culture, the local is never dominated by the global but the former has an ability to exchange, interpenetrate, and interpret the latter (Donnelly, 1996). In this regard Maguire (2000, p. 358) explains the consumption of global culture:

Although elite sport migrants, officials and consumers are no less caught up in this unfolding globalisation process, they do have the capacity to interpret cultural products and experiences into something distinct. Furthermore, the receptivity of national popular cultures to non-indigenous cultural wares can be both active and heterogeneous.
While each of these multi-dimensional approaches offers a plausible explanation of the diffusion of global culture, the phenomenon is, among other things, best understood through the figurational twin concepts of 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties' of culture (Maguire, 1993a, 1994). In the case of playing the extreme sports such as skateboarding, for instance, on the one hand, the youth of the world have experienced a homogenisation process of sport culture via the dominance of European and American sport forms (Wagner, 1990). Thus, contrasts between sport cultures have been decreased. On the other hand, these developments are not one-way, unidirectional processes. Among these processes, western worlds have also adopted non-western forms of body cultures that have a sportive dimension (Maguire, 1999). Polo, which is originally Indo-Iranian, and martial arts such as taekwondo from Korea or judo from Japan, are typical examples of the adoption of Asian 'sports' in western countries. It seems to imply, mutatis mutandis, increasing varieties of civilised conduct (Elias, 1994). This concept contains 'a harmony of diversity' (Hall, 1991, 20) of culture and struggle between and within cultures.

This process of globalisation, however can be discerned more evidently when researchers maintain a long-term process perspective which views the results of present globalisation as consisting of intended and unintended consequences of past actions (Maguire, 1999; Robertson, 1992; Waters, 1998). In consideration of this, figurational sociological theory which perceives globalisation as long-term structured processes appears to be a more adequate approach to investigate the processes of globalisation. Regarding this, Maguire (1999, 2005) spells out his observation on globalisation from this point of view. According to him, this perspective stresses multi-causal, multi-directional, reflexive and processual characteristics of globalisation. In addition, it also highlights that every factor within the processes
forms complicated interdependency chains within which unbalanced but unfixed power relations are key aspects. This unbalanced power ratio is likely to engender the globally established and the outsider relations, and the established cultural norms tend to be either emulated or resisted by the relative outsiders (Maguire, 2005). Taking into account of these notions, figurational theory seems to be the most relevant theoretical perspective in investigating globalisation and globalisation of sport culture in particular. Thus, in this research project, the topic of globalisation and global sport will be discussed from the figurational point of view.

3. Media Sport and Globalisation

In order to grasp the character of globalisation and global sports more clearly, the relationship between the media and sport must be identified (Bernstein and Blain, 2003; Maguire, 1993, 2004; Rowe, 1996). As the previous section indicated, globalisation is a multi-dimensional process (Tomlinson, 1999), and, among these dimensions, the media are central to understanding globalisation processes (Hjarvard, 2003). Thus, media sport has been widely researched regarding globalisation of sport, and key insights have been provided for conceptualising global sport (Maguire, 1993, 2004a, Miller et al, 2001, Whannel, 1992). In discussing media sport, Wenner (1998) suggests that one must consider three dimensions of a media study; these are the production code, the media content, and the consumer or audience. These dimensions, which are defined as the ‘global media sport complex’ by Maguire (2004a), are so closely interrelated that it would be ideal to examine those factors simultaneously (Maguire, 1993b, 2004a, Wenner, 1999).
The media sporting programmes, at first glance, seem to be neutral and provide objective products. However, this mediated version of sport products are, in fact, very different from the stadium version. When they produce a sporting programme, media personnel use various camera and verbal techniques in order to enhance the excitement of the mediated sport, and, thus, to attract larger audiences (Boyle and Haynes, 2000, Whannel, 1992, Rowe, 2003). In addition, these techniques are not free from the ideology of the wider society. The media texts often contain the dominant ideology of a particular society. It is widely acknowledged that media sport frequently shows gender-biased images, stereotypes a racial character, generates nationalistic feelings, and propagates hegemonic capitalist's ideology (Davis and Harris, 1998; Duncan and Messner, 1998; Hargreaves, 1986, Maguire et al, 1999, 1998; Tuck, 2003). In other words, various interest groups involve in the process of making media sport products, and as a result, their interests are mirrored through the content of the programmes.

Studies on consumption of media sport play a crucial part in the media sport complex. There are frequent debates on the issue of whether audiences are 'cultural dupes' or 'skilled consumers'. A number of academics such as Hall (1980) and Thompson (1988), acknowledged the audiences' ability to interpret the media contents. They argue that media consumers can interpret media texts, and each audience reads the texts differently depending on their social and cultural environments (Thompson, 1988). Maguire (1999) also agrees with this statement, but he warns that: 'Though we are dealing with 'skilled' pleasurable consumption, people are relatively unaware of how such choices are structured by both global cultural struggles and by the media-sport production complex' (Maguire, 1999, p. 157).
In this research, 'the global media sport complex' will be examined in detail as part of the literature review. The figural sociological approach will be stressed to investigate the media sport complex because, and will be shown, the complex involves various agents, such as media personnel, audiences, and entrepreneurs and they are, to a degree, interdependent on each other. In addition, groups of various agents build a structure, 'the media sport complex'. Thus, the media sport complex can be understood as a 'figuration' in character. However, while acknowledging the significance of the global media sport complex, to examine the entire elements of the complex requires a lot of resources and time, and it is therefore, beyond the remit of this doctoral research project. Consequently, I will only concentrate upon the media coverage during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games in this thesis.

4. Nationalism, Media Sport and Globalisation

In the realm of social science nationalism is one of the most contested concepts, and the topic has become more complicated in the global era (Billig, 1995, Hutchinson and Smith, 1994). Three academic traditions can be distinguished in theorising nationalism in the context of globalisation; modernist, cosmopolitan and a long-term historical approach. The future of nationalism has been discussed between and within the schools but little consensus has been generated, though each of their theories offers many fruitful insights in conceptualising nationalism in the global era.

Modernists argue that nationalism is the product of the industrialisation of society: therefore, in many cases it is a concept that was invented and imagined in order to promote the modernising process of a given society (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992). Consequently, they stress that the present conditions of
nation-states such as common territory and sovereignty were mainly formed during 18th – 19th centuries when the modernisation process occurred (Nairn, 1977). Modernists expect that nationalism will become more strengthened in response to globalisation. This is because most nations still value highly the modern concepts of social system such as the national economy and political autonomy, and in this situation, the current global impetus is considered as seriously undermining national boundaries (Hutchinson and Smith, 1994). In order to keep their political and economic autonomies, therefore, a degree of nationalism is likely to be intensified.

In contrast, cosmopolitan scholars contend that although the current re-emergence of nationalism seems to be recognised as a counter movement against globalisation, this trend is only a temporal phenomenon (Albrow, 1996, Brueilly, 1993). In the end, according to cosmopolitan theory, a global multi-cultural society, and a more inclusive cosmopolitan identity will replace the present exclusive national identity (Bhabah, 1990). Instead of national identity, global cultural and political identities such as feminist and environmentalist identities will integrate the people all over the world into one community as globalisation processes continue to unfold. In other words, nationalism and national identity will become weakened whereas cosmopolitan identities will be widespread.

Long-term historical approaches, especially the figurational perspective, assert that the future of nationalism can vary, depending on the socio-cultural context of a given society. Unlike more or less deterministic theorisation by modernist and cosmopolitan approaches, figurational sociologists maintain an open-ended and multidirectional position in terms of nationalism in the global society. Thus, according to them, nationalism can be weakened, strengthened and pluralized (Maguire and Poulton, 1999). According to this theoretical perspective, nationalism is not a product
of modernism but it is a feeling that is formed through a very long term historical process, and both glorious and tragic incidents of the nation provide key elements in generating nationalistic emotion (Smith, 1995, 2001). Thus, such socially embedded feelings are not easily weakened. However, on another level, the influx of the global impetus is inevitable. Therefore, people can experience various cultural products, and this results in the transformation of identity politics of the citizens of the nation. Indeed, people can have both a socially embedded and discursive national identity and newly emerged multicultural identities (Giddens 2001)

This complex issue of national identity politics is often reflected in the media coverage of international sporting events. In their research on media sport and nationalism, Maguire and Poulton (1999) discovered how such socially embedded nationalistic emotions emerged and are facilitated through the media in the global sport event. Moreover, Maguire et al (1999) reveal that how the different historical experiences of the people has an effect on their interpretation of the same sport event. However, such nationalistic emotions are not the only dimension of the media sport text. There are many symbols of multicultural and pan-regional identities in media sport. For instance, Moragas Spà et al (1995) find that in television broadcasting of the Olympic Games such multicultural and pan-regional identities are used when introducing the neighbouring countries of a given nation. Thus, the media sport text simultaneously promotes both the global and national dimension of global sporting event. This is an aspect that will be explored in this case study
South Korean society has been experiencing dramatic changes in the face of the wave of globalisation. Its economy, politics and culture become more and more complicatedly interdependent with other international and transnational players in the globe. Thanks to the East Asian economic crisis in 1999, the South Korean financial market becomes more vulnerable to an inflow of global capitals (Stiglitz, 2002). The division of the Korean peninsula and a recent nuclear crisis in North Korea make South Korean politics more interdependent with other political players in the region (Feffer, 2003). Whilst South Korean people maintain their traditional culture, numerous foreign cultural products penetrating into Korean society via the media have been transforming the cultural climate of the country. Understandably, South Korea is one of the countries where the rapid processes of globalisation are at work.

Sports seem to play no less a significant role in globalising South Korean society. Three examples will be sufficient to show relationships between sport and globalisation in Korea. Firstly, the two major mega sport events held in the country, the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and the 2002 FIFA World Cup finals are considered one of the major driving forces that led both the South Korean government and its people to a wider and broader global society (Larson and Park, 1993; Yamaguchi, 2003) Furthermore, these two events facilitated an influx of global cultural products into South Korea. Secondly, the number of foreign players in South Korean sport leagues and a number of Korean athletes who play in various countries, especially in the United States, England and Japan make Korean sport global. Thirdly, due to the advance of the media technology, live broadcasting of North American and European professional sport leagues attracts a significant number of Korean sport fans. These
three examples are just a few of the global sports that South Korean society is currently experiencing.

Moreover, their impacts on Korean society are not limited to sport culture and industry. As part of the globalisation processes, global sport offers the society an opportunity to experience the effects of the numerous global cultural, political and economic diversities and differences. Firstly, economic and political impacts which the two global sport events, held in Korea, had upon the country, were regarded as far more significant than the sport competition itself (Larson and Park, 1993; Yamaguchi, 2003). Secondly, the appearance of global sport icons and celebrities in South Korean society has an effect on diversifying cultural tastes in Korea. Thirdly, the political and cultural impacts of the global sport upon South Korean society make national identity politics more complex. The third point is particularly relevant to the current research project.

Given the fact that South Korean society is one of the fastest globalising countries, and that the role that sport plays in the processes of globalisation is no less significant than any other political and economic factors in South Korea, this makes the current case study pertinent to investigating sport and nationalism in the global era. By looking at the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, therefore, the complex dynamics of the media, global sport and national identity can be addressed.

6. Objectives of the Research

Broadly speaking, the main concern of this research is the relationship between national identity and media sport in the context of globalisation. The ways in which...
the media sport contributes to the formation of global and national consciousness will be investigated. Regarding this, attention will be paid to the South Korean media representation of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Based on this, three research questions addressed in this project were as follows;

- How do the Olympic Games, as a global mega sport event, contribute to developing global cultures in South Korea?

- What are the main media discourses on Olympic Games in the South Korean media?

- What are the specific characteristics of South Korean nationalism in the global era, and how does media sport reflect and reinforce such nationalism?

A number of research projects have shown that a notion of nationalism and national identity still occupies the major portion in the media coverage of international sporting events (Garland and Rowe, 1999, Maguire and Poulton, 1999, Tuck, 2003; Poulton, 2004) However, most of the research is concerned with western or European experiences and very few studies have been carried out with regard to East Asian cases. This trend seems to be largely due to lack of historical and cultural understandings of the East Asian region in the western sociology of sport research institutions. Therefore, the current research is an attempt to both examine the relationships of media sport, national identity and globalisation in South Korean society and introduce the present national identity politics in sport within the Korean peninsula to western academia
CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

MAKING SENSE OF GLOBAL SPORT, NATIONALISM AND THE MEDIA

1-1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the key sociological issues and theoretical concepts which are central to the current research project. Specific attention will be paid to the notions of globalisation, nationalism and the media in relation to the development of global sport culture. Regarding these, a comprehensive overview of existing literature will be made in order to build a theoretical background for the research into the relation between globalisation and nationalism in the South Korean media representation of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, various conceptualisations of globalisation will be evaluated in order to discover a more plausible explanation of the development of global sport culture. Secondly, issues of nationalism and national identity politics will be discussed. Moreover, a linkage between nationalism and sport will be made in the context of globalisation. Finally, the characteristics of media sport will be investigated. Particular attention will be paid to Maguire’s (2004a) model of the global media sport complex which deals with production and consumption practices and ideological accounts in the media sport text.
Globalisation is arguably one of the most contested themes in sociology (Guillén, 2001). While at a general level globalisation can be referred to ‘the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole’ (Robertson, 1990, p 8), it often implies different processes to different people. Nevertheless, three broad perspectives can be identified in conceptualising globalisation. These are the approaches of the globalists, the traditionalists, and of the transformationalists (Held et al., 1999; Held, 2000). Put simply, the globalists argue that globalisation has initiated a new era and totally reshaped our lifestyle. According to them, globalisation can be recognised as a homogenisation process (Albrow, 1996; Ohmae, 1995; Ritzer, 1993), the sceptics assert that the idea of globalisation is a myth and that there is nothing new but that what is unfolding is an intensification of internationalisation. Thus, for the sceptics, the interest of powerful or hegemonic countries still determines the world order. (Ferguson, 1992; Hirst, 1997; Hirst and Thompson, 1996); and finally the transformationalists perceive globalisation as processes of the reconstruction of international relations. During these processes, creolised cosmopolitan global culture is likely to develop (Featherstone, 1990; Giddens, 1990, 2002; Held and McGrew, 2002, Rosenau, 1997).

In addition to these points of view, a figurational or process sociological perspective needs to be taken into account in conceptualising globalisation. This perspective, broadly speaking, shares some ideas with the transformationalists’ understanding of globalisation. However, process sociologists perceive the current wave of globalisation in relation to Eliasian notion of civilising processes. In respect to this, Maguire (1999, 2005) argues that the present globalisation is a broad series of
civilising/de-civilising processes in flux, and unintended consequences of a myriad of intended actions are the key elements to grasping an insight into globalisation. In addition, figurational sociologists also suggest that while there exists an unequal power relation between nations and states, these power relations are neither static nor inevitable. This unbalanced but unfixed nature of power games within a global figuration yields the globally established and outsider relations. Moreover, the power ratio within the relations are subject to change and the power balance can be subverted (Elias, 1978; Maguire, 1999, 2005). From this point of view, while the short-term effect of globalisation can be predictable, it is difficult to foresee the consequence of globalisation in the long term. In following section, the four theoretical positions, namely the globalists', the traditionalists', the transformationalists' and figurational sociologists' approaches, will be discussed in further detail.

1-2-1 The Globalists and Global Sport

The globalists argue that globalisation has reshaped our world into a totally different society: traditional value systems, such as the recognition of the nation-state as a unique agency in world relations and as a fundamental base to build one's cultural identity, are no longer appropriate for the present global society (Albrow, 1996; Mackay, 2000, Ohmae, 1995). In this process, cultures, economics, and politics have the tendency to converge into a network of global flows. Consequently, local and national differences are blurred, an importance of autonomy and sovereignty of the nation-state is decreased, and a more homogeneous global economy and culture are likely to emerge (Cochrane and Pam, 2000).
The global economy, for instance, reduces the choice or power of a single national body, resulting in a ‘denationalisation’ of the economy (Held et al., 1999, p. 3) through the establishment of transnational products, trade, and finance relations. The development of the global economy can be understood as an expansion of international capitalism throughout the globe (Sklair, 1991). This phenomenon was envisaged more than a century ago by Marx (1848/1967). He postulated that ‘the need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisies over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere’ (Marx and Engels, 1848/1967, p 223). Through this process, according to the globalist’s perspective, the ‘transnational capitalist class (TCC)’ or ‘Cosmocracy’, who always has tried to find the best niche for its own interest on a global level, has emerged with the help of transnational companies (McGrew, 2000; Sklair, 1991). In this global capitalist society, the status of the nation state has been degraded to just a simple unit of the global trade or production. Consequently, a single global market has been established and the intensity, velocity and expanse of global competition have dramatically increased. Because of the expansion of the global economy, the government of each nation no longer fulfils the demands of its own citizens and, this erodes the power of a nation’s government and stimulates the establishment of the global civil society (Held at al. 1999). The globalist camp, however, can be divided into two groups: positive and pessimistic globalists (Mackay, 2000).

On the one hand, the positive globalists basically hail the emergence of global society or civilisation in which people living all around the world can share similar beliefs and value systems. Moreover, they argue that the world is now experiencing global standardisation of economic, industrial and cultural codes which result in
rationalisation of human interactions at a global level (Ritzer, 1993). Thus, the positive globalists remark that such social changes can enhance global understanding and the world is moving towards an ‘ideal type’ of global community. On the other hand, the pessimistic globalists assert that the present condition of globalisation, which seems to imply global co-operation is, in fact, western domination of other parts of the globe (Mackey, 2000) They also argue that economic inequalities between a few western developed countries and many non-western developing countries continue to grow, and western culture, mainly American culture, prevails at the expense of many local and indigenous cultures. Thus, globalisation, according to the pessimistic globalists, is not a rational development of a human society but is another form of colonisation, namely cultural and economic imperialism (Tomlinson, 1991). Let me explain the two types of the globalists’ conceptualisation in further detail.

The positive globalist, on the one hand, sees globalisation and global culture in particular, as a process of integration into a single culture. Thus, people from various origins are more and more likely to share a similar cultural code and identity because of this cultural globalisation (Mackay, 2000) Emphasising the process of rationalisation of human interactions based on Weberian perspective, Ritzer¹ (1993) explains this form of global culture as ‘McDonaldization’. According to him, McDonaldization refers to ‘the process by which the principles of the fast food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world’ (Ritzer, 1993, p 1) Some characteristics of McDonaldization are efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control of human beings by the use of material technology. Firstly, efficiency refers to compression of time and effort

¹ While he maintains a negative view on globalisation, Ritzer’s theory of McDonaldization itself exemplifies a global rationalisation processes based on Weberian instrumental rationalism
required in making a commodity. Secondly, calculability means to encourage calculation of money, time, and effort in producing any form of cultural goods. Thirdly, predictability indicates that products are so standardised that consumers are able to expect the way in which they are served. Moreover, consumers are so used to such a predictable product that they do not seek alternatives. Lastly, controls of human beings by the use of material technology involve not only simplification of production processes but also control of consuming patterns. On the basis of McDonaldization theory, some positive globalists remarks that these characteristics, which are found in the fast food industry, and which are also considered as a highly rationalised form of cultural exchange relations, can be applied to almost every dimension of the production and consumption processes of cultural goods (Ritzer, 1993, Waters, 2001). Therefore, the positive globalists conclude that a global society becomes more standardised and more rationalised; the world is stepping forward to an 'ideal type' of a global community.

In promoting such a standardised form of global culture, the media and global communication networks play a crucial role. In fact, cultural globalisation occurs mainly through the media, especially television, which makes it possible for people around the world to experience the same event simultaneously (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, McGrew, 1992, Waters, 2001). Therefore, as McLuhan (1964) anticipated about 40 years ago, the world will finally become a 'global village' where all humankind will share a similar cultural practice. Moreover, Rheingold (1995) suggests that the Internet is one of the most effective means of connecting people in the globe, providing space in which various cultural and political identities can be flourished. Not only does the Internet offer a communication tool between the people in the world, but it also help them to establish a cyber public sphere in which users
can discuss and debate current socio-political issues. In so doing, they are able to develop collective values and a sense of community at a global level beyond a governmental or organisational control. Furthermore, the globalists argue that the globalisation of media and communication technology will contribute to the global democratisation process (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000). Particularly, the Internet offers a place in which a number of grass-root communities gather together and share information, thereby empowering the ability of civic or non-governmental organisations to increase their voices and exercise their rights in a more effective way. In addition to this, according to the globalists' assertion, although some areas still suffer from poverty, globalisation generally makes societies more affluent than the past through technical innovation, such as genetically modified food, and cooperation between nations such as UNICEF (Micklethwait and Wooldbridge, 2000).

To the pessimistic globalists, on the other hand, the positive evaluation of globalisation is somewhat naive. This assertion, which assumes that a homogeneous globalisation process can make our world a more humanistic and democratic place, has been objected by neo-Marxist theorists (Sklair, 1991). They argue that what will emerge would not be a harmonious globalisation but a form of westernisation or Americanisation, which can be called cultural imperialism (Tomlinson, 1991).

Considering this pessimistic globalisation perspective, Mackay (2000, pp 56-64) points out three indicators of this unbalanced process of cultural globalisation: growing inequalities, concentration of ownership, and cultural imperialism. Firstly, globalisation engenders a problem of regional inequality in the globe. In consideration of the characteristics of the global media industry in which information and the contents of the media and communication system are highly commodified, those who lack money are often denied access to the system, and, therefore, are not able to gain
such information. In addition, those who reside in an area in which a communication system infrastructure has not been fully established are usually excluded from the globalisation process. As such, people who have more resources have more opportunities to access the media than poorer people do. Secondly, the concentration of ownership of the media industry by a handful of western entrepreneurs indicates that cultural products circulated by the media only represent a western centred perspective while marginalising non-western views. Moreover, given that the global media conglomerates are mainly operated by the transnational capitalist groups, the media are likely to propagate a neo-liberal capitalist ideology. That is clear when one company owns several media production systems and thus is likely to spread particular ideas or ideologies (Golding and Murdock, 2000). Finally, cultural imperialism theory shows that global culture does not indicate a harmonious or democratic culture but, in fact, refers to the diffusion of western or American values (Mackay, 2000). Held et al. (1999) suggest that cultural imperialism involves the establishment of a colonial education system for both teachers and pupils. According to Mackay (2000), the process of cultural globalisation, which is largely led by American based cultural industries, has a similar effect upon non-western regions. By establishing infrastructure, such as a satellite TV network and a high speed Internet service, for circulating cultural products at a global level, American cultural institutions are able to spread American ways of life to non-western cultural zones. As a result, American or western culture tends to replace the local and indigenous cultural climate.

For the globalists, globalisation of sport can be understood as a spread of a rationalised sporting activity throughout the globe (Cantelon and Murray, 1993, Guttmann, 1978). This endorses the globalists' general conception of globalisation.
that most institutions in the world become standardised and homogenised. Guttmann (1978) suggests seven conditions of modern sport, which can provide a base for global sport. These are secularism, equality, bureaucratisation, specialisation, rationalisation, quantification, and obsession with record. Therefore, in the global sport arena, what has become universalised is that 'it is the competitive high performance amateur/professional entertainment model that in most often emulated as much for its potential as an marketable commodity as anything else' (Cantelon and Murray, 1993; p. 281). Wagner (1990, p. 399) also argues that globalisation of sport means 'greater homogenisation in world sport culture', and presents four crucial events as indicators of globalisation of sport which have happened in the sport world. These events are the spread of all major sports throughout the world, generating worldwide interest in international sporting occasions, the emergence of media sport and the recognition of the political importance of sport.

This globalists' understanding of global sport, namely homogenisation and standardisation of sport culture, contains elements of the modernisation approach that, as Gruneau (1988, p. 16) indicates, 'have generated significant insight into the social development of modern sports forms and practices'. Wagner (1990, p. 401) agrees that 'the larger international processes of development and modernisation are fundamentally responsible for changes in the world of sport'. Guttmann (1991, p. 185) adds that 'traditional sports are certain to survive into the next century, but their formal-structural characteristics are likely to undergo changes that make them increasingly modern'. Thus, according to the globalist and modernist perspectives, the more global sport culture develops, the more rationalised and standardised culture will emerge.
However, this homogenisation process of global sport culture has been criticised as cultural imperialism by the pessimistic globalists. According to them, globalisation of sport is not truly global but a westernised or Americanised sport culture (Donnelly, 1996, Kidd, 1991) The early diffusion of modern sport in the 19th century closely relates to the expansion of the British Empire, and the United States followed the diffusion of its sports to the other parts of the world, especially to Far East Asian region, since the late 19th century. The spread of football, rugby, and cricket from Britain to their colonies and other parts of the world, and the diffusion of volleyball, basketball and baseball are all legacies of the British and American empires (Guttmann, 1994) Because of this circulation of western forms of sport, indigenous sport and body culture tend to be marginalised. Guttmann (1994) argues that there are a few examples of non-western sports being played at an international level, such as judo from Japan and taekwondo from Korea However, in the case of those martial arts, although the basic concepts of the games are from Asian countries, the rules of judo and taekwondo tend to have been modified in accordance with the western sport model. Furthermore, the westernisation of global sport is not limited to the forms of sport but it has also had an effect on the style of sport. Typical examples of the latter are the commodification of sport culture (Mckay and Miller, 1991, Rowe et al. 1994) In research into the globalisation of Australian sport, Rowe et al (1994) point out that although Australian local sports, for example Australian rule football, has not been marginalized, an American style of marketing and presentational strategy has been adopted in order to maintain their popularity and compete with foreign sports such as the NBA basketball. Donnelly (1996) also argues, with reference to sumo wrestling in Japan, that traditional or local forms of sport do not necessarily
disappear because of globalisation but their structure has changed in order to remain part of the dominant form of global culture in the country.

According to the globalists’ perspective, global sports promote the emergence of a universal sport culture. However, even if a homogeneous global sport culture has been established, some critical questions about the global sport culture remain unsolved. Some critics point out that it is not globalisation but internationalisation that characterises current sport culture (Rowe, 2003; Tomlinson, 1996). In the next section, attention will be paid to a different perspective on globalisation, namely traditionalists’ point of view.

1-2-2 The Traditionalists and Global Sport

Generally speaking, the traditionalists assert that globalisation is, to a certain degree, a myth (Ferguson, 1992, Hirst, 1997) According to them, the concept of globalisation is not a new idea, but simply a series of international relations. It seems to be true that the world has become a single society which shares many cultural and economical similarities. However, it can be said that those global similarities exist only in limited areas. Tomlinson (1999), even though he is not a traditionalist, points out the limited position of these global common grounds According to him, the globally universalised system can be seen only in the international business areas including an airport and a five star hotel, and at some tourist attractions in particular local areas. Outside those areas, local and national practices and values dominate local people’s lives, and the authority of each government is respected Thus, the traditionalists warn that globalisation never transforms the current international system into a single society, and that the concept of national sovereignty is still valid.
The traditionalists do not totally reject the idea of the globalists, but they argue that the globalisation thesis should not be overstated (Mackay, 2000). For example, the nation and national identity are, in fact, much stronger concepts than the globalists assert. According to Smith (1995), the idea of the nation and national identity is the outcome of long-term communication, interaction and collective experience. By contrast, products of global culture, such as Disney, McDonalds and Nike, are relatively ephemeral. Thus, the concept of the nation maintains its strong affection and is a fundamental unit in global relations. In addition, Ferguson (1992) asserts that hailing the advance of global cultural identity can be problematic. According to him, a consumption of global cultural goods does not necessarily result in cultural homogeneity, but in fact, is likely to enhance cultural nationalism. In other words, each nation consumes global cultural goods, such as movies, music, and sport based on their local knowledge. Therefore, the local has an ability to resist unconditional accommodation to alien culture, and able to defend its local cultural identity and national character against inflow of foreign cultural products (Schlesinger, 1991).

In economic terms, the traditionalists claim that, based on the quantitative data on the tendency of international trade, economic, and product relations, global interdependence is not a novel phenomenon (Held et al. 1999, Thompson, 2000). Levels of economic integration were even stronger in the late nineteenth century when the Gold Standard was used as a measurement of international currency (Hirst, 1997). These historical data show that the economic interdependencies involve the process of internationalisation, in which a nation remains the central agency within this system, not of globalisation. Thus, global market forces cannot fully transcend the boundaries of national authorities, but are still under control of national governing bodies (Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Thompson, 2000; Waters, 2001).
The concept of global culture is also not a new phenomenon. For many centuries, the major religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Islam and Hinduism already had established a universalism that involved generalising a set of values and practice (Waters, 2001). In addition, cultural exchange between Europe and Asia at the beginning of second millennium was no less vigorous than it is today. For instance, according to Sen:

Around 1000 A.D., global reach of science, technology, and mathematics was changing the nature of the old world, but the dissemination then was, to a great extent, in the opposite direction of what see today. The high technology in the world of 1000 A.D. include paper, the printing press, the crossbow, gunpowder, the iron-chain suspension bridge, the kite, the magnetic compass, the wheel barrow, and the rotary fan. A millennium ago, these items were used extensively in China – and were practically unknown elsewhere. Globalisation spread them across world, including Europe (Sen, 2002, pp 1-2).

Standage (1998) supports this traditionalist’s conception of globalisation. He interestingly compares the impact of the Internet upon the contemporary society with the effect of the telegraph upon Victorian society. Standage (1998) argues that it is undeniably true that the information revolution to which the Internet brought has significantly changed political, economic and cultural life of the present society. However, he also notes that the emergence of the Internet is by no means the most dramatic development of technology in human history. The development of the telegraph also brought similar experiences to the world in the Victorian era. Furthermore, he maintains that the emergence of the telegraph in the 19th century was a much more bewildering event for people at that time than the development of new communication equipment is in the present day (Standage, 1998).

Research into the mass media also yields sceptical results regarding the thesis emphasising on universal aspects of global culture. In their study on a composition of television programmes and their contents at a global level, Sinclair et al. (1996) reveal
that, in television schedules, the ratio of domestic programmes is much higher than imported products, and because media consumers prefer domestic programmes, foreign contents are rarely shown at peak times. Also, Sparks (1998) claims that although there are many global news programmes on television channels, such as CNN and BBC World Service, those programmes are rarely chosen by non-western audiences, and local people are more likely to be interested in local issues. Moreover, the sceptics argue that a free flow of information through the media, especially via the Internet, is more or less an ‘ideal’ because governments or similar organisations still have the ability to regulate and inspect the contents circulating through the mass communication system (Mackay, 2000, Micklethwaite and Woodbridge, 2000).

Another study by Huntington (1996) indicates that the notion of cultural homogenisation or universalised global culture is a myth. He argues that the world is fragmented into civilisational blocks and cultural and ethnic enclaves. Thus, fundamentalism and aggressive nationalism are more likely to occur (Waters, 2001). In addition, the concept ‘clash of civilisation’ implies the fantasy of utopian global governance. Rather than cooperation and peaceful relations between nations and cultures, conflicts and struggles based on different religions have erupted since the end of the Cold War. A struggle between Islamic fundamentalism and western Christianity represent typical examples of ‘the clash of civilisations’ (Huntington, 1996). According to the traditionalists, this point of view provides a realistic sketch of global politics and culture particularly after the September 11 terror attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York.

In consideration of the traditionalists’ view upon globalisation, it could be argued that the present situation of the sport world is not a global but an international phenomenon. For instance, although people can watch and enjoy the Olympic Games
and FIFA World Cup, or any other international sporting events, they see these events not from a global standpoint but from a nationalist perspective (Bairner, 2001). Houhhan (2003) also suggests that sport competitions, in many cases, become internationalised instead of globalised as each participant of an international sporting event is defined by its country of origin. An inclusive global identity based on global collectivism seldom appears in an actual sporting event. Instead, what is highlighted at the sporting competition is, in fact, nationalism. With regard to this, unlike the globalists’ assertion, sporting events are both national and international in character.

In his study on opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games, Tomlinson (1996) discovers that, even though the Olympics is regarded as a global sporting event by some scholars such as Real (1989b), Roche (2000) and even Tomlinson (1996) himself, there exists a considerable number of nationalistic expressions in the ceremonies. Thus, he concludes that ‘despite the early Olympic message calling for peace and co-operation between the youth of the world, the local celebration of the Games as expressed in the ceremonies leads inevitably to forms of nationalism and nationalist self-aggrandizement’ (Tomlinson, 1996, p. 600). In a more recent study of the Olympic ceremonies, Hogan (2003) also reveals similar results to the earlier research, and states that the host nation of the Olympics would be the biggest winner of the game in that the nation can enhance its international status, thus potentially improving its negotiating power in international affairs. Therefore, sceptics argue that the belief that the Olympics and other sporting events are truly ‘global rituals’ is simply a myth.

Dyreson (2003, p. 93) adds that ‘the globalisation of sporting practice . has paradoxically fuelled nationalism’. Historically, the British have developed modern sports and exploited them as tools for building a national identity. In the 20th century,
the United States borrowed this concept that sport is a useful means of establishing national identity from the United Kingdom. In the present day, many nations use sports to strengthen their national identity. Thus, sport is considered as a means of expressing national identity in the global era (Dyreson, 2003). Also, Rowe (2003) adds that because international sporting events are basically competitive in character, it is inevitable that the sporting occasions provide every participate nations with a place in which nationalistic sentiments can be expressed. Furthermore, Hargreaves (2000) stresses that, with regard to the example of the Catalan situation, sporting competitions can evoke intense nationalism even among the nations that do not hold a political autonomy. Thus, as Rowe (2003) indicates, sports ‘repudiate’ the globalisation process and, therefore the nation-state will remain a crucial player in global sporting contests (Andrews and Cole, 2002).

The traditionalists, therefore, emphasise that nation and nation-state are key agencies that provide a fundamental cornerstone for international sports. However, although the role of nation-state occupies a significant domain in the global sport arena, the traditionalists seem to ignore some transnational elements of the contemporary sporting culture such as financial relations in sport and a migration of athletic talents. In other words, in the realm of sport, and in the world in general, there is a tendency that traditional values and a newly emerging culture co-exist. Thus, both the globalists and the traditionalists tend to explain only half the story of global sporting culture. The transformationalists, on the contrary to the globalists and the traditionalists, suggest more or less a middle ground theory between the globalists and sceptics in explaining globalisation (Giddens, 2001; Held and McGrew, 2002). This theoretical position will be discussed in the next section.
Both the globalist and the traditionalist arguments tend to conceptualise globalisation as a unidirectional and deterministic process which involves the integration of the global market, a homogeneous global culture, or the development of a universal government (Held et al., 1999). On the contrary, the transformationalists argue that globalisation is an open-ended, multi-dimensional processes (Giddens, 1990; Mackay; 2000, Rosenau, 1990; Sinclair et al, 1996) Moreover, according to the transformationalists’ view, globalisation processes involve both a continuation and a transformation, and the consequence of the processes is both contradictory and unpredictable (Robins, 1997). In addition, this perspective regards the present era as a phase in developmental period within longer-term processes of globalisation (Thompson, 2000).

At the economic level, globalisation processes have weakened the nation’s ability to control its domestic economy in order to build a global free market. However, these global market forces have been confronted by various local responses, although these local resistances are relatively weaker than global forces. In respect to this, Held and McGrew (2002, p. 56) argue that ‘economic globalisation increasingly escapes the regulatory reach of national governments while at the same time, existing multinational institutions of global governance have limited authority because states, jealously guarding their national sovereignty, refuse to cede them substantial power’. In other words, the forces of economic globalisation and the reactions of regional economies continually interact in the global era. Hence, a characteristic of economic globalisation is multi-directional processes which take into account of action and reaction of various factors in the field of global economy. In this respect, Held and
McGrew (2002) stress the pluralistic nature of global economic governances in which both global and national institutions keep holding considerable independent authority.

At a political level, the power of national governments is not totally eroded as the globalists have asserted but they maintain their importance in global society with other institutions such intergovernmental organisations (IGO) and international non-governmental organisations (INGO). However, in contrast with the traditionalist position, the nation does not have the same role as it had in the past. Nowadays, some problems such as environmental issues cannot be solved without cooperation between the states, and it is difficult to ignore a decision taken by transnational organisations. Thus, it can be argued that the nation-states in the globe are closely interdependent on each other (Held and McGrew, 2002) As a result, while the nation-state still maintains its political autonomy, governments are required to reform their structures in order to function in the complex global society (Rosenau, 1997).

At a cultural level, the transformationalists understand that the process of cultural globalisation is not a unidirectional process but a multi-directional dissemination of cultures. In response to globalists’ view on culturally homogenised globalisation, Featherstone (1990) argues that global culture would never emerge if it were to be assumed that global culture consists of a universal value and practice unless a global empire or world state is established, which is, for Featherstone, a highly unlikely situation. Instead, the transformationalists note that globalisation yields a multi-cultural society that can contain the ‘creolisation’ of culture and the ‘hybridisation’ of identity (Pieterse, 1995). With regard to this cultural process, Appadurai (1990) also explains that as various metropolitan cultures flow into a particular society, the imported cultures tend to be re-interpreted and indigenised in accordance with a situation and context of the recipient society. In a similar fashion,
Robertson (1992) coins the term 'glocalisation' to indicate a process whereby global impetus and demands are adapted to the local condition. Therefore, global culture is not an 'ideal type of culture' for all humanity which has an evolutionary characteristic, but is more or less a newly amalgamated one. This position also rejects the imperialist assumption that western and American cultural practices tend to become dominant forms of cultural values which rapidly spread to other parts of globe in that the local has the ability to reject, reproduce and re-create a foreign culture in favour of the local interest.

By a similar logic, a number of media studies reveals that, unlike the cultural imperialism thesis, media consumers are not cultural dupes, but skilled consumers. This implies that the audiences do not simply receive the message from the media, but have an ability to interpret the contents according to socio-cultural circumstance around them, and they can choose a particular product from a range of media commodities (Mackay, 2000; Miller, 1997). Thompson (1988, pp. 365) also points out that 'the messages transmitted by the mass media are received by specific individuals in definite social-historical contexts.' Miller (1997) reveals, in his research on the consumption of imported media in Trinidad, that foreign cultural goods, in this case American media products, have only a limited impact upon the local people. Moreover, he argues that the foreign culture transmitted by the media is likely to be localised in relation to the framework of the local tradition. The transformationalists also warn that relying solely on quantitative data can mislead our conception of globalisation, and global culture in particular (Held et al. 1999; Mackay, 2000). Thus, a simple calculation of the quantity of imported media products on local areas' television programming should not be regarded as a measure of the degree to which local culture is dominated by foreign, imperialistic cultures. In the process of
receiving and reproducing various cultural products, it is much more possible that cultures are creolised, which means that because of the cultural interaction between two or more cultures, these are mixed and produce novel cultural forms (Hannerz, 1990).

For the transformationalists the globalisation of sport cannot be understood as a unidirectional and one-way process of sporting culture (Andrews, 1997). Instead, not only do the transformationalists stress the global ‘reach’ of sport culture but they also take the local ‘response’ to it seriously (Hannerz, 1990; Houlihan, 1994). As reviewed earlier, the transformationalist assumes that the local is not a passive receiver of global forces but has an ability to interpret in relation to its cultural context. Thus, the local adoption of global sport inevitably involves a degree of change in respect to the local condition. This process can be called the ‘creolisation’ or ‘hybridisation’ of sporting culture.

The development of a local sport does not necessarily cease in order to adapt to global culture. Rather, a local distinctiveness is increasingly evident alongside globalisation. Thompson (1989, cited in Guttmann, 1991) discovers that Japanese sumo wrestling has been revitalised although Japan has experienced a huge global impact. In addition, Gaelic sports, such as Gaelic football and hurling are still popular in Ireland, and those sports have been and remain critical tools for demonstrating Irish national identity (Sugden and Bairner, 1993). Australians still enjoy their ‘traditional’ sports, even though their country has been assimilated into the global culture and global sport (Houlihan, 2003). Thus, global and local forms of sport can co-exist in this global era.

Houlihan’s (1994, 2003) explanation of the global sport might be adequately fitted into this transformationalist perspective. According to him, a character of global
sport can be creolisation and multinationalism. To Houlihan, in the global sport arena, ‘[t]he nation is an important, and perhaps primary reference point for team/athlete definition. However, athletes/team will represent [not only] their nations, but also other politically defined units whether sub-national or super national’ (2003, p. 352). In addition, we can observe the increasing diversity of a number of sports and increasing opportunities to participate in the competition for those sports. With regard to sport policy, ‘[n]ational regulatory frameworks [are] important but both business and sport organisations operates within multiple regulatory frameworks’ (2003, p. 353). Therefore, global sport involves both national and global elements.

Amongst the three arguments introduced so far, the transformationalists’ argument which highlights multi-directional and open-ended characteristics of the social dynamics at work seems to provide the most plausible explanation of globalisation (Giddens, 2001, Held and McGrew, 2002) However, this approach looks insufficient to spell out a dynamic of globalisation. It seems that while the transformationalist approach is largely descriptive, it lacks a theoretical explanation. In other words, while transformationists’ view appears reasonable, it does not explain how and why globalisation occurs sociologically. Figurational sociologists offer valuable theoretical explanation of the dynamic of globalisation, and this will be introduced further in the following section.

1-2-4 Figurational Sociology and Global Sport

The figurational or process sociologists’ perspective is based on an Eliasian thesis, civilising processes and established-outsider relations (1994). This view explains globalisation as part of the long-term civilising process. Figurational
sociologists stress that ‘globalisation processes transcend the boundaries of nation states, they are not of recent origin they involve an increasing intensification of global interconnectedness, and they are very long term in nature’ (Maguire, 1998, p. 68). Before approaching an Eliasian conceptualisation of globalisation, it is necessary that the processes of the ‘functional democratisation’, ‘established-outsider relations’ and figurational concept of power should be spelt out because those ideas provide important insights for the understanding of global processes by the figurational sociologists.

In the European civilising process, the more powerful group tended to utilise social customs and manners so that they could differentiate themselves from lower class people. Thus, there were various behavioural differences between social groups within a particular society, and the practice of upper class groups became a symbol of status and power. However, as relationships between each social stratum were interdependent, it was relatively difficult to preserve high-class customs and practices from the permeation into the low-class groups’ culture. Moreover, because those from lower classes regarded the nobility’s manners as the proper way of life that people must follow, they began to copy the conduct of the upper class groups. As a result, a gradual commingling of patterns of way of life took place (Elias, 1994). In order to point out these tendencies within the long-term civilising process, Elias used the term ‘functional democratisation’. This term implies that ‘every individual is enmeshed in longer and denser webs of interdependence with more and more others leading to greater reciprocal dependency and more multi-polar control within and among groups’ (Mennell, 1992). In other words, this ‘functional democratisation’ involves a general trend towards ‘diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties’ of cultural forms (Elias, 1994; Maguire, 1993a; Mennell, 1992). The process of ‘functional
democratisation' can be applied to the relations between western and non-western societies which can be defined as the established and outsider relations (Maguire, 2005). In this case, western society and culture can be seen as established groups, who hold more power with regard to controlling the globalisation process, and non-western culture can be considered as the outsider groups (Elias, 1994). These uneven established and outsider relations need to be explained in further details.

In their book the Established and the Outsiders, Elias and Scotson (1994) suggests a theory of human relations based on the balance of power between the established and outsider group. According to them, power differentials between the established and outsiders engender group charisma for the former and group stigma for the latter. In other words, the established group stigmatize the outsiders as socially inferior and barbaric beings. By contrast, the established regards themselves as superior and charismatic. For the outsiders, it is difficult to reject the disgraceful stigmatisation by the established as the power balance between the two differs significantly. Under this circumstance, the established group monopolises social, cultural and economic capitals, and build 'I' and 'we' images so that they distinguish themselves from the outsiders who do not have such resources. However, these established and outsider relations are not unidirectional relations which imply that one group dominates others but multi-directional relations which are complexly interconnected and interdependent on each other. Moreover, because they are interdependent each other, the balance of power between the established and outsiders is always in flux. Thus, the power ratio between the two can be narrowed. As the change of the power ratio happens, the outsider group tends to emulate the established group or reject their disgraceful identity with hostility. In addition, if the balance of power shifts towards the outsiders, relations between the outsider and established can
be subverted. In the case of subversion, the former established groups tend to strengthen their group charisma and we-ideal even though it is no longer possible to assert such ideas to others. These outsider and established relations show that even though more powerful groups can control this social relation in the short term, it is beyond their control to manipulate this social process in the long term.

Developing the established and outsider thesis, Maguire (2005) theorises the globalisation process as an inter-civilisational encounter involving, emulation, resistance. This inter-civilisational encounter consists of a dimension of the emulation which engender a diminution of contrasts. Maguire's explanation of the emulation process is worth quoting at some length:

[t]he relative hegemony of the west has ensured that the production of its civilisational wares have globalised over the past two centuries and more. As a result of colonisation strategies of the established, designed to impose or co-op their culture onto others, and the emulation and imitation of actions by outsiders, (seeking to close the status gap), there has been a tendency towards civilisations overlapping and/or the contrasts between them becoming more muted. Such processes are not only at work between western and non-western civilisations, it is also the case that similar processes have been, and are, at work in relations between outsider civilisations (Maguire, 2005, p. 25)

However, the emulation process is only half the story of inter-civilisational encounters. Such encounters also involve a resistance dimension which generates increasing varieties. Not only does a group of more powerful civilisations enforce its style and practice upon other civilisations, but it also seeks to establish its group charisma against other civilisations in order to distinguish itself from other cultures. In these circumstances, the group of less powerful civilisations tries to avoid and to resist the cultural enforcement from a more powerful civilisation. In doing so, 'they. . restyle their own behaviour, customs and ideas and reaffirm outsider civilisational traditions in a more intense way' (Maguire, 2005, p 26) By theorising inter-
civilisational encounters in such a way, Maguire not only avoids unidirectional, mono-causal approaches such as Americanisation or global capitalism, but he also explains the current civilisational and national struggles in the context of globalisation.

The current western and non-western relationship is also understood in terms of established and outsider relation and inter-civilisational encounters. Thus, although it is difficult to deny that western countries, especially the United States, have more power than other nation-states in the non-western world, this situation must not be viewed as the inevitable fate of global relations. Nor is the triumph of western culture guaranteed (Maguire, 2004b). As Elias (1978, 1994) points out, the term power is a relative concept, and as the two groups are interdependent on each other, the power ratio between the two begins to decrease, and in extreme cases, their relations can be subverted. According to Elias and Scotson (1965/1994, p. xxi), ‘[a]s soon as the power disparities or, in other words, the unevenness of the balance of the power, diminishes, the former outsider groups . tend to retaliate’. There are some symptoms indicating that the power ratio between western and non-western cultures has begun to change. Non-western culture now permeates western society, and western countries tend to rely on non-western technology and knowledge (Maguire, 2004b). Consequently, even though it is difficult to say that non-western culture begins to dominate western society, it can be argued that the former western-dominant relations have begun to wane. Therefore, it is clear that although Elias did not develop a theory of globalisation in detail, his idea on ‘functional democratisation’, the relative concept of power, and ‘established-outsider relations’ can provide a useful insight for conceptualising globalisation processes.
To understand the figurational sociologists’ conceptualisation of the globalisation process, bearing in mind the established and outsider relation, it will be valuable to introduce Robertson’s five-phase model (1992) for a processual explanation of globalisation. According to Robertson’s globalisation model (1992, pp. 58-59), the first phase is the ‘germinal phase’ that took place in Europe from the early fifteen century until the mid-eighteenth century. This stage can be summarised as an initial growth of communities. The second phase is the ‘incipient phase’. This occurred mainly in Europe from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1880s. The representative character of this phase is a formation of a homogeneous state and the beginning of international relations. The ‘take-off’ phase is the third of these phases and lasted from the 1870s until mid 1920s. During this stage or phase, the structure of international relations was formed, and a globalising tendency was manifested. The next stage Robertson refers to as the ‘struggle-for hegemony’ phase. This phase occurred between 1920s and 1960s. During this period, international organisations such as the League of Nations, or the United Nations, were established, and American power began to overwhelm its European counterparts. The fifth stage is the ‘uncertainty’ phase that began in the late 1960s and can be applied to the today’s situation. Conceptualising the characteristics of this stage is no easy task because so many agents are involved, and the intended actions of these numerous agencies can result in unintended consequences.

In terms of the globalisation of culture, similar to the transformationalists’ thesis, figurational sociologists also stress a multi-dimensional process. Maguire (1994) uses the figurational twin concepts of ‘diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties’ in order to obtain a clearer understanding of cultural processes in the global context. These globalisation processes run in accordance with the aforementioned
theory of 'functional democratisation' and 'established-outsider relations'. Differences between each country’s culture have decreased as the globalisation processes unfolds. However, because of the indigenisation or glocalisation process, the variety of culture with which the local is familiar has increased. Moreover, not only does culture from more powerful areas have an effect on less powerful regions, but the stronger nations are also affected by the weaker countries’ cultures as they come into contact with each other because power relations are not a unidirectional but a two-way process (Elias, 1978). Therefore, this global impetus inevitably involves ‘different kinds of social processes, affecting social relations and institutions in different way and as processes that take different shapes and meaning in different part of the world’ (Therborn, 2000b, p. 150)

Figurational sociologists also perceive the globalisation of sport as a broad civilising process. Regarding this, the notion of sportisation process by Elias and Dunning (1986) is extremely useful. Elias and Dunning (1986) propose the ‘sportisation’ thesis to explain the process of waning violent behaviour in leisure activity in England, and reveal relations between these processes and wider social change such as parliamentisation of British/English politics. It also stresses that the interconnection between sporting development and society, and implies that sport can be an important vehicle for understanding a society (Dunning and Sheard, 1979). Maguire (1999) further extends this theory with reference to five ‘the sportisation’ processes to shed light on understanding global sport.

The two early phases of sportisation processes are presented by Elias and Dunning (1986). From the 18th century, the first wave of sportisation started to occur. A distinctive feature of this stage is that foxhunting, horseracing, boxing and football emerged as pre-sport forms. In the second wave, from the 19th century onwards,
football, rugby and track and field began to be played in public schools. Thus these began to acquire modern sport forms.

In the third wave of the sportisation process (1870-1920), modern sport, especially male achievement sport, mainly diffused from Britain to continental Europe and to both the formal and informal British Empire, including North America (Maguire, 1999). Interestingly, these achievement sports ‘come to serve as symbolic representations of competition between states’ (Elias and Dunning, 1986, p 23) in relation to the emergence of the modern nation state at that time. Moreover, this stage of sportisation processes seem to be closely linked to the ‘take-off’ phase in Robertson’s (1992) globalisation process theory. Like other phenomena that occurred in the ‘take-off’ phase, international sport organisations were established, and global sport competitions such as the modern Olympic Games were approved. In other words, as global sport infrastructures were constructed in this sportisation process, these sports systems became increasingly a new lingua franca.

The fourth wave (1920-1960) can be summarised as the era of American sport (Maguire, 1999) In the third stage, English sport and its sporting spirit, such as ‘fair play’ and ‘sportmanship’ based on the gentlemen’s ideal, dominated global sport culture. However, in the fourth stage, American achievement sport replaced British sporting hegemony in the global sporting field (Quanz, 1991) American sporting culture not only influenced sporting practice in general (for instance competitions and victory were much more valued than enjoyment and participation of sport) but also affected management, administration, and the marketing system of the sport industry as well. It can be understood that, at the time, there was a hegemonic struggle within western culture, mainly between European countries and the United States, and the struggle ended with American victory. Therefore, the United States could hold
hegemonic power in global sporting field. In addition to this American hegemony in the global sport arena, there was an incipient tendency that non-western countries began to interpret western sport forms in accordance with their own cultures (Maguire, 1999). For instance, the case of baseball in Japanese society shows how a local country interprets and reconstructs alien sport culture based on its own values and practices (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1984).

The characteristics of the fifth wave (1960-present), put simply, are that non-western nations began to show sporting prominence and often defeated western nations in certain sports, and non-western body culture began to be introduced to western cultural realm. Maguire (1999) asserts that ‘[n]on-Western nations began to beat their former colonial masters, especially the English, and this trend is apparent in a range of sport including badminton, cricket, soccer, table tennis and track and field’ (1999, p. 86). Moreover, Maguire (1999) also stresses that, although the process is slow and uneven, the decline of western countries can also be found at the administrative level. Physical activities from non-western countries, in addition, were also introduced to western countries. The advent of martial arts in western culture is a typical example of this tendency. Thus, differences of sporting and body culture between countries tend to be diminished, and, at the same time, varieties of sporting practice are likely to increase. In addition, the power ratios between western and non-western countries within the global sport arena become increasingly lessened (Maguire, 2005). Let me explain these points in more detail.

The globalisation as multi-directional processes results in ‘diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties’ in sport culture. The Olympics, for example, show these tendencies. While athletes from all around the world play the same sport form under the same rules at the Olympics Games, the sporting occasion consist not only of
western sport forms but also of some non-western sporting event although the former constitutes a relatively large number of sport forms at the Olympics. Moreover, each sporting event can be interpreted and practised differently in relation to each nation’s context. Hence, each country shows a more or less distinctive style of play in the game. Therefore, the Olympics illustrates the ‘diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties’ of global sport cultures.

In addition, the change of the power balance between western and non-western countries can be detected in global sport arena. As Maguire (1999, 2004b) points out, in some sports, western countries do not assert their superiority over non-western countries. For instance, cricket, which is believed to represent quintessential Englishness, and was once exploited as a means of propagating British/English ideology into its colonies, is now played in many countries, and they, especially its former colonial countries, often defeat English in cricket matches. Other sports, such as soccer, follow a similar pattern. With regard to global governance of sport, the emergence of non-western countries’ power is clearly observable.

The case of the Olympics shows a typical example of the globalisation processes in relation to global sport governance. Although, as Cashman (2004) suggests, that the Olympic Games were Eurocentric in their initial stage, the power of westerners within the International Olympic Committee is now decreasing. At first glance, IOC members from western countries outnumber those from other cultures. But, if we examine those numbers from the long term perspective, the proportion of members from non-western countries has increased. For instance, in 1894 none were from non-western culture. In 1954, 12 of 70 members were from Asian and African countries, and they occupied one third of the total membership of the IOC. In 2002, almost half the members are from non-occidental countries. In addition, at the last
election for the presidency of the IOC, a South Korean candidate ran for election, and, though he lost, he received considerable support. This indicates the changing power relations between western and non-western countries in global sport governance both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, it can be said that we are now observing the wane of western hegemony in global sport arena (Maguire, 2004b).

In studying globalisation, it is advised that the globalisation process must be viewed as a long-term process (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, Maguire, 1999, Robertson, 1992, Waters, 2001). Moreover, simplistic, unidirectional approaches must also be discarded (Featherstone, 1990). In this respect, the characteristics of globalisation can be understood as part of a long-term civilising process in flux. Thus, in this research project, a figurational or process perspective will be adopted in investigating global sport cultures and national identity politics in the global era.

1-3 Nationalism and Global Sport

Recently, many academics have paid attention to relationships between globalisation and nationalism or national identity politics (Smith, 1995). A key question in relation to nationalism in a global context is whether nationalism is likely to disappear because of the homogenisation process of globalisation or it will become more intensified as a result of resistance to globalisation processes (Held and McGrew, 2002). While there is a tendency for the world to move toward a single society, namely the ‘global village’, much empirical evidence shows that it is unlikely that the intensity of nationalism and national identity politics will be lessened (Giddens, 2002, Smith, 1995). In fact, in some areas, a more fervent form of nationalism is emerging because of globalisation processes.
‘Sport worlds’ is one of the key areas in which nationalistic emotion often occurs. Because of this reason, many governments have deliberately exploited sports as a political means (Maguire et al., 2002). Therefore, it is not surprising that sport competition for medals and trophies becomes a battlefield for various national identity politics. Furthermore, researchers detect that nationalism in sport tends to be more intensified as globalisation processes unfold (Bairner, 2001, Maguire et al., 2002).

In this section, the problem of nationalism and national identity politics in the global era will be discussed. To do so, various theories of nationalism will firstly be compared and contrasted in relation to globalisation. Secondly, the characteristics of nationalism in sport will be clarified. Finally, the issue of sporting nationalism with a specific reference to globalisation will be explored.

1.3.1 Nationalism in the Global Era

Nationalism can be defined in terms of political and cultural ideologies that lead members of the nation to a movement and a sentiment that pursue national autonomy, unity and identity (Calhoun, 1997; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1991, 2001). In the global era, however, nationalism tends to be considered as an outdated notion in that, at first glance, the two concepts, nationalism and globalisation, seem to be incompatible. However, in consideration of contemporary political issues, it is difficult to deny the fact that there are still numerous incidents that are largely derived from nationalist ideology while globalisation process is developing (Hobsbawm, 1992, Hutchinson and Smith, 1994; Smith, 1995). For instance, severe nationalistic clashes have occurred in India, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and Africa. Moreover, such conflicts are also often found in more established and affluent countries such as...
Canada, the United Kingdom, and Spain. Thus, Barner (2001) declares that the problem of the nation and nationalism becomes more serious in the global age.

Many social scientists attempt to explain this complex issue of nationalism in the context of globalisation (Billig 1995; Smith, 1995). Amongst the explanations, three theoretical perspectives, modernist, cosmopolitan, and the long-term historical perspective, are worth being investigated. The modernist group argues that the revival of nationalism in the global era reflects the vitality and importance of nationalism in human history since the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992, Kedourie, 1960; Nairn, 1977). According to modernists, the concept of the nation and nationalism are purely products of modernism and these have revolutionarily changed and dramatically influenced human history. Because the nation and nationalism are such crucial ideas, nationalistic sentiments will be strengthened in response to globalisation that seems to menace the future of the nation (Hall, 1992; Mayall, 1990).

On the contrary the cosmopolitan school considers the present nationalistic conflicts to be temporal phenomena that appear in the present transitional period from international to global society as an immediate resistance (Albrow, 1996; Brueilly, 1993; Hobsbawm, 1992). Thus, according to this approach, nationalistic problems are ephemeral and will disappear in due course, and a new global cosmopolitan society will emerge in which the nation and nationalism will no longer bear significant meaning (Breuilly, 1982; Hobsbawm, 1992; McNeil, 1986). Finally, the long-term historical approach contends that the nation and nationalism must be seen as the results of long-term social, cultural, and historical processes. According to this theory, the future of the nation can be varied depending on its socio-historical context. Thus, it must be investigated within a longer term perspective so that a more explicit
description of the nation and nationalism in the global era is elicited (Elias, 1996; Smith, 1986, 1995).

In this section, these three approaches will be critically examined. In addition, as a part of the long term perspective, and also as an alternative approach in investigating the problem of the nation and nationalism in the context of globalisation, a figurational or process sociological theory will also be examined.

1-3-1a Modernist Theory

Modernists, such as Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1983), insist that although globalisation processes tend to threaten the tradition of the nation, and, as a result, the border of the nation becomes more and more porous, the fervour of nationalism as an ideology and movement will not disappear easily. Rather, the opposite situation is likely to occur. Nationalism has been one of the main modernist ideologies that led to a development of industrialisation, democratisation, rationalisation and the liberalisation of human society (Gellner, 1983, Hobsbawm, 1992, Kedourie, 1960, Nairn, 1977). Thus, unless such social conditions are totally reformed, nationalism will survive and be strengthened as a response or resistance to the wave of globalisation.

To modernists, the nation and nationalism is essentially a modern product, and before the 19th century, the concepts were largely unknown. Nationalism was an instrument stimulating economic and political developments by social elite groups, and was top-down in character. Thus, it was a constructed concept, and was often, invented and imagined (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983). Nevertheless, the emergence of the nation and nationalism was important in human history in that this
not only contributed to an advance of modern nation-states in Europe, but also led to anti-colonial, liberation, and emancipation movements in Asia and Africa (Hobsbawm, 1992).

Gellner (1983) asserts that modernisation means industrialisation, and nationalism based on culture and language is a product of industrialisation. He also argues that in pre-modern agrarian society, literacy was exclusively possessed by a limited number of people, mainly the upper class group, and most people were gathered together by the structure of roles often based on kinship. However, in industrial society, language and culture became the new cement for social bonding because, in order to effectively integrate the people into the industrial machine, shared language and culture were required. Thus, since then, a citizenship based on literacy and culture was regarded as the only adequate identity (Gellner, 1964, 1986). Culture-based nationalism was considered as a functional means for industrial modernity, indeed, it stimulated an emergence of industrial modern nation. As Gellner (1964, p. 169) says, ‘nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist’. Nairn (1977) also stresses a similar functional position, but for him, it was capitalism not industrialisation that stimulated such processes.

As the functional approach implied, nationalism did not flow from natural evolution, but was constructed. With regard to this point, Hobsbawm (1983, p. 1) declares that ‘[t]raditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented’. He also points out that:

They are highly relevant to that comparatively recent historical innovation, the ‘nation’ and its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, history and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative, if only because historical novelty implies innovation (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 1).
Anderson (1983) also suggests a constructive thesis on nationalism. According to him, 'it [nation] is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). Hall (1992) highlights three conditions that allow the building of the imagined community. These are; firstly, shared memories from the past, secondly, the aspiration to reside together; and finally an awareness of cultural and historical heritages. While these nation-building processes are often top-down systems that were led by social elites in favour of their interests, mass citizenry tends to consider taking them for granted (Tuck, 1999). Therefore, according to the modernists, the nation was constructed in order that its economic, cultural and political interests were both promoted and preserved within its boundaries.

In the global era, however, the autonomy of the nation is considered to be weakened (Giddens, 2002; Held and McGrew, 2002). Global capital and cultures seem to be impossible to be controlled by a national apparatus. As a result, many national practices and value systems are likely to be undermined by these global drives. In this situation, nation-states attempt to control and preserve their territory and interest under the aegis of nationalism. Accordingly, nationalism in the global era can be more and more strengthened as resistance to globalisation processes.

In addition, it is also stressed that although globalisation witnesses the proliferation of various identity politics and social movements, such as the feminist movement, environmental movement and so on, national identity and nationalism will maintain its strongest positions amongst the variety of identities (Hutchinson and Smith, 1994; Tuck, 1999). Regarding this issue, Hutchinson and Smith (1994, p. 4)
indicate that 'what is often conceded is the power, even primacy, of national loyalties and identities over those of even class, gender, and race'. Therefore, nationalism and national identity are unlikely to disappear in the global era.

Nevertheless, the modernist approach, as Smith (1995) points out, is criticised because of two main deficiencies. Firstly, although nationalism as an ideology and movement are revived as opposed to globalisation, it is difficult to maintain the nations’ political autonomy and cultural identity totally isolated from the current globalisation processes. Indeed, in spite of nationalist efforts, an intrusion of global trends into the nation is inevitable. Secondly, and more fundamentally, many scholars reject the idea that the nation is a purely modern product (Geertz, 1973; Hasting, 1997; Seton-Watson, 1977; Smith, 2001). They assert that a trace of nationalism and a prototype of the nation can be found in the pre-modern era, and contemporary nationalism in the global era cannot be understood without long-term historical investigation of the nation and nationalism. In the next two sections, these two perspectives will be dealt with.

1-3-1b Cosmopolitan Theory

More than a century ago, Marx and Engels (1848/1967) envisaged that a single cosmopolitan culture would replace all pre-existing national cultures. The cosmopolitan scholars, partly based on Marx’s and Engels’ prediction, contend that the current nationalistic movements are ephemeral based on fear and weakness in the face of the rapid global change. As globalisation processes unfold, however, these bewildered responses will disappear, and a global cosmopolitan society will emerge (Albrow, 1996; Brueilly, 1993; Hobsbawm, 1992). Thus, contemporary nationalistic
conflicts can be seen as a transitional phenomenon moving from international towards
global society.

The cosmopolitan intellectuals argue that contemporary nationalism and the
nation's conflicts are qualitatively different from the 19th century's modernist
nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1992). As briefly explained in the earlier section,
nationalism had a historical importance in the 19th and the first half of the 20th
centuries in relation to nation-building processes. However, the current nationalisms
are, in many cases, both destructive and divisive, and are often combined with
religious fundamentalism (Kidd, 2002)

Although Hobsbawn (1992) maintains the modernist position with regard to
the origins of nationalism, he supports cosmopolitan ideas as a discussion of the
nation and nationalism is linked to globalisation As he says:

[]In spite of its evident prominence, nationalism today is historically less
important. It is no longer, as it were, a global political programme, as it
may have been in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is at most
a complicating factor, or a catalyst for other development (Honsbawm,

Declaring the advance of the global age, Albrow (1996) also points out that meaning
and status based on the modernist approach are no longer relevant. He writes at some
length on this issue.

The modern nation-state is neither the only possible form of state nor the
crowning political achievement in human history. The conceptual frame
which contained ideas of people, nation, society, state and government in
an arbitrary territorial context was relative to specific historical period.
Locked in modern thought-world, social theorists have often seen the
distinction between those concepts as recent achievements From outside
modernity, the artificial elisions and conflations by which the nation-state
sought to bind them indissolubly together look outdated. The bonds have
now come apart (Albrow, 1996, p. 168)
In discussing factors that threaten the fate of the nations, three reasons can be discerned. Firstly, the economic dimension of the nation-state is being separated from the territorial boundary of the national market (Ohmae, 1995; Wriston, 1992). Because it is no longer possible for a single nation-state to totally control its economic situation in the global era, the meaning of the nation as an economic community is seriously undermined. Secondly, the military power of the nation-state no longer has a significant role in the global society (Guéhenno, 1995; Ohmae, 1995; Wriston, 1992). In the global era, it is problematic to use violence to solve an internal and external conflict of the nation-state. In that sense, it can be said that a particular nation-state has no really independent defence policy. Finally, the political autonomy of nation-states is weakened (Albrow, 1996; Luard, 1990; Ohmae, 1995). It is difficult to ignore a decision made by global political institutions, such as the United Nations. In addition, some political issues cannot be solved without help from other nation-states. Thus, the meaning of the nation-state as an independent political entity seems to be tamed. The decline of the nation-state’s autonomy in these three areas, the economic, military and political dimensions, implies that it is no longer possible to maintain the modern sense of the nation and nationalism. As a result, nationalism has no more than symbolic meaning in the global era. Therefore, according to the cosmopolitan approach, in the global era, the concepts of modern nation and nationalism have lost their traditional meaning. Moreover, they have been transformed into post-modern nationalism generating multicultural cosmopolitan identities.

Under the cosmopolitan culture, hybrid identities are likely to replace national and ethnic identities (Gilroy, 1993). In the last few decades, especially in western countries, there has been a massive immigration of people that have facilitated a
change in the cultural composition and traditional values of the host countries. In addition, the development of communication technology has enhanced an opportunity to experience a variety of cultures over the world. This influx of people from various cultural backgrounds, and a flood of information from all over the globe, have undermined a homogeneous national identity. Accordingly, Bhabha (1990) observes that the perception of a national history and identity has become split and doubled, the nation is fragmented into its component parts, and national identity has become hybridised.

The cosmopolitan approach, however, has confronted and engendered many problems. For instance, Robins (1997) notes that globalisation does not bear such a mixed and creolised culture and identity. Instead, it stimulates the spread of local culture to the global level. Consequently, the world is not moving towards a common shared global culture by a whole humanity but towards recognition of the various cultural identities. In other words, globalisation leads us not into the world of global similarity but into understanding global diversity. Moreover, MacKay (2000) criticises these optimistic visions of globalisation with respect to identities. According to him, the cosmopolitan or post-modern approach only represents the western developed countries’ experience of globalisation, and for third world citizens, this phenomenon can be seen merely as part of colonialism and imperialism by western industrialised countries. Finally, the demise of the nation is simply a misleading assumption. Although globalisation processes partly weaken the autonomy of the nations and nation-states, in many cases, the key agency of global society is still the nation-state (Held and McGrew, 2002; Smith, 1995). Thus, it may be too early to say that the era of the nation and nationalism is over.
1-3-1c. Long-Term Historical Theory

Long-term historical theory claims that the nation and nationalism are not modern products, and the contemporary nationalism and the future of the nation cannot be fully understood without investigating long-term processes connected with the formation of the nation (Geertz, 1973; Hasting, 1997, Seton-Watson, 1977, Smith, 2001). Trigger et al (1983), for instance, argue that a well-developed form of the nation already existed in the ancient past. Ancient Egypt, they argue, had a common territory, language, religion, economy and a powerful state. Moreover, Hasting (1997) observes that the modernist explanation of the nation only shows a part of the history of a nation. He believes that a primordial form of the nation which shares language, territory and economic life can be found as early as the fifth century. Furthermore, according to Hasting (1997), a trace of the current western European nations can be found in the fifteenth century. He asserts that:

Most of the main nations of western Europe can be seen to exist. People regularly spoke of them as such. They are precisely the same nations produced by nationalisms from the late eighteenth century on, according to theorists of modernism. The correlation is so close that it would be absurd to regard it as accidental (Hasting, 1997, p. 114)

The long-term approach admits that the nation and nationalism have had significant cultural, economic and political meaning since late the 18th century. However, this school stresses that such a nationalistic movement in the modern period was derived from each nation’s long-term history.

Smith (1995, 2001) offers a useful thesis on the nation and nationalism in a global era. The main reason that nationalism will maintain its importance in the global society stems from the legacy of pre-modern ethnicity. However, his idea does not
simply indicate that the revival or survival of nationalism based on long-term history is so strong that these feelings will persist in the global era. Instead, the type of nations and nationalism in the global era can vary depending on their socio-historical contexts. In addition, the history that affects the nation's future is not an objective understanding of the past but a subjective interpretation of the historical narrative, which is called 'ethno-history' by Smith (2001). As he explains:

Ethno-history... stands for the member's own records and memories of a community and its own rediscovery of an 'authentic' communal past or pasts. ... National history [, in addition,] does not address economic and social issues in themselves, or indeed the development of political institutions. Instead, it focuses on question of heroism and sacrifice, creativity and renascence, sanctity and worship, genealogy and tradition, community and leadership. Above all, it harks back to one or more 'golden age', to which it seeks...to restore the community in the future (Smith, 2001, p. 140).

Indeed, the nation based on long-term history and its subjective interpretation cannot be undermined simply by a renewed global impetus. Likewise, nationalism as political ideology that stresses national heroism and its glorious pasts will remain as a crucial means of a political mobilisation. As a result, national identity will continue to offer the strongest group identity in the epoch of globalisation (Smith, 2001).

However, even though Smith's thesis provides useful concepts to investigate the topic of the nation and nationalism in the global era, and his emphasis on long-term historical approach is an essential position, he fails to catch the fluctuating characteristics of nationalism and globalisation. In addition, Smith's approach seems to be a more or less deterministic argument in that, although he suggests that various socio-historical contexts result in various types of nationalism, his assertion ends by stressing that nationalism and national identity will maintain their strong ideological position in the contemporary world order. Indeed, if Smith's historical approach is
adopted without consideration to examining the issues of globalisation and nationalism, the result can be distorted. By contrast, a figurational or process sociological perspective emphasises both long-term historical accounts of nationalism and its fluctuating characteristics. Thus, it will be valuable to examine this perspective.

1-3-1d Figurational Sociological Theory

Figurational sociological theory shares many elements in common with the long-term historical approach. In fact, the long-term perspective is one of the core concepts of figurational sociology. However, as briefly mentioned in the earlier section, it stresses fluctuating elements of a society in question as well as long-term historical developments. In addition, unlike other approaches, figurational sociology tries to avoid a deterministic and unidirectional explanation; instead, it selects an open-ended and multi-directional approach. Moreover, neither does social structure determine individual behaviour, nor does an individual solely create the world by his or her will. Both elements are so interrelated that any one character cannot determine the other component. Thus, through the title of his book, The Society of Individuals, not 'the society and individual', Elias (1991) rightly implies his perception of society. Accordingly, Goudsblom (1977, p. 149) explains social situations in terms of the following: 'yesterday's unintended social consequences are today's unintended social conditions of intended human actions'. The problem of the nation and nationalism in the global era, therefore, must be analysed by exploiting these conceptual tools.

Because figurational sociology deals with the broad 'civilising process', and most of the concepts that Elias coined and used in examining the human society as a
whole are complexly interrelated, it is not easy to select part of Elias’ idea that is solely devoted to nationalism in the global era. Nevertheless, bearing in mind such an interdependency of the concepts, figuralional sociologists have developed some concepts, which are useful in investigating the nation and nationalism in the global age (Maguire, 1999; Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Maguire and Tuck, 1998).

Firstly, the term, ‘habitus’, is worth explaining. In the civilising process, Elias (1994) observes that there are relations between a long-term structural development of society and change of individual behaviour. In this process, habitus can be understood as a type of second nature. Mennell and Goudsblom (1998) explain that:

> It refer to those levels of our personality makeup which are not inherent or innate but are very deeply habituated in us by learning through social experience from birth onward-so deeply habituated, in fact, they feel “natural” or inherent even to ourselves. It seems that our individual habitus guides our behaviour; but, then, habitus itself is formed and continues to be molded in social situation, marked by specific power differentials, and those institutions, in turn, are embedded in larger social structures which change over time (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998, p. 15)

Thus habitus is constructed on both an individual level and in a social dimension, and is developed into a national level habitus (Elias, 1991, 1996). On the one hand, the individual dimension of habitus implies that every individual learns socially constructed dispositions. However, because of the different personality of each individual, a unique personal habitus is generated. Consequently, one can establish his or her I-identity. The social dimension of habitus, on the other hand, means that, although each individual develops his or her unique habitus, they all share some similar characteristics and sentiments with others who reside within the same social boundary. Because of this shared social habitus, they can develop a ‘we-identity’ (Elias, 1991). Elias (1991, p. 182) explains that:
This make-up, the social habitus of individuals, forms, as it were, the soil from which grow the personal characteristics through which an individual differs from other members of society. In this way something grows out of the common language which the individual shares with others and which is certainly a component of the social habitus—a more or less individual style, what might be called an unmistakable individual handwriting that grows out of the social script.

As the long-term historical approach indicated, social groups develop from a tribal community to a national society. Elias also maintains that 'for thousands of years, indeed as long as societies in state form have existed, states have shared the function of survival unit with societies organised in pre-state forms, such as clans or tribes' (Elias, 1991, p. 206). Indeed, Elias (1991) suggests that, nowadays, the strongest group identity is national identity because nation-states are the highest ranking of the survival units in modern society. With regard to this national level habitus, Maguire and Poulton (1999) explain that

The fortune of the nation became sedimented, internalised, and fused as part of the ‘second nature’—the habitus—of its citizens, whose actions remake the national habitus anew. The ‘image’ of the nation is also constitutive of a person’s self-image. In fact, the emotional bonds that individuals form with each other can constitute ‘sleeping memories’, which tend to crystallise and become organised around common symbols that powerfully reinforce the notion of 'we relations and become the focus for a common belief system (Maguire and Poulton, 1999, p. 19).

In that sense, national character or national level habitus, shares some similarity with Smith’s (2001) ‘ethno-history’. However, while Smith (1995, 2001) stresses the immortality of the nation, Elias (1991, 1996) emphasises the fluctuating characteristic of the national habitus. According to Elias, ‘the national character is both hard and tough, but also flexible and far from immutable’ (1991, p. 209).

In relation to the flexible characteristics of the nation, Elias (1991) also points out the development of the survival unit and group identity in the long term process.
It may be that the nation-state-based we-identity of the individual in our day is almost taken for granted. One does not always remember clearly enough that the role of the state as a frame of reference for the we-identity of the great majority of all members of a state, i.e. the state’s role as nation state, is of relatively recent date (Elias, 1991, p. 206).

However, one can misunderstand Elias’ argument as if his explanation of the nation-state is somewhat similar to modernist concepts. Certainly that is not Elias’ point. By indicating that the nation-state is a relatively recent product, Elias intends to stress the continuous change of the human community. In fact, nation-states as a political unit which provide the we-identity can be a relatively recent concept. However, the deeper level of we-identity based on the long-term development of personal and group habitus plays a much more important role in building an identity structure of the member of society. In other words, while objective elements of a group such as a political unit can be relatively amendable, the subjective elements of a group such as national habitus is much more resistant. Therefore, by pointing out changeable elements of human community and group identity, Elias implies the developmental nature of globalisation as part of civilisation processes. Nevertheless, this does not mean that a global cosmopolitan society will emerge. In fact, it is difficult to predict the consequence of globalisation and its influence upon personal and national identity structure. In the current stage, according to Maguire and Poulton (1999), nationalism and national identity can be strengthened as resistance against globalisation, can be weakened as a result of globalisation, or pluralized as an effect of development of multicultural globalisation.

In the contemporary global society, however, various nationalistic conflicts are observed. Thus, it can be seen as a contradictory phenomenon to globalisation processes. Especially at a cultural level, such resistance against globalisation is
remarkable (Hall, 1991) From the figurational sociological perspective, such phenomena require closer observation. A priori thinking need to be avoided as national resistance to global impetus depends upon the specific type of nation-state and its position within globalisation processes. Regarding the recent emergence of national movements, the Elisian established the outsiders relations, mutatis mutandis, offers a useful insight into the national struggle against globalisation.

In his book The Established and the Outsiders Elias (1965/1994) highlights the power relation between two groups. In general, the established group has more power than the outsider group. Members of the established, therefore, consider the outsiders as a socially inferior group. Thus, they regard themselves as superior to the outsiders, and strengthen the ‘we-identity’ in opposition to the ‘they identity’ However, because all players in social life are interdependent, the power gap between the two groups becomes more and more equalised. Moreover, it is possible that the power ratio between the two groups can be overthrown. In this situation, for the established group, the change in the power ratio is seen as the process of undermining their established tradition. As a result, the former established group tends to strengthen the ‘we-identity’ by reasserting their glorious past and cultural heritage. With regard to the subversion of the power ratio, and the former established group’s response against this change, Elias writes at some length He explains that

A striking example in our time is that of the we-image and we-ideal of once powerful nations whose superiority in relation to others has declined...The radiance of their collective life as a nation has gone; their power superiority in relation to other groups...is irretrievably lost. Yet, the dream of their special charisma is kept alive in variety way – through the teaching of history, the old buildings, masterpieces of the nation in the time of its glory, or through new achievements which seemingly confirm the greatness of the past. For a time, the fantasy shield of their imagined charisma as a leading established group may give a declining nation the strength to carry on...But the discrepancy between the actual and the imagined position of one’s group among others can also entail a
mistaken assessment of one’s resources and, as a consequence, suggest a group strategy in pursuit of a fantasy image of one’s own greatness that may lead to self-destruction... The dreams of nations...are dangerous (Elias, 1994, p. xliii-xliv).

In this context, most of the nation-states in an international society can be considered as part of the established institution, and the global impetus can be seen as the outsider’s association. As globalisation processes undermine the power and status of the nations, each nation tends to develop further its cultural and intellectual heritage. In doing so, the nation can, to a degree, maintain their cultural and national identity against globalisation process. However, in the global era, it is difficult to maintain and assert such exclusive identity to the citizen of a nation-state. Therefore, while national identity is strengthened against global impetus, at the same time, people’s identities become pluralized.

1-3-2 Nationalism in Sport

It would be difficult to deny that sport and nationalism are the areas in which some of the most intense form of emotion is generated in the modern society. Moreover, when the two areas are integrated, passion engendered may be the most fervent feeling, next to the emotion generated by warfare (Bairner, 2001). Thus, George Orwell (1945/1970) calls sports ‘war minus shooting’. Hobsbawm (1992) also admits to the importance of sport in relation to nationalism, saying that:

What has made sport so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feeling...is the ease with the nation as symbolised by young persons at what practically every man [sic] wants, or at one time in life has wanted to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, even the one who only cheers, becomes a symbol of his nation himself (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 143).
Because of the interconnection between sport and nationalism, many governments try to exploit sport as a means of a nation-building project (Bairner 2001, Sugden and Bairner, 1993; Maguire et al, 2002; Mangan, 1996). Based on these arguments that confirm the relations between nationalism and sport, three typologies of sporting nationalism can be identified; these are sporting nationalisms as a nation building project; as surrogate war between rivalry nations; and as a means of identification to a national sport (Bairner, 2001; Maguire et al, 2002; Mangan, 1996).

Firstly, sport is often exploited as a means of a nation building project (Hargreaves, 2000; Mangan, 1996) Maguire (1999, p 178) declares that ‘sport is well placed to contribute to this process of identity-formation and invention of tradition’ In that sense, when a nation-state is newly formed, sport offers it chance to promote its political and cultural legitimacy to international society (Espy, 1979; Mangan, 1996) In addition, minority nations within a nation-state can assert their independence status by developing their sport talents. The Catalans in Spain and Quebecers in Canada offer typical examples of this type of sporting nationalism.

Secondly, sport provides a country with an opportunity to confirm superiority over other countries (Espy, 1979; Maguire et al, 2002; Houlihan, 2000). This type of nationalism was at its zenith during the Cold War. At that time, winning the game by one country was often linked to political supremacy over the other political bloc Sport competition between the former coloniser and colonised country also reflects this type of sporting nationalism When the ex-colonised defeats the ex-invader, the sporting nationalism becomes more fervent (Maguire, 1993a, 1994, 1999).

Finally, a nation promotes cultural nationalism through supporting national sport (Cronin, 1999, Bairner, 1996, 2001; Maguire et al, 2002). Gaelic sport in
Ireland, baseball in the United States, Ice Hockey in Canada, and Aussie-rules football in Australia are typical examples. Bairner (2001) points out that the term ‘national sport’ can be somewhat confusing. On the one hand, the national sport can be both a traditional sport and very popular, at least, within the nation. Hurling in Ireland is a typical example. On the other hand, there could be a traditional sport that only some historians might be interested in, for instance Shinty in Scotland. In the case of the former, it will be regarded as a national sport that promotes nationalism. However, in the case of the latter, it is problematic considering it as a national sport because without mass mobilisation, it might not be possible to encourage nationalism feeling through the sport. A third case is also possible. Although association football or soccer is developed in England, many countries such as Brazil and Korea regard soccer as their national sport. In this case, the most popular sport in those countries can be seen as their national sport involving cultural nationalism even though the sport is traditionally from other countries.

As this typology of sporting nationalism shows, sport can strengthen nationalism and national identity politics of the modern nation-state. Since the late nineteenth century, sport has contributed to several nation-building processes and independence movements. Therefore, political implication of sport should not be underestimated.

1-3-3 Sporting Nationalism in the Global Era

It is difficult deny that sport and politics, and nationalism in particular, has a close relationship, no matter these relations are viewed positively or negatively. During international sport competitions the feeling of nationalism seems
overwhelming. Inherent nationalistic characteristics of international sport, such as a national symbol, a national flag, a national anthem, and more importantly, the fact that a team and an individual player represents a particular nation or nation state, are more than enough to generate a nationalistic climate before, during and after the competition (Coakley, 2003; Maguire et al, 2002). However, international matches is not the only place in which sporting nationalism is generated, nationalistic emotions can also be found in domestic sporting practice of a particular country. Gaelic sports, such as hurling and Gaelic football, may adequately represent this dimension (Bairner, 1996, 2001). In consideration of nationalism in sport, not only is a sporting arena a place for sporting competition, but it also is a battlefield for national identity politics.

In the global era, the issue of sport and nationalism becomes a more complex topic. Many researchers have investigated sporting nationalism in relation to globalisation (Bairner, 1996, 2001; Hargreaves, 2002, Maguire, 1993a, 1994, 1999, 2004a, 2004b, Maguire et al, 1999; Maguire and Poulton, 1999, Maguire and Tuck, 1998; Rowe, 2003). There are some incompatibilities between the researchers, yet most of them would agree that globalisation does not reduce a degree of sporting nationalism. While Bairner (2001) argues that nationalism in the global sport world has become more serious then before, he, nevertheless, warns that the particular context of the nation must be considered in order to draw a more accurate picture of nationalism in sport in the global era.

Global sporting events such as Olympic Games offers an useful place in which a topic of sporting nationalism in the global era can be investigated. Global sporting competitions are often praised for their function that promotes global understanding by their organisers. However, critics often point out that, strictly speaking, these
events are not global events, but international games; accordingly, one can find nationalism in those events as opposed to globalism (Bairner, 2001, Rowe, 2003, Tomlinson, 1996). Tomlinson (2004), furthermore, argues that what is globalised through global sport events is not mutual understanding between members of global society, but consumption and global capitalism. In this situation, unlike their names and mottos often imply, global sporting events seem to play no positive role in building a harmonious global community. Therefore, Bairner (2001, p. xi) states that 'although the process known as globalisation has clearly had an impact on them, the relationship between sport, national identity, and nationalism remains as strong as ever'. In the same context, Rowe (2003), in his research on mega-sports events, argues that at a cultural level, sport is certainly one of the most remarkable global cultures, yet, because of sport’s competitiveness in character, it seems to stimulate nationalism at global sport contests. Thus, he concludes that paradoxically the most globalised culture has drastically encouraged ‘the repudiation of the global’.

Maguire (1999), however, states that although global sporting contests inspire nationalistic fervent, it is problematic to conclude that nationalism is the key aspect of global sports. Sociological meaning of sports in the global era is more complex than such a monolithic explanation of sports. The term global-local (or national) nexus is particularly useful in order to capture such a complex interplay between global and national identity politics in global sporting culture. The global-national nexus implies that, due to double-bind tendencies of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties of global culture, national and local identities experience the processes of transformation (Maguire, 2005). In this regards, Maguire and Falcous (2005, p 26) suggest that:

2 The Olympic Charter is a key example
Local and national identities, although sometimes represented as united, currently appear to be in a state of flux, yet, despite this, have tended to win out over other cultural sources of cultural identity. This dislocation is arguably connected to globalisation processes.

In consideration of the changes in identity politics that the processes of globalisation induce, Maguire et al (2002) suggest that the inflow of global sport cultures can strengthen, pluralize and weaken the recipients' national, cultural and local identities. In the global era, it is clear that various local and regional identities have recently emerged. These phenomena can be interpreted in two ways; strengthening identity as resistance to globalisation, and pluralizing identity as the result of globalisation (Maguire, 1999) Various sport cultural icons, such as Michael Jordan, also contribute to building a multi-cultural identity. Thus, within the nation, a national identity supersedes various cultural identities. In addition, a pan-regional identity is also observed. According to Elias (1991, p 206) within the very long-term civilising processes, ‘[t]he emergence of the European states as we-units happened gradually and in stages’. In a similar vein, even though such pan-regional identity in sport, such as pan-European identity in the Ryder Cup, is weaker than a single nation’s identity, the emergence of such an inter-continental sporting competition has a significant implication with regard to global identity politics. In consideration of this, Maguire (2004a) points out that not only are the people interested in their own cultural circumstance, but they are also increasingly being aware of the growing integration of the world.

In the global sport arena, nationalism and national identity is still the most influential identity. However, the recent development of global sports also shows pluralized forms of identity as well as a weakened national identity. This implies that multiple dynamic of identity politics is working in the global era. Therefore, in order
to paint a more accurate picture of national identity issues in the global sport arena, the global-national nexus must be taken into account.

1.4 The Global Media Sport Complex

It is widely acknowledged that the media, especially television and the Internet, have an enormous effect on building a global society. Few would disagree that, although globalisation is not a new phenomenon, its recent phases have been fuelled by a dramatic development in media and communication technology (Giddens, 2001). The globalisation of sport is no exception. Without the media, it is difficult to imagine the current global sport culture that we experience today (Maguire, 1999, Miller et al, 2001). For instance, the media make it possible for people all around the world to watch global sport events such as the Olympic Games simultaneously. In addition, global sport stars could not be widely recognised without the media. Put simply, the media facilitate the advance of global sport culture.

The importance of the media in the current global society is well recognised. McLuhan (1964) declares that the media is an extension of the human sensory system, and that understanding media means understanding society. Real (1996) also stresses relations between media and society and exclaims that ‘after we create them [media], they create us’ (p. 16). With regard to sport, there is an increasing tendency for people to consume sport through the media rather than at the stadium (Blain and Boyle, 2002). To understand media sport in relation to wider cultural and social commodities, and globalisation, three key areas can be identified; these are media institutions or organisations including ownership of global media companies, the
meaning of global media sport contents, and media consumers or audiences (Goldlust, 1987; Jhally, 1989a; Maguire, 1999, 2004a; Wenner, 1998).

To distinguish these complex relations, the term ‘global media sport complexes’ is used (Maguire, 2004a). The term implies a broad, holistic view of the relations within the global media sport which consist of the production, the content and the consumption. This section is designed to provide a systematic review of the relationships between the media, sports and society in relation to globalisation with a specific reference to the global media sport complex. Particular attention will be paid to figurational perspective in order to discern a clearer insight into the global media sport complexes (Maguire, 1991, 2004a).

1-4-1 the Production Processes

The media sport coverage is not a neutral programme. Instead, it is the result of a complex nexus between sport organisations, advertising companies and media groups. Maguire (1991, 1993) and Jhally (1989a) define these relationships as the media sport production complex, and Whannel (1986) and Rowe (1999) designate this nexus as respectively ‘the unholy alliance’ and ‘the unruly trinity’. As the term media sport production complex implies, these three key groups, sport organisations, sponsors, and media conglomerates, are so closely interrelated that without an understanding the characteristics of each group, the complex cannot be fully explained. Thus, it is appropriate to examine each area of the complex respectively, and to show the way in which they are interconnected.
The mass media has changed both the income resources of sport organisations and the power relations between the organisations and the media. Traditionally, sport organisations earned their income from various sources, such as gate revenue, membership fees, grants, television rights, and sponsorship. However, with the expansion of global sport markets and the increasing media coverage of sports (Whannel, 1986), and a decline in traditional resources such as spectator receipts and patronage (Dunning, 1999), the revenue from other sources has become relatively smaller compared with that from broadcasting rights and sponsorship. With regard to the Olympics, Real (1989a, 1996) describes this tendency:

In the 1960s, television revenues quickly replaced Olympic ticket sales as the principle source of income from the games. In 1960, television provided only 1 of every 400 dollars of the cost of hosting the Summer Olympics. In 1972, 1 of every 50 dollars was from television; in 1980, 1 of every 15 dollars; and by 1984, 1 of every 2 dollars of Olympic host costs were paid for from television revenues (1996, p. 14).

Because sport organisations rely on the media and sponsorship as the main income source, and because the global expansion of the sport market is almost impossible without the media, they have little or no control over how and which sport events are dealt with by the media (Goldlust, 1987, Miller et al, 2001). This tendency results in the dependent character of the sport organisations on media conglomerates (Wenner, 1998). However, it can be argued that this tendency is not always the case and the degree of dependency differs in various sports (Maguire, 1999). These power relations will be examined later in this chapter.

Not only do sport organisations include institutions such as IOC, FIFA, NFL, and NBA, but they also refer to umbrella organisations such as the organising Committee for the Olympic Games or NBA marketing team.
This dependence of sports on the media also affects the structure of sports itself. To attract media interest, sport, mainly at men's elite level, has been commodified and transformed into an entertaining style (Boyle and Haynes, 2000; Coakley, 2003; Gruneau, 1989, Maguire, 1991). Moreover, highly traditional aspects of sport have disappeared and sports have become dominated by media interests (Stead, 2003). English football, for instance, was once a Saturday afternoon ritual, but it has developed into an almost daily event in accordance with the media schedule, and English rugby league, traditionally a winter sport, has now become a summer Super League following the request from the media (Falcous, 1998; Stead, 2003).

The pressure from the media has also changed the rules of sport, and adapted them to suit commercial interest (Maguire, 1991; Rowe, 1999). Various time breaks in professional basketball and American football in the United States have been adopted in order to broadcast commercial advertisements during the game. The development of the one-day or 20.20 match in cricket in England is also a typical example of this. In addition, in the FIFA World Cups of 1984 and 1996, which were held on the North American continent, most of the games were played at the hottest time of the day so that the live games were telecasted during the evening time in Europe (Boyle and Haynes, 2000). Taking into account such issues it seems to be apparent that, whether it is beneficial or harmful for sport itself, sport organisations both influence and are influenced by the media.

1-4-1b Media Interest in Sport

Media interest in sport is mainly derived from the time and cost efficiency of media sport products. Compared with other media programmes, such as drama,
documentary and news, media sport products cost relatively less money to generate, and attract larger audiences (Maguire, 1991, Stead, 2003). Moreover, media sport attracts more desirable and targeted audiences than other media products at a global level (Bellamy, 1998). Media coverage of the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics, for instance, guarantees a considerable amount of airtime and a substantial number of audience. This fact implies that, by exploiting media sport programmes, a media company, especially a television company, can attract more commercial advertisements from sponsoring companies, which generates huge revenue for media corporations. Moreover, the cable and satellite television companies can increase the number of subscribers through broadcasting a major sport event (Boyle and Haynes, 2000). Thus, for the media companies, sports is one of the most effective means of expanding their market. Indeed, Rupert Murdoch, the owner of 'News Corporation' refers to sport as 'battering ram' into new markets (Miller et al, 2001).

It should not be ignored that the broadcasting of major or popular sporting events can serve to improve the media company’s image. In addition to the profit from selling an audience rate to advertisers, an elevation of brand image by exclusive broadcasting major sporting events, such as the Olympic Games and Premier League Soccer, is the key a rationale to the media company for taking part in the media sport production complex (Bellamy, 1998). In the 1980s, the case of Channel 4 in the United Kingdom was a typical example of this (Maguire, 1990). Moreover, telecasting major regular sporting events, such as NBA basketball or NFL football, can build and increase audience loyalty for the media corporation which is a crucial asset to evaluate the television company (Bellamy, 1998).

This situation has led to competition for exclusive coverage of major global sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics. Hence, media
companies usually offer huge sums of money to sport organisations in order to secure exclusive broadcasting rights. Examining escalating broadcasting right fees for the summer Olympic Games highlights this tendency. In 1980, the NBC offered over US$72 million for the exclusive broadcasting rights of the Moscow Games. By 1995, the NBC, again, proposed US$894 million for US broadcasting rights of the 2008 Olympic Games even though, at that time, the venue had not been decided (Rowe, 2000). In addition, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation offered US$1 billion to the International Olympic Committee for exclusive global broadcasting rights and threatened to launch another global sport event if they failed to earn that right (Rowe and McKay, 1999). These two examples are enough to indicate the importance of sport coverage to the media groups.

Although exclusive broadcasting rights can secure the interests of media groups, it is insufficient to attract audiences; the media need to represent or reconstruct sporting events in order to make the events more interesting. The media do not broadcast sport crudely but they reconstruct sport using various strategies, such as a narrative construction and audio-visual representation (Gruneau, 1989; Maguire et al, 2002; Rowe; 1999; Stead, 2003; Whannel, 1984). Birrell and Loy (1979) point out five types of visual effect of media sport. That is, media sport changes the size of the image and permits a wider range of vision; concentrates time-diffused events into more controllable time spans, manipulates time to dramatise the play; focuses on one particular action, and lastly, provides more statistical information on the sport. In addition to this, Whannel (1992) suggests three transformations of sport by the media: spectacularisation, dramatisation and personalisation. Following Whannel (1992), Stead (2003) explains that spectacularisation entails the media adding 'variety, colour, and impact, to enhance the entertainment element and to provide a wealth of material
for 'big build-up' to the event' (p 195). Dramatisation means that 'the media professionals set up story lines around the sporting event and the individuals involved' (p 196) Personalisation refers to how 'individual sportpeople are highlighted, built up and examined, often in great detail' (p 196). It is believed that these transformations of sport enhance its commercial value, attract a larger audience and increase sponsorships from commercial companies.

1-4-1c Sponsorship from the Commercial Sector

Sponsorship can be likened to a contemporary version of patronage, but its fundamental motivation is commercial interest (Whannel, 1986). Within symbiotic relations between sports, the media and a commercial company, the role of the company which subsidises various sport events should not be ignored In fact, large portion of capital that is circulating within the media sport complex is from the commercial companies (McRury, 2002). With regard to this Jhally’s (1989b, p 79) explains that ‘the sport industry has become dependent upon the media, the media in turn derive their revenues for the purchase of sports broadcast rights from advertisers who wish to reach the audiences that watch sport’ (p. 79). However, it does not mean that the sponsor acquires the greatest power within the complex, because it also relies on sports and the media to promote its product and improve its image amongst the public (Coakley, 2003).

There are various reasons why commercial companies support sport By sponsoring major sporting competition, a company can acquire or increase its public profile. attaining positive image of the company and making positive impression of products and services that it provides upon the audiences. Especially as high-profile
sporting events can be telecasted globally, many transnational companies tend to invest huge amounts of money into such sporting competitions (Maguire et al, 2002; Miller et al, 2001). Moreover, the unique image of the sport and its connexion with the image and with a particular product of the company, can also be a factor in sponsoring the sport event (Boyle and Haynes, 2000). In relation to the media and sport, Rowe (1999) argues that when the producer supports sport it can generate a unique link to consumers as well as other forms of loyalty related to a particular commercial product. He further asserts that this sponsorship would produce a more intense loyalty when the sponsor is connected to the media image because the media generally promotes a commodity in a more attractive and seductive way. In relation to the above arguments, Whannel (1986) outlines three main criteria for sport sponsorship. These are: 'the ability of a sport to attract media coverage, the link between the sponsor and sponsored regarding the product, the product image or the corporate image; and, the demographic profile of participants or spectators of the activity' (pp. 203-204). When these conditions are fulfilled, sponsorship is galvanised.

The case of cigarette advertising at sport events provides an excellent example of this. When the British government banned cigarette commercials on television, cigarette firms exploited sport events as an alternative source for promotion. In 1966, these firms spent less than £1 million on sport sponsorship, but by 1980, the amount of sponsorship reached around £46 million (Howell, 1983). Furthermore, in his research on the 'touch down' of American football in England, Maguire (1990) asserts that in conjunction with the media, Channel 4 and the sport organisation, NFL, the role of commercial sponsor from Anheuser Busch was important in developing American football in England in 1980s. At that time, the Anheuser Busch Company established the Budweiser League in order not only to develop the American football market, but
also to promote its product, beer. By this marketing strategy through sports and its media version, the company increased sales of Budweiser. In sum, the importance of sport sponsorship and advertising cannot be ignored within the media sport production complex, and a type of symbiotic relationship between them has developed.

**1-4-1d Media Sport Production Processes as Figurations**

With regard to the media sport production complex, several questions arise; do the media dominate and manipulate sports so that a sport loses its autonomy? Does sport wholly depend on media? And, does sponsorship from commercial companies turn sports into commercial events and, thus, eliminate its alleged essence, such as fair play? Some Marxists would say ‘yes’ to each of these questions. Gruneau (1989), Hargreaves (1986) Rowe (1999), and Whannel (1986) also point out the problems that are generated from commercial interests. Miller at al’s (2001) explanation of the media sport complex mistakenly stresses undirectional power relations within the complex despite correctly indicating various elements of the global media sport complex. Their arguments provide a useful guideline in understanding the global media sport production complex. However, they overlook an important concept that is crucial. That is, the fact that the global media sport production complexes must be understood as figurations Maguire’s (1990) analysis on the development of American football in England gives a fruitful example. In his essay, Maguire (1990) asserts that the ‘touchdown’ of gridiron in England cannot be solely explained by economic factors, but should be understood as intended action and unintended consequences of various figurations.
The first pitfall of much early research on media sport is its overt economic determinism or, at least, overemphasis on commercial interest. However, as social relations consist of figurations, any single or a few crucial elements cannot determine the whole structure of relations. It may be possible to determine in the short-term process, but in the long-term, society is in flux and thus difficult to structure following one’s intention because of the interdependency of various figurations. For Elias (1970/1978: p.15) ‘people [who live in the world] make up webs of interdependence or figurations of many kinds, characterized by power balances of many sorts, such as families, schools, towns, social strata, or states’. The sport media product complex is no exception and provides an intriguing example of a figuration in flux. It is true that, to some degree, sport depends on the media and sponsorship to operate sport organisations and hold various events. However, it is also true that the media and commercial companies need sport, whatever purpose they intend. Therefore, the constituent elements of the media sport production complex are interdependent with each other. Cigarette advertisements during sport events highlight this interdependency. Moreover, because some sport events attract huge global audiences, the media are eager to broadcast the event as the audience’s gaze leads to various advertisement contracts, which bears a considerable amount of profit. By exploiting major and popular sport events as advertisement boards, the sponsorship groups, usually commercial companies, can effectively promote their services and products. Thus, the companies profit from sponsorship. During this process, it is obvious that sport organisations also gain: increasing their financial revenue and enhancing a profile of respective sport. In consideration of this, it is clear that there exists complicate interdependency chains within the media sport production complex. Hence, the production process must be understood as a series of figurations.
There is another pitfall when we examine the media sport production complex. That is, the concept of power. It is generally understood that, due to unbalanced power relations, the media are able to control and manipulate sport events. Various changes of rules and game schedules seem to confirm this assumption. However, as Elias (1978) points out, although the power balance is unequal, every type of social agency has a degree of power. It is valuable to quote what Elias (1970/1978) says about power:

Balances of power are not only to be found in great arena of relations between states . . . They form an integral element of all human relationships . . . It must also be borne in mind that power balances . . . are bi-polar at least, and usually multi-polar. . . The master has power over his slave, but the slave also has the power over his master, in proportion to his function for his master. . . In relationships between parents and infants, master and slave, power chances are distributed very unevenly. But whether the power differentials are large or small, balances of power are always present wherever there is functional interdependence between people. (p. 74)

Thus, it is evident that sport organisations, to some degrees, maintains their power against the media institution within the media sport production process. Moreover, it is not always the case that the media can manipulate sports. In the case of major popular sport events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics, sports officials have more power than media personnel in that such events are so popular that many media companies bid for securing the right to broadcast. In this situation, the sport organisations can have more power than the media because they can choose which company broadcasts the event. Transferring the right to screen the 2005 Oxford and Cambridge boat race from the BBC to ITV provides a useful example of this (Wells and Cross, 2004). In summary, it is important to stress that the media sport production complexes can be viewed as figurations, and that even though power ratio
are unequal, different elements of the complex have some power to influence the pattern of interdependence.

1-4-2 The Media Sport Content

It is controversial whether messages rendered through global media sport will result in building a homogenised global sport culture or not (Maguire, 2004a). However, it is difficult to deny that, to a degree, global media sports tend to reflect a certain group’s or a particular nation’s interest (Whannel, 1992). The logic of Americanisation or westernisation of global sport culture may have emerged under the biased circumstance of the global media sport cultural complex (Jackson and Andrew, 1999). Because many interest groups, mostly from the dominant hierarchy of global societies, are complexly interconnected with each other, it is inevitable that the ideas and ideologies of interest groups are reflected and represented in the process of producing global media sport (Andrews, 1997). Thus, ‘media sport texts are carefully crafted and engineered’ in respect to dominant groups’ interests (Kinkema and Harris, 1998, p 28). These types of representation are mainly delivered through texts of a media sport report, commentaries of media sport personnel, and visual representation of athletes in form of both photos and moving images (Boyle and Haynes, 2000; Rowe, 2004)

Amongst the ideas and ideologies which are spread through the media sport content, inequality of racial and gender relations, underpinning of the capitalist system, and reinforcement of national identity have been mostly highlighted by researchers (Boyle and Haynes, 2000, Clarke and Clarke, 1982; Gruneau, 1989; Hargreaves, 1986; Kinkema and Harris, 1998; Maguire; 1999, 2004a; Stead, 2003,
Rowe, 1999). However, a dissemination of ideology is, as Althusser (1977) points out, a profoundly unconscious and indirect process rather than an apparently direct infusion. In relation to the unconscious injection of social ideology, media sport can easily be exploited as a type of propagandism because sport seems to be generally understood as insulated from the rest of social life, separated from matters of power and politics, and maintained in a more or less neutral position (Jhally, 1989). In fact, as Espy (1979) asserts, sport is a highly political activity in both institutional and practical dimensions, and cannot be separated from a wider social context. Thus, its mediated version also cannot escape from that situation. In this section, I will examine how social and political ideologies are reflected and represented through various media sport texts and discourse. Special attention will be given to two areas, namely, global capitalist ideology and national identity which are relevant to this research project. Before exploring the various fields of media sport contents, one must consider that, although some areas can be distinguished according to their own topics, these messages are not completely isolated problems but more or less interconnected with each other, and these ideas are comprehensively exploited in order to maintain the status quo.

1-4-2a Commercialism and Capitalist Ideology in the Media Sport Content

One major ideology that is represented and celebrated through media sport at a global level is the virtue of capitalist or neo-liberalist regime (Jhally, 1989b, Maguire, 2004a). In relation to capitalist ideas in sport, Hargreaves (1986) points out similar features between modern sports and rationalised industrial production. According to him, both institutions are characterised by ‘a high degree of specialisation and...
standardisation, bureaucratised and hierarchical administration, long-term planning, increase reliance on science and technology, a drive for maximum productivity, a qualification of performance and an alienation of both the producer and consumer' (p 41). In media sport content, these types of ideas are reinforced Lawrence and Rowe (1986) reveal, in their research on television cricket commentary, that media sport supports the capitalist production system, an acceptance of capitalist values, the myth of upward mobility, and a conversion people's attention from social problems under capitalism. For instance, during the broadcasting of a sport event, quantification of specialised performance is highlighted, and coaches or managers are described as if they make all important decisions. These depictions are understood as celebrating capitalist labour process (Jhally, 1989b).

Spreading capitalist ideology through media sport is also closely related to consumerism or the commercialisation of global sport culture. These commodification tendencies can be easily seen in any sport text. Advertisements and corporate sponsorships have become usual elements of any sport event, and especially in media sport, those commercials are so prevalent that they seem to be essential features (Kinkema and Harris, 1998). In addition, sport stars are often described as commodities by media texts. Sport commentators or journalists frequently depict athletes' talent in terms of monetary values, and portray them as coveted objects (Duncan and Brummett, 1989) Throughout these commercialised circumstances, the emergence of mammonism is inevitable, and thus capitalist market systems are reaffirmed. In other words, the commercialisation of sport tends to decrease the value of sport to only its monetary exchange value, and is apt to ignore the aesthetic and historical meaning of sport (Real 1996) Thus, Hoch (1972) warns that this commercialisation of sport will make sport a servant that works for capitalist interests
In this context, Stead (2003) declares that ‘it is not surprising therefore that sport, particularly as it has become increasingly commercialised, has been seen by the media ownership as a site for promulgating capitalist values and interest’ (pp 192-193).

Competitive individualism and teamwork that can be propagated through media sport are also basic elements of a capitalist society (Kinkema and Harris, 1998). In capitalist societies, especially highly developed western countries, the competitiveness of sport is regarded as a virtue of the society, and sports are exploited as practices that reproduce dominant values of achievement and success. Therefore, victory in sport stresses the capitalist labour process, and during this practice, competitive individualism and teamwork are underscored (Lalvani, 1994).

Competitive individualism is emphasised by highlighting the personal qualities that are required to achieve a victory. In media sport texts, a considerable number of reports concentrate on individual players rather than teams or groups (Duncan and Brummett, 1987), and various media production techniques and commentaries are employed to highlight and reinforce this personalised code. This code of personalisation indicates that success or failure in any sport relies solely on character. In turn, the individual is responsible for the result; the person who works hard and utilises appropriate skills can reach the status of a winner, but an individual who fails to be a victor is regarded as an inappropriate and lazy person. This type of praise and blame is a typical example of the capitalist ideology according to which high-achieving labour forces are required in order to be winners in capitalist society (Kinkema and Harris, 1998).

Teamwork can be defined as ‘obedience to authority, maintaining loyalty to the group and placing the good of the group above individual interest’ (Kinkema and Harris, 1998). In his study on the Major League Baseball player, Nolan Ryan, Trujillo
(1994) argues that the pitcher is described as a team player. Self-sacrifice, obedience, and loyalty are also part of the essential characteristics in maintaining a capitalist community. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the media sport content deliberately reflects capitalist ideology

1-4-2b Nationalism in the Media Sport Content

Nationalistic expressions are central elements in the media sport coverage (Boyle and Haynes, 2000; Hargreaves, 1986). In fact, the media may be the most effective tools for constructing and reproducing nationalism. For instance, the media content often reflects nations' political and cultural perspective, especially when they mediate international affairs to the people (Richards, 2000; Rosie et al, 2004). In respect to this, it is useful to identify nationalistic characteristics of the media in general before addressing issues in sports and the media.

The ways in which the media reinforce and reproduce national identity vary. Among these ways, two distinctive forms are worth examining; 'domestication' of media reporting and 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995; Cohen et al, 1996). Domestication of media reporting is understood as a representation and interpretation of incidents or events from a nation-centred perspective (Cohens et al, 1996). International events are often delivered through a national prism to the audience. Thus, politically or culturally mobilised nationalism is often expressed in a manifest manner. By contrast, banal nationalism, as the term 'banal' implied, indicates that a common discourse that appears in the media also involves nationalistic dimension. In other words, it implies that 'a great deal of nationalist practice is embedded in the ritual and practices of everyday life' (Schlesinger, 2000, p. 105). Thus, nationalism is featured...
in a discursive way. These two forms of representing nationalism in the media need to be spelt out in detail.

The media often reinforce national identity by representing a certain event in a nationalistic fashion (Higson, 2002, Richards, 2000). Media personnel both intentionally and unintentionally add a national value and ideology to its ‘raw material’. Consequently, it is often found that the media from different countries mediate the same events differently in accordance with their own national interest. All these processes are part of the ‘domestication’ of media reporting (Cohen et al, 1996, Lee et al, 2000). The domestication process is especially apparent as the media from various nations mediate international news events. Thus Lee et al (2000, p. 295) argue that ‘the same event may be given distinct media representations by various nations through the prisms of their dominant ideologies as defined by power structures, cultural repertoires and politico-economic interests’.

Stimulating nationalistic emotion is one of the key effects of domestication. In order to successfully domesticate media events and disseminate nationalism through them, the media often exploit the nation’s history and its national character which Elias (1996) called the national ‘habitus codes’ (Dayan and Katz, 1992; Maguire and Poulton, 1999). Moreover, Dayan and Katz (1992) stress that not only do the media reproduce and reinforce nationalism by adding national history to the media event, but they also generate and shape collective memories. In other words, the media rewrite national history. They also stress that the media often proclaim that a certain type of event is historical, and, in so doing, ‘[the media] has entered into competition with historian for the role of chronicler of the present and interpreter of the past’ (Dayan and Katz, 1988, p. 104). Consequently, the media define ‘what should be labelled historic and, how it should be told, and what it means’ (Dayan and Katz, 1988, p. 104).
By adopting historical accounts and framing historical perspectives, the media intentionally and unintentionally engender a common national boundary.

However, it can be problematic to assume that members of a particular society all agree with a certain nationalistic ideology; in fact, the opposite situation is more likely to be true at least in a democratic society (Lee et al, 2000). The collapse of mutual consensus in one society under nationalism has been fanned by a global influx of culture and ideology. In this circumstance national media institutions tend to preserve a conservative value of society, and they are likely to domesticate the global media event in favour of nationalist ideology (Gitlin, 1980). In that sense, the domestication of global events is seen as the opposite pole of globalisation of the media (Cohen et al, 1996). Therefore, nationalistic, and sometimes jingoistic expressions of the news events, including sport reports, are used in order to strengthen and reinforce national identity in response to the globalisation process.

Unlike the obvious and sometimes jingoistic way of nationalism, Billig (1995) argues that nationalist ideas are so pervasive in our life that such banality of nationalistic expression is barely noticeable. According to him:

Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, enhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable (Billig, 1995, p 93)

As Renan (1882/1994, p. 17) points out, borrowing his term, ‘the existence of a nation is an everyday plebiscite’. It indicates that without an individual possessing a common life, a history of the nation will end or be replaced. Thus, the reproduction of nationalism is essential. Banal nationalism is especially effective in reproducing it. In the media, small words from personal pronoun such as ‘I’, ‘our’, ‘you’, and ‘we’ to
indicators of time and place such as today, now, here, and there discursively denote the deictic centre of a nation. With regard to this, Maguire and Poulton (1999) explain that:

I/we identities are constructed through discursive practices and practical actions, both of which often have an unacknowledged affective component. The familiar, the taken-for-granted, the daily unnoticed actions bind us to a particular I/we identity ... The deepening and consolidation of an I/we feeling is also a double bind, a cognition/sentiment which enables us to 'share' things in common with others like 'us', but also acts to separate 'us' from 'them' (Maguire and Poulton, 1999, p. 20).

In addition, the distinction between home and international news, which distinguishes an incident happens inside of our nation from the news which occurs outside of the nation, also remind the people of their national identity. Moreover, in newspapers, an economy section is about the economy of the nation, even if the title of the section is printed as just 'economy' and not the nation's economy. When the people read or watch news through the media, therefore, they unconsciously assume that they are citizens of the nation. Thus, this banality of nationalist ideas in the media well works in reproducing nationalism without using coercive means (Billig, 1995; Rosie et al, 2004).

This banality of nationalism, especially using personal pronouns, as a means of distinguishing the 'established and outsider', and of asserting national identity, is also stressed by Elias (1991, 1994, 1996). As he indicates:

The love for one's nation is never only a love for persons or groups of whom one says 'you'; it is always also the love of a collectivity to which one can refer as 'we'. Whatever else it may be, it is also a form of self-love. ... The image of the nation experienced by an individual who forms part of that nation, therefore, is also a constituent of that person's self image. The virtue, the value, the meaningfulness of the nation are also his or her own (Elias, 1996, pp. 151-152)
In his book *The Germans* Elias (1996) declares that the nation and the individual are not totally separate entities but that are linked to each other. In other words, 'we-image' as nation and 'I-image' as individual are complementary concepts. Therefore, as Billig (1995) argues, personal pronouns used by the mass media easily indicate one’s nation without a specific reference of the nation.

In relation to sport coverage, the elements of national identity can be easily found. Researchers point out that media sport is an arena for nationalism (Maguire, 1999, Rowe et al, 1998), and Whannel (2000) goes further, and declares that ‘media representations of sport inevitably involve the production of image of national identities’ (p. 300). Jhally (1989a) reveals that nationalistic emotions are reinforced by media commentators who use terms such as ‘we’ or ‘they’ because “we” are separated from “them” the foreigners, through the use of stereotypical representation. “They” are different from us culturally and psychologically’ (p 84) Maguire et al. (1999), in their research on media coverage of the 1996 European Football championship, clarify that media sport text often reawaken ‘sleeping memories’. For instance, when England played against Germany, media personnel exploited historical metaphors to depict the game. Media coverage of the Olympic Game is also exploited in various ways in order to confirm one’s national identity. Tomlinson (1996) discovered that media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies consisted of nationalistic elements of the host countries. From a different point of view, Real (1998) explains that ‘when a national broadcaster buys Olympic rights … the national service may add its own commentator and then may transmit live or may edit and transmit on a delayed basis. It is “designer” television in which the original event becomes customised for each of scores of different audiences’ (p. 23) During this
process, as Whannel (2000) points out, it is inevitable that the original broadcast becomes decorated with nationalistic expressions.

As such, the domestication of news reports, banal nationalism and nationalistic representation of sporting event are the three distinctive ways of reproducing nationalism and national identity. It is not difficult to find media texts, which involve such a nationalistic ideology. However, the current nationalism in the media must be understood as related to globalisation. Thus, as discussed in earlier sections on globalisation and nationalism, a national identity can either be strengthened, weakened or pluralized in the face of global cultural flows (Maguire and Poulton, 1999). Research into the South Korean media representation of 2004 Athens Olympic Games will provide interesting insights regarding issues in globalisation and national identity politics in a sporting context.

1-4-3 The Media Sport Consumption

Research on media consumers and their behaviour is important in understanding relations between the media and society. Without knowledge of the audience it is difficult to comprehend the meaning of a media product in the society because it is not the sender of messages but the receiver of them who gives meaning to the media text (Kinkema and Harris, 1998). However, the masses' ability to interpret the media message is somewhat controversial. For instance, Fiske (1987) indicates that media messages are open to a variety of interpretations following audiences' preferences. On the other hand, Condit (1989), for example, argues that media consumers are manipulated by the ideological nature of media messages. In this section, the audience's recognition of media sport will be examined.
As discussed earlier, the content of the media sport often exploited as a vehicle for spreading dominant social ideologies. Although we have confirmed that media texts are replete with dominant ideologies, crucial questions remain. That is whether the media consumers are simply manipulated by media sport producers or they have an ability to interpret the messages according to their socio-cultural circumstances. In the context of globalisation, whether the local consumers simply receive global sport culture or they reinterpret the media sport in accordance with the local taste appears to be a key research areas. This section will pay attention to these issues.

To understand this complex relation between media text and an audience, the term ‘subject position’ provides some useful insights. ‘Subject position refers to the manner in which audiences are “positioned” to interpret a particular text. Texts, because of their ideological nature, invite preferred readings which in turn encourage the formation of particular subject positions rather than others’ (Kinkema and Harris, 1998, p 49). Thus, the media message producers and senders who are, in general, dominant and vested interest groups of society, can manipulate the audience. On the other hand, Duncan and Brummett (1993) reveal that although the text contains ideological contents, the audience can read this text in an oppositional way. In their study of mediated versions of NFL football, which consists of various masculine or patriarchal ideologies, they discover many female audiences abandon this preferred subject position and maintain a subversive subject position.

Similar contrasts can be discerned regarding the skilled consumers and cultural dupes debate (Maguire, 1999). Marcuse (1964/2002), in his famous book ‘One-dimensional man’, argued that human beings are free and have creative subjectivity. However, as capitalism and technology has developed, with the manipulation of these ideas through mass communication, people are losing their individuality and
creativity, and have become objects of conformity. On the other hand, Thompson (1988) rejects the cultural dupe argument, and argues that

The messages transmitted by the mass media are received by specific individuals in definite social-historical contexts. These individual actively interpret and make sense of these messages and relate them to other aspects of their lives. This ongoing appropriation of media messages is an inherently critical and socially differentiated process. There are systematic variations in their appropriation of media messages, variations which are linked to socially structured differences within the audience (pp. 365-366).

In a similar vein, Hall (1980) suggests that encoding and decoding models are more useful in explaining the ideological character of media texts and the actual interpretation of the texts by audiences. During the process of media production, namely the encoding process, an ideological worldview is added to media texts. These processes, however, are not a direct or manifest reflection of the dominant worldview, but are more likely to be an indirect or subtle way of representation of dominant ideology. On the other hand, in the decoding process, Hall (1988) argues that media consumers are likely to generate different interpretations, depending on their cultural, educational, historical and social background. Thus, readings of media texts can vary.

By similar logic, the local audiences consume global media sport following their socio-cultural context. As Maguire (2004a, pp. 7-8) indicates, 'global media sport product may be resisted, misunderstood, and/or 'recycled', and thus be subject to a process of hybridization'.

Sport studies which adopt cultural studies research methods also have a tendency to see media sport audiences as skilled consumers (Hargreaves, 1986). Fiske (1987) also argues that television audiences read the same media contents differently depending on their social and cultural environment. Duncan and Brummett's (1993)
research revealed that female audiences see mediated versions of NFL football in an oppositional way against its preferred meaning. However, Maguire (1999) points out that ‘Though we are dealing with ‘skilled’ . consumption, people are relatively unaware of how such choices are structured by both global cultural struggles and by the media-sport complex’ (p 157). Whannel (2000) also warns that although media research tends to provide evidence of an active audience, it can be too simple to conclude that every audience is categorised as a skilled and informed consumer within a complex media sport complex. Thus, as Kinkema and Harris (1998) point out, researchers who study the media sport consumer should examine the whole picture of media sport complex in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the audience.

In sum, while the fact that media sport has been performing a critical role in building global sport culture is widely acknowledged, characteristics of the global media sport culture are controversial (Maguire, 2004a, Miller et al, 2001). In order to examine the characteristic of global media sport, a more holistic picture of the global media complex is required (Jhally, 1989a, Maguire, 2004a; Rowe, 1999) This intricate global media sport phenomenon, therefore, is recognised as media sport complexes. Further, the complexes are divided into three sub-categories They are product, culture, and consumption complexes While it is worth seeing each of the sub-dimensions independently in that each complex consists of intricate relations, it must be remembered that they are also closely interdependent with each other. For instance, the cultural dimension cannot be fully understood without insight into the production complex and vice versa. In addition, the consumption complex should be linked to other two complexes in order to produce valuable meanings.
1-5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have reviewed three main topics of this research projects: globalisation, nationalism and the media. In this final section, I will firstly offer a summary of the literature. Then, the linkage between the theoretical and conceptual issues discussed here and the key research questions of this project will be made. In terms of globalisation, specific attention has paid to the very long-term processes of globalisation which involve various, and sometimes contradictory dimensions. From this point of view, globalisation processes are not manipulated by a few powerful factors such as economic and political actors. In conceptualising globalisation, therefore, deterministic and unidirectional perspectives which can be summarised as the globalist and traditionalist standpoints should be avoided. While such theories can explain the current economic relations between countries, and a temporal domination of certain cultural aspects, they tend to concentrate on the present issues and on particular points of globalisation and, as a result, cannot see broad and long-term characteristics of globalisation.

In contrast to such deterministic theories, figurational sociological theory offers useful conceptual underpinnings in investigating globalisation. Figurational sociologists understand the globalisation process as a part of the long-term global civilising processes in flux which implies diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties of global culture, including global sport. Moreover, a figurational concept of the power more adequately represents the relative characteristics of power between social actors which are complexly interdependent with each others. Based on power relations, the established and outsider relations model provide a key insight into the current globalisation process in flux.
The development of global sport culture confirms the figurational underpinning of globalisation. Although most modern sport forms emerged in the western cultural context, these are now played all over the world. However, this does not mean that western cultural aspects have won over other cultural traditions. Some Asian countries exploit western sport forms as a means of strengthening national identity in the global sport area by defeating their former colonisers. Often, such western sport cultures are modified in accordance with the socio-cultural context of the local countries. In other cases, because of globalisation, some Asian and African sport cultures are imported to the western society. Therefore, rather than being universalised, global sport culture becomes pluralized.

Nationalism was also discussed in relation to globalisation. The modernist approach stresses that the nation is a product of modernity, thus, is invented and imagined. Moreover, the development of the nation has so dramatically changed human society that it is unlikely to disappear in the global era unless revolutionary change occurred in every social institution. Indeed, nationalism, as the modernists argue, is likely to be strengthened by way of resistance to globalisation. By contrast, the cosmopolitan approach disagrees with the modernist position. According to the cosmopolitan approach, the current eruption of nationalism is a temporary phenomenon. The global impetus is so influential that this ephemeral nationalism will disappear in due course, and a new cosmopolitan culture and identity will replace a nationalism and national identity.

The long-term historical approach, however, argues that neither is the nation and nationalism a product of modernism, nor is it likely to disappear. Instead, the nation stems from long-term historical development; it has a resilient vitality that overcomes global dynamics. Pointing out the problems of the deterministic
characteristics of these theories, the figurational sociological perspective offers valuable concepts. Similar to the long-term historical approach, it also stresses that the nation is the result of the long-term civilising process. However, unlike the closed-end result of the former theories, it highlights the open-ended and fluctuating characteristics of identity-politics. Therefore, nationalism and national identity politics can be strengthened and weakened as well as pluralized.

The recent unfolding of globalisation and global sport culture in particular would not have been realised without the media. The media make it possible to spread a certain sport culture rapidly, and people all around the world can experience the same sport culture simultaneously. However, the media are not simple messengers of global sport but are complex organisations that deliberately transform global sport culture in favour of particular groups and countries. To understand the characteristics of global media sport more accurately, intricately interdependent relations within the media sport complex need to be examined. Some characteristics of the global media sport complex are as follows.

Firstly, global media sport production is not solely determined by economic factors. Thus, global sport is not totally shaped and distorted by capitalistic logic. As discussed earlier, the media, sport, and commercial companies are interdependent on each other. Therefore, each element can maintain its autonomous power within the media sport production complex. Secondly, media sport texts tend to reflect a certain group's ideology, and a homogenised form of sport culture is often disseminated by the global media text. In particular, Americanised sport style is distinctive in global sport culture shaped by global media sport. In addition, gender and race biases are often discovered in media sport texts. More or less contradictorily, media sport texts also highlight national identity politics. Lastly, although the media sport text tends to
spread a certain ideology and a particular form of sport culture, the local audience can resist and reinterpret the text. Thus, both homogenisation and heterogenisation of global sport culture occur simultaneously.

In this research, a figurational approach will be used to examine South Korean nationalism and national identity politics in the global era. Attention will be paid to the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games in an attempt to reveal the way in which the media reinforce the notions of globalisation and nationalism. In this regard, the global-national nexus in the media coverage of the Games will be highlighted. In terms of South Korean nationalism the research will focus upon South Korean identity politics and its relationship to North Korea and Japan. It is necessary to introduce socio-political issues around the Korean peninsula in order to examine the topic of South Korean identity and its relation with other Asian countries. Hence, a historical account of Korea will be examined in an attempt to theorise specific characteristics of South Korean nationalism and national identity politics. Before addressing substantial research topics, however, methodological concerns of the research will be discussed in next chapter.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2-1 Introduction

The issue of research methodology is one of the core concerns of sociology. In fact, it can be argued that, from Comte’s ‘law of three stages’, and Durkheim’s ‘social fact’, to Weber’s ‘verstehen’, the history of sociology began with methodological concerns. As the question of research methodology is placed in such an important position in the realm of sociology, Silverman (1998) declares that, along with problems of social theory and social structure, a concern with methodology is part of the ‘holy trinity’ of sociological enquiry.

In spite of the long academic debate on research methodology, few consensuses have been reached between different theoretical and philosophical positions in sociology (Bryman, 2001; Williams and May 1996) For instance, in examining social phenomena, positivist empirical researchers stress that the purpose of scientific research is to discover and establish universal laws of a society in question, and that objectivity in measurement is the key element of the social research (Gunter, 2000). Therefore, natural scientific research models are mainly used, and numerical and quantifiable data are preferred by positivist researchers (Bryman, 2001; Gunter, 2000; Priest, 1996; Deacon et al, 1999).

Interpretive sociologists, in contrast, argue that there are no such universal laws, and that social practices and their meanings are subjectively constructed by human beings rather than having external realities (Burr, 2003; Silverman, 2001) Thus, those phenomena cannot be observable thorough positivistic methods (Gunter, 2000).
Therefore, these scholars suggest that by interpreting, not observing, social phenomena, embedded meanings of the practice and values of society can be found (Flick, 2002; Silverman, 2001). Indeed, qualitative data, such as written words, pictures, and conversation, are often exploited by the interpretive researchers (Marvasti, 2004).

While these two methodological paradigms provide insightful knowledge on the characteristics of research, they are mistakenly portrayed as two oppositional poles of research paradigms (Deacon et al, 1999; Silverman, 2001). The recent integration movement shows that when the two paradigms are combined, more reliable results can be discerned. In relation to the combination of positive and interpretive methodology, the figurational sociological research paradigm offers a fruitful sociological basis for bridging quantitative and qualitative research. Therefore, the figurational sociological research paradigm can be regarded as an alternative approach to the traditional methodological division.

These methodological divisions can be broadly categorised as quantitative and qualitative research methods depending on epistemological and ontological differences (Bryman, 2001; Priest, 1996). In this part of the thesis, therefore, attention will be given to the quantitative and qualitative methodological debate. Then, the figurational sociological methodology with a specific reference to the concept of involvement and detachment in social research will be outlined in order to build a bridge between the two methodologies. After that, some practical issues of media content analysis will be briefly mentioned. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis will be discussed, and the way to combine two methods will be discussed in examining Korean sporting nationalism in media coverage of the 2004 Athens summer Olympic Games.
2-2 Quantitative Research Paradigm

Quantitative research in sociology implies that every social phenomenon can be reduced to numerical form, and assumes that, in so doing, an objective and value-free result can be discerned (Bryman, 2001, Priest, 1996). This approach is based on the empiricist and rationalist tradition, and is modelled on the natural scientific research method (Littlejohn, 1983). A supporter of quantitative research believes that social reality has a distinct form that exists outside of human beings, like a physical object, and argues that universal laws of social phenomena can be discovered by trained social researchers (Deacon et al, 1999; Gunter, 2000). Quantitative researchers emphasise that, in order to be considered as scientific research, social facts must be examined on an empirical basis which involves direct observation. In addition, in many cases, although not all, they prefer recording social phenomena in terms of quantities that can be used for statistical analysis to subjective interpretation of social practice. (Deacon et al, 1999)

Positivism is one of the representative methods of quantitative research, and it provides an epistemological basis for the quantitative research paradigm. Epistemologically, positivism ‘advocates application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality’ (Bryman, 2001, p 12). Bryman (2001) further suggests five main characteristics of positivism in social research. Firstly, in order to be accepted as genuine knowledge, a phenomenon must be recognised by the senses. Secondly, knowledge discerned by scientific research must contribute to discovering and establishing universal laws. Thirdly, in order to generate a theory, a research question must be tested and explained by the universal laws. Fourthly, scientific research must be conducted in an objective manner. Thus, social researchers must
remain detached from the data collection processes in order that their personal values are not added to the data (Gunter, 2000). Finally, scientific statements must be distinguished from normative statements and beliefs. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) also indicate that the purpose of positivistic research in sociology is to reveal universal laws of society by applying the research models of natural science, which stress value-free investigation. Therefore, from a positivist perspective, the research object of sociology clearly exists outside of human beings. Indeed, social facts can be measured by scientific means. With regard to this, Littlejohn (1983) summarises epistemological concern of positivism as follows:

[positivism] treat[s] reality as distinct from the human being, something that people discover outside themselves, It [positivism] assumes a physical, knowledge reality that is self evident to the trained observer. Discovery is important in this position; the world is waiting for the scientist to find it (Littlejohn, 1983, pp. 20-1).

This epistemological position of positivism also indicates the characteristics of an ontological standpoint of quantitative research, which can be defined as objectivism. Bryman (2001) clearly defines objectivism as ‘an ontological position that social phenomena confront us as external facts that are beyond our reach or influence’ (Bryman, 2001, p 19) Therefore, social facts are independent of social actors, including social research, and can be observed and measured by adopting positivistic research methods.

When social phenomena are investigated under a quantitative research paradigm, the issues of reliability and validity cannot be ignored. Even though the qualitative research paradigm also deals with these issues, the questions of reliability and validity are mainly the overriding concerns of quantitative research (Bryman, 2001; Priest, 1996). Put simply, reliability implies that ‘repeating the same procedure would be highly likely to generate nearly the same result’ (Priest, 1996, p. 87)
Therefore, if a research question bears different results each time the question is addressed, it is considered as lacking reliability (Seale and Filmer 1998). As quantitative researchers are concerned with the objectivity of scientific research, and view the social world as an external and independent reality, they pay special attention to the reliability of social research (Bryman, 2001). The problem of reliability is closely related to another concept of social research: replicability of social research. Replicability means that once a particular research method is used in examining a certain social phenomena, the method must be replicable by other researchers who investigate similar problems (Bryman, 2001).

Validity refers to the ‘integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research’ (Bryman, 2001, p. 30). Types of validity vary, however, in quantitative research, three types of validity are often considered as research methods are designed and examined; these are measurement validity, internal validity, and external validity (Bryman, 2001, Seale and Filmer 1998, Riffe et al, 1998). Measurement validity refers to ‘the degree to which measures ... successfully indicate concepts’ (Seale and Filmer, 1998, p 134). In other words, it is concerned with whether a research measurement, such as questions on a questionnaire, really address the topic in question. Measurement validity is closely related to the reliability of research because, in a logical sense, the question of measurement validity cannot be addressed if the measurements of the research are not reliable (Bryman, 2001).

Internal validity means ‘the extent to which causal statements are supported by the study’ (Seale and Filmer, 1998, p 134). Put simply, it is mainly concerned with causal relations between the research factors in question. For instance, it asks whether a factor A really results in a phenomenon B. In quantitative research, a causal factor is called an independent variable, and an effect is known as a dependent variable.
(Bryman, 2001). However, in social research, it is difficult to say that a certain phenomenon is absolutely caused by a single factor, there can be other factors that affect the phenomenon. Therefore, when internal validity is questioned, such a simple cause and effect relation should be avoided, and multiple variables must be considered (Seale, 1998)

External validity is concerned with ‘the extent to which findings can be generalised to populations or to other settings’ (Seale and Filmer, 1998). As the purpose of quantitative research, and that of positivist philosophy in particular, is to discover a universal law of the social world, the issue of external validity is one of the key concerns in the quantitative research paradigm. For example, when social surveys are conducted, how researchers are able to construct a representative sample in order that the result of the surveys can be applied to natural social settings is one of the main concerns of social research in relation to external validity (Bryman, 2001)

While the quantitative research paradigm is widely used in much social research, it, especially its positivist philosophy, has been criticised by many social scientists (Bryman, 2001; Gunter, 2000) There are many criticisms of the quantitative research paradigm, among them, three arguments are worth introducing here. The first criticism is that quantitative researchers tend to ignore differences between social institutions and natural objects (Schutz, 1967). Unlike the positivist’s assumption that social reality is external to a human agency, the critiques argue that every social practice and their meanings are constructed by a human interaction (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003). Thus, those phenomena must be interpreted rather than being observed (Gunter, 2000).

Secondly, the critiques also argue that, unlike the natural science model, a social researcher him/herself is a part of the research object. In other words, a
sociologist is a member of the society in question. Therefore, to exclude a researcher's subjectivity is extremely difficult (Marvasti, 2004). As Weber (1949) points out, having an interest in certain issues of the society itself reflects the researcher's bias. Consequently, social research is inevitably a value-added project rather than a value-free investigation.

The third criticism is that quantitative researchers are concerned too much with instruments and procedures of research and thus, their results are less likely to be applicable to everyday situations (Bryman, 2001). In addition, measurements of research that are used for such research procedures tend to be artificial rather than natural devices. Therefore, unlike their emphasis on validity, the result of quantitative research is hardly applicable without modification (Cicourel, 1964, 1982).

On the basis of such criticisms, qualitative researchers offer a different research paradigm which stresses human interactions and a social construction of social realities. In the next section, attention will turn to the issue of the qualitative research paradigm.

2-3 Qualitative Research Paradigm

By criticising positivism and objectivism, the qualitative research paradigm provides different methods of investigating a given society. At first glance, the most distinctive difference may be the fact that qualitative research mainly deals with texts such as words, sound, photos and so forth which contain meaning while quantitative methods are concerned with data which can be counted (Bryman, 2001, Deacon et al, 1999, Newman, 1994) Apart from these external differences, however, the qualitative
research paradigm differs epistemologically and ontologically from quantitative research, and these philosophical dissimilarities are particularly noteworthy.

Unlike positivism which emphasises external reality of society, the qualitative research paradigm adopts interpretivism which stresses the fact that a social reality is socially constructed, therefore, it must be interpreted rather than being measured (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003). Fundamentally, qualitative researchers argue that the characteristics of social phenomena are essentially different to that of natural sciences; thus, the subject matters of social sciences cannot be examined by the measurements of physical sciences (Bryman, 2001) Alternatively, partisans of qualitative research offer different epistemological perspectives in understanding social phenomena Firstly, interpretative social science adopts hermeneutics, which originated from theology and is often found in the art and humanities A main focus of hermeneutics is to understand human behaviours and discover embedded meaning of human actions (Newman, 1994, Von Wright, 1971) The purpose of hermeneutics is to understand the meaning of social phenomena as well as considering the socio-cultural context in which such social actions are generated (Ritzer, 2000). In this sense, Weberian methodology gives a fruitful point in conceptualising hermeneutics. According to Weber (1949), social researchers must best attempt to understand an intention, motive, and meaning of a social action by the actor. In addition, social settings which lead the actor to such action must be understood. Under this epistemology, therefore, emphasis is placed upon the interpretative understanding of social actions rather than causal relationships between social behaviours

The second epistemological position which qualitative researchers accept is phenomenology Phenomenology is 'concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them and how in particular [...[the social scientists]
should bracket out preconceptions in his or her grasp of that world’ (Bryman, 2001, p. 14) Under this epistemology, every human being and his or her action is meaningful in understanding a given society and culture because social realities are established and constructed by people’s behaviour and their interaction (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, Goffman, 1959, Schutz, 1967). Therefore, an interpretation of the everyday situation of individual life is crucial in making sense of social phenomena.

Such epistemological understanding of qualitative research offers significant clues in conceptualising ontological issues of qualitative research. In contrast to objectivism which implies that social phenomena exist beyond individual influences, qualitative researchers recognise that human agencies construct social realities Thus, a qualitative ontological position is defined as constructionism (Bryman, 2001, Burr, 2003, Marvasti, 2004). By definition, constructionism is ‘an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors’ (Bryman, 2001). Constructionism rejects the essential characteristics of social practice (Burr, 2003) In other words, every category that social scientists employ as they distinguish various social facts is not essential feature of those facts but is, by all means, products of social interactions. (Bryman, 2001). For instance, according to the social constructionists, femininity and masculinity are not essential features of female and male, but they are socially constructed concepts (Foucault, 1976).

Based on philosophy of interpretivism and constructionism, some characteristics of qualitative research can be discerned These are subjective, relative depending on the culture and situation, and ideologically conscious In qualitative research, researchers’ subject perspective and their feelings toward a research topic play a significant role in understanding the society and culture in question (Garfinkel,
1967). Indeed, Marvasti (2004, p 5) asserts that ‘subjective interpretations are not a source of bias, instead they are considered a piece of the empirical puzzle that helps us understand how people ‘accomplish’ social reality’.

Social practices and the meaning of them vary depending on the culture and situation (Burr, 2003). Therefore, instead of discovering a universal law of social realities, qualitative researchers attempt to find out unique meanings of individual cases (Marvasti, 2004). In terms of cultural specific concepts of social science, Stearns (1995) notes that there are numerous social concepts outside of western culture that are explicitly understood by local people but cannot be translated into western languages. Indeed, if cultural and historical specificity is ignored, such concepts are barely understood by western people. In addition, in some cases, same social actions and social behaviours can be interpreted differently depending on the cultural background of people. Therefore, the relativistic character of social phenomena must be considered so that a more comprehensive understanding of society in question can be achieved.

Qualitative research is often designed in order to uncover socially embedded meanings, which are disguised as common sense in favour of a dominant group in a given society (Burr, 2003). In this sense, social research is ideological and purposive in character (Marvasti, 2001). It is in common with Weber’s (1949) argument that a research question reflects the interests of social researchers. In qualitative research, therefore, such value-laden research projects are preferred rather than being avoided as in positivistic research paradigm.

The qualitative research paradigm consists of various theories that confirm the value of research and no single theory dominates the research paradigm (Bryman 2001; Burr, 2003; Siverman, 2001). With regard to the variety of theories in
conducting social research, Feyerabend (1978, p. 295, italics in origin) declares that ‘all methodologies have their limitations and the only rule that survives is anything goes’. Gubrium and Holstein (1997), however, summarise four main theoretical perspectives in qualitative research; these are naturalism, ethnomethodology, emotionalism and postmodernism.

Firstly, naturalism refers to investigations of a social reality in natural settings, and its goal is to understand a society in its own term. Researchers usually observe the social environment, and no additional and artificial conceptualisations are appended (Bryman, 2001). Qualitative researchers believe that everyday situations offer deep insight in understanding social relations and meanings (Silverman, 2001). Thus, they prefer a natural circumstance to a controlled situation. Secondly, ethnomethodology is also concerned with a natural setting of social research, and tries to make sense of how social practices are created through talking with members of the society in question (Flick, 2002; Marvasti, 2004). Moreover, researchers occasionally become a member of the society in order that comprehensive understanding of the society can be made. Thirdly, emotionalism means to analyse a certain member of society in question, and attention is given to his or her personal biography (Bryman, 2001, Silverman, 2001). Emotionalism offers clues to understanding people’s experiences of social practices. Finally, postmodernism rejects both taken-for-granted and established ideas of a given society. This theory also stresses that all social values are relative; there is no absolute way to investigate such social phenomena (Burr, 2003; Filmer et al, 1998). Therefore, any methods that examine a society can be accepted.

Under this situation which supports the discursive and relative nature of social realities, it is hardly surprising that the concern of validity and reliability within the qualitative research paradigm is one of the controversial issues in the research
methods disciplines (Flick, 2002; LeCompte and Goetz, 1982). As a result of such subjective and ideological characteristics, the problems of reliability and validity of qualitative research are often raised by empirical and positivistic social sciences. Such problems are also contested within the qualitative research paradigm, and explicit standards to assess qualitative research projects have not yet been developed (Flick, 2002). However, Marshall and Rossman (1989) argue that reliability and validity of research cannot be measured by applying the positivistic standards in that qualitative researchers collect and analyze the data by exploiting different theoretical and philosophical standpoints to that of quantitative researchers.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that, instead of reliability and validity, the concept ‘trustworthiness’ should be adopted to assess qualitative research methods. According to them, ‘trustworthiness’ consists of four criteria, ‘credibility’, ‘transferability’, ‘dependability’, and ‘conformability’. The first one is credibility. It is somewhat similar to internal validity in quantitative research, and is assessed through ensuring that the research has been conducted following authentic processes and that the results of the research are evaluated by an established institution of the fields in question. The second criterion is ‘transferability’. This can be paralleled with external validity in the quantitative research paradigm. An important feature of this criterion is to provide a peculiarity of the research object so that a database can be generated for possible ‘transferability’ of the result in different environments. The third element which can be paralleled to reliability is ‘dependability’. This measurement requires an auditing approach that records the complete process of the research in an accessible manner. The objectivity of qualitative research can be acquired through ‘conformability’. It assumes that to reach complete objectivity is not possible in social scientific research; therefore, researchers should confirm that they have not overtly
inclined their value or theoretical bias. Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that through these criteria, qualitative research can achieve validity and reliability of findings.

Although the qualitative research paradigm is widely used in social science discipline nowadays, it cannot be accepted without problems (Silverman, 2001). In fact, many criticisms have been generated in terms of its subjectivity, and the relative credence of its research. As Bryman (2001) indicated, qualitative research relies too much on researchers’ standpoint in distinguishing which social actions are significant for the society and culture in question. In these circumstances, the result of a research project can be read as no more than an anecdotal description. In addition, its relativistic character makes qualitative research difficult both to replicate and to generalise the results (Silverman, 2001). As qualitative research is situational specific, and the social researcher is the main instrument in collecting data, the research process is not easy to replicate. Moreover, while it might be possible to explain a particular event in a certain period, those discoveries are difficult to apply to explain wider society in general (Bryman, 2001; Silverman, 2001). Therefore, when qualitative research is conducted, social researchers must be aware of such problems in order not to be entangled with some of the pitfalls of qualitative research mentioned above.

So far, the quantitative and qualitative research paradigms have been compared and contrasted. However, those two research paradigms must not be understood as two poles of the social research paradigm (Deacon et al, 1999) As Silverman (2001, p. 25) points out:

‘qualitative research’ seems to promise that we will avoid or downplay statistical techniques and the mechanics of the kinds of quantitative methods used in, say, survey research or epidemiology. The danger in the term, however, is that it seems to assume a fixed preference or predefined evaluation of what is ‘good’... and ‘bad’...research In fact, the choice
between different research methods should depend upon what you are trying to find out.

Thus, although in many cases people do, it is a mistake to regard these two research paradigms as simple dichotomous definitions. There are also many attempts to combine these paradigms into one research project in order to draw a broad map of research problems using quantitative methods, and, within the map, to try to discover in-depth meaning of the social phenomena (Deacon et al., 1999). While such integration is certainly an ideal form of research (Bryman, 2001, Deacon et al., 1999), it is a paradoxical combination when considering the epistemological and ontological difference of the two paradigms. Therefore, before the combination approach is applied to the social research project, some philosophical considerations of the integrated method are required. The figurational sociological research paradigm can provide a methodological basis for the combination of the two paradigms.

2-4 Problems of Involvement and Detachment: From a Figurational/Process Sociological Perspective

Both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms offer useful methodological underpinnings for sociological research, and can provide better understanding of our society if the two approaches are appropriately combined (Deacon et al., 1999, Silverman, 2001). Unfortunately, however, partisans of each paradigm tend to criticise each other rather than being reconciled as if the two methodologies follow two oppositional conceptualisations (Bryman, 2001; Flick, 2002). While quantitative research stresses detachment of researchers from their
research subjects, qualitative research emphasizes involvement of social scientists with the research topics in question.

As far as such dichotomous characteristics of the two methodologies are concerned, the combination of two paradigms seems to be impossible. Nevertheless, if we speculate about the methodological issues more seriously, such a strict division of two methodologies is problematic. It soon becomes apparent that a human being, as a social researcher, and, at the same time, a member of society in question, is inevitably located between involvement in and detachment from the society in question (Elias, 1987). The problem of involvement and detachment is what Norbert Elias and following figurational sociologists is concerned with in relation to the methodological issue of social research. Let me explain the figurational research paradigm in further detail.

Figurational sociologists perceive a crude distinction between structure and agency in the traditional sociology as a false dichotomy (Elias, 1978, Goudsblom, 1977; Maguire, 1988). Instead, they emphasize interdependency chains between the life of individuals and social circumstances around them. According to Elias (1978), the founder of figurational sociology, the interaction between individuals results in the formation of a social figuration. At the same time, the social figuration they formed also influence to their interaction both at micro and macro level. In this view, a social researcher as an individual cannot be separated from his or her research topic, society.

With regards to relations between a society and an individual, the notions of homo clauses and homines aperti demonstrate the way in which an individual perceives the world around him or her. Homo clauses refers to person 'as “subject” of knowledge, a single thinking mind inside a sealed container from which each one looks out and struggles to fish for knowledge of the “object” outside in the “external
world” (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998, p. 33). It implies that external reality exists independent from people's subjective recognition. In this view, the relation between a subject being and an object material is considered as a static duality. Moreover, while it stresses an individuality isolated from a society, *homo clauses* ignores collective consciousness which influences upon individual consciousness. In other words, an individual behaviour subsists isolated from a social current.

Calling it ‘We-less I’ Elias (1978) criticises *homo clauses* model which disregards interdependent relations between an individual and society. Instead, he suggests the notion of *homines aperti*. This concept indicates ‘open people who live in a context of pluralities and interdependencies from the start to finish of their lives’ (Dunning, 1999, p. 10). In this view, internal minds and external objects are inseparable. Thus, subjective attributes of individuals depend on objective characteristics of society, and vice versa. In addition, there is no permanent objective essence of individuals and societies; it is always processual. Regarding this, Elias (1969, quoted from Goudsblom, 1977, p 147) notes that ‘a transformation occurs in the social relations between people; therefore their behaviour changes; and therefore, their consciousness and emotional economy as a whole are transformed’. Hence, in order to discern a more plausible knowledge of society, the interdependent relations within social figurations and its dynamic nature must be taken into account.

From a figurational sociological perspective, therefore, objective explanation of social reality and subject understanding of social meaning are not two diametrically opposed concepts which imply that the notions of objectivism and subjectivism exist independently. In contrast, according to Elias (1987) both ideas are simultaneously located in social researchers’ consciousness as a mixed form. Figure 2-1 illustrates relations between involvement and detachment in social research. Mennell (1992)
stresses that it is impossible for a social researcher to be in both an absolute involvement position and totally detached location of the society in question. When a sociologist attempts to detach from his or her research topic, a more reality adequate knowledge can be generated. However, as a human being, it is inevitable that the researcher somehow involved in the social situation he or she are exploring. Without such involvement, neither is the sociologist motivated to carry out social research upon the problem nor is able to understand the topic properly (Goudsblom, 1977). Therefore, as Mennell (1992, p. 160) puts it, the problem of objectivism and subjectivism is ‘a matter not of polar contrasts but of a continuum along which blends of ‘involvement’ and ‘detachment’ are located’.

Figure 2-1 Involvement and Detachment (Mennell, 1992, p. 160)

In consideration of involvement and detachment in social research, to consider those concepts separately, as in a positivism and interpretivism debate, misleads our understanding of society into the idea that we can choose one of these methodologies in pursuit of researchers’ interest. Such division, in Elias (1978) term, is a false dichotomy. According to Elias (1987, p. 3):
One cannot say of a person’s outlook in any absolute sense that it is detached or involved (or, if one prefers, “irrational”, “objective” or “subjective”). Only small babies, and among adult perhaps only insane people, become involved in whatever they experience with complete abandon to their feelings here and now; and again only the insane can remain totally unmoved by what goes on around them. Normally adult behaviour lies on a scale somewhere between these two extremes.

From an Elisian point of view, indeed, an important matter is to what degree a social researcher is involved in and detaches from the topic in question, rather than selecting one methodological position which is, in fact, an impossible situation unless one is an infant or insane.

Elias (1987) also explains the way in which social scientist discovers the meaning of the society in question in relation to the problem of involvement and detachment. A topic of social science is difficult to measure using scientific instruments that are mainly used for natural science because of the relationship between the subject and object in social science. Unlike natural science, in which the distinction between subject and object of research is relatively clear, a sociological researcher is complexly entangled with his or her research object, society. With regard to sociological understanding and the position of social scientists within social research, Elias further stresses that

They [social scientists] tried to work out a comprehensive and universally valid theoretical framework, within which the problems of their own age appeared as specific problems of detail and no longer as the central problem from which those of other ages received their relevance and their meaning. And, yet...they were so deeply involved in the problems of their own society that they often viewed, in fact, the whole development of people’s relations with each other in the light of the hopes and fears, the enmities and beliefs resulting from their role as immediate participants in the struggles and conflicts of their own time (Elias, 1987, p. 13)

Therefore, figurational sociologists contend that to attempt to distinguish quantitative and qualitative research based on constructionism and objectivism is meaningless.
because a process of social research inevitably consists of objective and subjective dimensions of research. In other words, it means that ‘sociological analysis moves constantly...between an expression of the sociologist’s subjective experience of the world, and the attempt to transcend that experience in gaining an objective, scientific perspective’ (Van Krieken, 1998, p. 71).

In order to attain a more accurate understanding of social milieu around us, a degree of involvement and detachment is crucial. Ideally speaking, social scientists, on the one hand, must be involved in the social problem in question so that a more insightful knowledge of particular social practices can be discerned. In other words, a social researcher must conduct a subjective assessment of the topics. On the other hand, they must maintain a degree of distance from the society in order to discover object knowledge (Elias, 1987; Maguire, 1988). With respect to the importance of the involvement and detachment in investigating a social issue, Elias (1987) refers to an episode from Edgar Allan Poes’s story about the descent into ‘the Maelstorm’.

Briefly speaking, the story is about two brothers whose boat is trapped in a whirlpool offshore. At first, both brothers were so frightened that they were not able to see what was going on around the boat. After a while, the younger brother was awakened from the fear, and began looking outside of the boat in a collected manner. He discovered that while many objects rapidly sank to the depth of the sea, cylindrical materials went down more slowly. Shouting to do the same to his older brothers, he ran into a barrel nearby. However, immobilised by fear, the elder was not able to do so. As a result, only the younger could survive the crisis. Elias (1987) comments on this story as follows:

by standing back, by controlling his fear, by seeing himself. from a distance like a figure on chess-board forming a pattern with others, he [the younger] managed to turn his thoughts away from himself to the situation in which he was caught up. It was then that he recognised the elements in the
uncontrollable process which he could use in order to control its condition sufficiently for his own survival. In that situation, the level of self-control and the level of process control were... interdependent and complementary (Elias, 1987, p. 46)

Elias also point out that.

The attitude of the older brother points to this circularity. High exposure to the dangers of a process tends to heighten the emotivity of human responses. High emotivity of response lessens the chance of a realistic assessment of the critical process and, hence, of a realistic practice in relation to it; relatively unrealistic practice under the pressure of strong affects lessens the chance of bringing the critical process under control (Elias, 1987, p. 48).

The story of the fishermen brothers and Elias' comment on it well represent the position of social scientists within the society in question as well as the way to discern a more realistic knowledge of the society. Social scientists, like other lay people, are involved in social practices as a member of the society. However, while common people are usually inclined to the involved position, and, therefore, tend to take for granted the laws of society given to them, social scientists are likely to move toward a more detached position in order that a more accurate picture of the given society can be drawn. In addition, social scientists try to uncover hidden meanings of social practices rather then accepting such customs without doubt. In that sense, Elias (1978) declares that the sociologist is a destroyer of myth

In the quantitative and qualitative debate, mentioned in earlier sections, ontological issues are also divided and oppose each other, namely objectivism constructionism or the agency and structure debate (Bryman, 2001). The key issue of the debate was whether an agency constructs a social relation or social structure determines an agency. From the figurational point of view, however, such a dichotomous logic can also be problematic because without agency society cannot
exist, and at the same time, the agency's subjectivity is influenced by social structures (Van Krieken 1998). It is valuable to note what Elias (1978) says in this regard;

Consequently we always feel impelled to make quite senseless conceptual distinctions, like 'the individual and society', which makes it seem that 'the individual' and 'society' were two separate things, like tables and chairs or pots and pans. One can find oneself caught up in long discussions of the nature of the relationship between these two apparently separate objects. Yet on another level of awareness one may know perfectly well that societies are composed of individuals, and that individuals can only possess specifically human characteristics such as their abilities to speak, think, and live, in and through their relationship with other people -- 'in society' (Elias, 1978, p 113).

Based on such recognition of the relation between the individual and society, Elias (1987, p. 49) asserts that 'ontological dualism, the notion of a world split into "subjects" and "objects", is misleading'. Traditional dichotomous ontology tends to argue whether realities of a society are objects that determine human behaviour or are subjects constructed by social actors. Elias (1978), however, maintains that a society, in fact, consists of complex interactions between social actors, and these interactions influence a structure building process in the society. Moreover, once a social structure is established, it begins to affect, and sometimes to determine people's interaction. Thus, it can be said that in society, there are continuous interactions between social actors as well as between a social structure and social agencies. Therefore, figurational sociologists see the world around them not as a static entity but as a society that involves complex interactions and interdependencies between agencies and structures, namely the figuration in flux (Elias, 1978; Mennell, 1992; Van Krieken 1998). Based on this methodological understanding, the way to analyse media text will be discussed in the next section.
In media and communication studies, quantitative content analysis is the most conventional way to measure media text in a positivistic manner (Slater, 1998). Thus, objectivity and being systematic are highly valued in this research method (Bryman, 2001, Holsti, 1969). As Fiske (1982, p. 119) explains, ‘content analysis is designed to produce an objective, measurable, verifiable account of the manifest content of messages’. Some definition of content analysis will be useful in conceptualising it more clearly. According to Berelson (1952, p. 18), ‘content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest contents of communication’. Holsti (1969, p. 14) also says that ‘content analysis is any technique for making inference by objectivity and systematically identifying specified characteristics of message’.

In conceptualising quantitative content analysis, the three crucial elements of the analysis can be found; these are systematic, objective, and quantifiable (Kerlinger, 1986). These concepts need to be spelt out in detail. Firstly, a systematic analysis means that an explicit and consistent rule is used as the media contents to be investigated are selected (Bryman, 2001; Gunter, 2000). In other words, only one set of guidelines is applied throughout the research so that all content is coded and categorised in a systematic manner. Secondly, objectivity refers to the fact that researcher’s subjective or personal judgement should not be added to the finding (Gunter, 2000). The objectivity of content analysis is closely related to the replicability of the research (Riffe et al, 1998). Thus, once content analysis is conducted, the same result must be yielded by another researcher too. Thirdly, being quantifiable indicates that the data must be countable (Gunter, 2000). As Slater (1998,
p. 235) points out, ‘the central aim [of contents analysis] is to render issues of interpretation as controllable and non-contentious as possible in order to move quickly on to the more ‘scientific’ process of counting things’. As measuring frequency of a certain elements is at the heart of quantitative content analysis, making the content countable is a significant part of the analysis (Slater, 1998).

While the objective, systematic, and quantifiable characteristics of content analysis make it possible to generalise the research finding, the quantitative content analysis has been criticised as it merely generate no more then descriptive research (Riffe at al, 1998) Therefore, quantitative content analysis has explicit limitations; hidden meanings of the text cannot be discovered by applying quantitative content analysis (Gunter, 2000).

While quantitative content analysis mainly relies on frequencies of a particular term, qualitative content analysis highlights the importance of interpretation and contextualisation of the media text in question (Tonkiss, 1998; Deacon et al, 1999). Some scholars argue that because quantitative content analysis stresses only a manifest dimension of media texts, underlying or hidden meaning of the media texts, which can be more important than the media contents itself, cannot be investigated (Berg, 1995; Gruneau et al, 1988). In addition, the media texts are not a simple object but contain meanings, they must be read rather then being counted (Fiske, 1982, Hall, 1980). With regard to this, Gunters (2000, p. 82) explains that:

A fundamental distinction between qualitative and quantitative methodologies can be found in the locations of meaning in media text. Quantitative content analysis emphasise a fixed meaning in media texts that can be repeatedly identified by different ‘readers’ using the same analytical framework. Qualitative content analysis procedures emphasise the capacity of texts to convey multiple meanings, depending upon the receiver.
Even though quantitative research methods can help mapping out the direction of research, it is difficult to discern a more insightful meaning and ideology embedded in the media text. Therefore, it is often asserted that qualitative interpreting of media texts, and identifying meaning conveyed by the media are more valuable than just counting manifest terms (Fowler, 1991).

In view of the nature of quantitative and qualitative content analysis in the media and communication study, the interpretative research methods seem be more appropriate for the current research project as texts must be 'read off', rather than to be counted, in order to reveal specific characteristics of national and global discourses in the South Korean media. Therefore, the media coverage of the Olympic Games will be largely investigated in a qualitative manner while only a simple descriptive statistic table will be provided when necessary. Three research methods will be used. These are: a thematic, discourse and visual analysis.

2-6 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis which focuses on thematic structure of the content is a preliminary way of data coding before interpretation of the texts is made. The goal of the thematic analysis is to provide an overall organisation of the texts and to clarify relations between different aspects of the texts. (Deacon et al, 1999) As it is multi-step procedure, this methods is particularly useful when the texts are categorised an inductive manner (Flick, 2002). Deacon et al (1999, p 169) suggest that thematic analysis 'helps to make a media text cohere – it orients a text around a central theme or strand of related themes running throughout a story'. With regard to the procedure
that thematic analysis is conducted, Mayring's model (2000, see Figure 2-2) of category development offers a useful toolkit.

Firstly, key research questions are generated based on theoretical background of the research before looking at the text. Then, some arbitrary categories can be made in relation to the research questions. Next, through inductive reading, new categories can be formulated out of research material, and various themes can be identified according to the categories developed. The arbitrary categories which were generated in prior to the investigation can be deleted if they were considered to be inadequate. Every one tenth of material is analysed, a decision needs to be made whether the new categories are reliable to the further enquiry. Depending on the decision, the process either moves forwards to the next step or returns to the first step and review the research material. These procedure needs to be repeated until definitive categories and themes are developed. When the final themes are categorised, interpretative work is conducted exploiting a number of research methods such as a narrative, discourse and visual analysis.

In the present research project, attention will be paid to the way in which the media reflect and reinforce the notions of globalisation and nationalism in representing the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. The research question will be formulated in relation to the principal objects of the research which are stated in Introduction. The thematic analysis will be conducted with the broad terms such as globalisation and nationalism. Then, more specific themes related to the two ideas will be systemically categorised according to the Mayring's model.
Thematic analysis does not involve interpretation of the texts. As Deacon et al, (1999) indicate, qualitative content analysis methods such as discourse or narrative analysis need to be conducted in conjunction with thematic analysis. In fact, thematic analysis is often carried out in preparation for the further investigation of the texts. In the next sections, therefore, the media discourse analysis and visual research methods will be introduced.

2-7 The Media Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is, by definition, 'an approach to the analysis of talk and other forms of discourse that emphasises the ways in which versions of reality are accomplished through language (Bryman, 2001, p. 503)'. This approach presumes
that the use of language does not reflect reality but it involves in the process of constructing social reality (Burr, 2003) In view of this, language is hardly innocent, and discourse analysis attempts to discover the way in which texts or talks are structured to engender a specific meaning and implication (Tonkiss, 1998)

It is necessary to review the linguistic structuralist and post-structuralist view upon language in order to characterise discourse and its analysis in a more comprehensive manner De Saussure (1974) develops triangular model of signification which consist of a sign composed of a signifier and a signified. The Signifier refers to physical elements of a sign such as words, sounds and images and the signified means the mental concept that the physical signs indicate within a particular linguistic system in question (McQuail, 2000). This triangular model of signification conceptualise the real objects to which the sign refers (see Figure 2-3).

![Figure 2-3 Saussure's Elements of Meaning (Fiske, 1982, p.44)](image)

De Saussure (1974) also argues that the relation within the triangular is arbitrary and interpretation of the sign system is governed by a particular culture in which the language is used. In other words, there is no definite connection between the sign and the real object. Moreover, once the linguistic system is established, it becomes fixed. In this circumstance, people's verbal performance is not creative but

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4 While both structuralism and post-structuralism are epistemologically based on a constructivism which requires a careful evaluation when applied to sociological research, these approaches, at least, provide a useful insight in understanding a social figuration in a linguistic system
limited by a predetermined arbitrary meaning system. Therefore, it is the language that influences our thought but not vice versa.

In addition to the arbitrary structure of language, post-structuralists focus on power relations within the triangular system. In fact, it was power that determines the process of making definition of a particular concept in favour of the interest of the dominant group. In this view, no essential nature or the truth can be found in the definitions of notions and ideas; they are all socially and culturally constructive in character (Bryman, 2001; Sarup, 1993). Foucault’s (1989) argument of madness offers an exemplary model in this line of thought. He asserts that the introduction of the mental hospital indicates the way in which the notions of insane and sane are defined and controlled by the authority. Therefore, the proposed purpose of the mental asylum, which promises to support and alleviate the sufferers, is subordinated to its ideological nature.

Discourse plays significant role in the definition making process. Burr (2003, p. 64) suggests that ‘discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events’. Thus, it is discourse in circulation which determines meaning of incidents and concepts, not the truth or essential nature of them. As a dominant group in society holds a more effective means of articulation and circulation of discourse upon a specific affair and idea, recognition of world with reference to a dominant discourse upon a particular event, which falsely understood as a common sense, often

5 Although it is somewhat different context, Elias also points out the problems of language in describing the world around us. According to him, ‘We say, ‘the wind is blowing’ as if the wind were actually thing at rest which, at a given point in time, begins to move and blow. This reduction of processes to static conditions appears self-explanatory to people who have grown up with such languages. They often imagine it impossible to think and speak differently’ (Elias, 1978, p. 112).
represents the interest of the more powerful at an expense of the less powerful (Fairclough, 2001a).

However, while recognising unbalanced power relations within the processes, Fairclough (1995) notes that a radical constructivist approach on discourse needs to be critically re-evaluated, and stresses a reflexive aspect of a discourse construction. According to him, interaction between the producers and the receivers and the socio-cultural circumstance in which such interaction takes place are crucial points to understand the way in which a particular discourse is generated and articulated in society. This account maintains a critical view upon a conception of a unidimensional dominant discourse approach largely influenced by Michel Foucault (Schröder, 2002).

It seems that Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is more relevant to investigate the media discourse because, firstly, the power relation within the process of making definition can be changed depending on a social-cultural and historical context in which a particular discourse is made. Secondly, the consumers of the media text have ability to interpret according to their own tastes. Thirdly, as Elias (1978) states, every constitute of society are to some degree complicatedly interdependent and interrelated. In view of this, no one element can wield its absolute power upon others. In consideration of these, critical discourse analysis proposed by Fairclough (2001b), which pays attention both the interaction between communicators and to the socio-cultural circumstance in which the communication processes takes place, appears to be closer to generating reality congruent knowledge than a radical constructionist approach. Therefore, this research project adopts Fairclough sense of discourse analysis in investing the South Korean media discourses.
More specifically to the media discourse, it is not surprising that a number of researchers exploit discourse analysis to investigate texts that televisions and newspapers articulates in consideration of the fact that the public heavily relies on the mass media to acquire information and knowledge in the contemporary society (Billig, 1995; Fairclough, 1995; Tuck, 2003) Billig (1995), for example, shows how the media discursively remind of the audiences national identity by exploiting mundane linguistic terms such as ‘here’ and ‘now’. Similarly Fairclough (1995) suggests that the media deliberately choose vocabularies in order to determine the tone of news event. He also explains that ‘the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world ..., particular constructions of social identities..., and particular constructions of social relations’ (Fairclough, 1995, p.12)

It seems that ontology and epistemology of media discourse analysis incline to a constructionist view (Bryman, 2001). However, as suggested earlier, it should be noted that while the media actively involve in the process of social construction of reality, they do not generate meaning from nothing. In fact, as Fairclough (1995) himself acknowledges, the media discourse results from actions and interactions between people in various social circumstances. Therefore, while it is admitted that the unbalanced power structure in the process of producing knowledge, a radical constructionist view in the process need to be avoided in conducting media discourse analysis.

Fairclough (1995) proposes three-dimensional model of the communicative events which consists of text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice (see Figure 2-4). Text includes both written and spoken forms that one can read and listen with or without visual aids through the media. Three main aims of text analysis can be identified as follows. Firstly, text analysis focuses on particular representations of
social practices which may contain ideological meanings. With regard to the current study, an attempt will be made to reveal the way in which Olympic Games are represented and some ideological meanings embedded in the coverage such as capitalism and Olympism. In addition, it pays attention to specific constructions of producer and audiences identities. National identity politics in the media coverage of the Olympic Games will be a good example. Finally, the relation between the reader and the writer that the text signifies is also main concern of the text analysis. Whether the media considers the audience as consumers or critical audience can be clarified by investigating the manner in which Olympic related news items are introduced.

The discourse practice concerns with the way in which the media text are produced and consumed (Fairclough, 1995). The processes of encoding by the institution and of decoding by the audience in their everyday situation are focal point of this level of research. The discourse process positions in-between the text and the broader socio-cultural circumstance that a particular text are circulated and

Figure 2-4 A Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis as a Communicative Event (Fairclough, 1995, p. 59)
appreciated (Schroder, 2002). While the current study will not conduct research into the discourse practice of the communicative event, in-depth evaluation of a socio-cultural practice with a specific reference to globalisation and sport will provide a sufficient material that hints the way in which texts are produced and consumed.

Analysis on a socio-cultural practice involves research into an event’s immediate situational context, into a broader context of institutional practice that an event is appreciated, and into a broader socio-cultural climate that an event takes place (Fairclough, 1995). Globalisation of sport culture and national identity politics expressed through the Olympic Games by the media will be the broader context of the research project (see Figure 2-4). By reviewing the development of nationalism in sport in relation to the processes of globalisation which is unfolding in South Korea, the wider frame of socio-cultural background of the Olympic related texts which are articulated and circulated by the media can be clarified.

![Figure 2-5 Socio-Cultural Practice of the Olympics as a Communicative Event](image-url)
While the media and communication research has a long tradition to focus its research agenda upon written and spoken language in the media contents, relatively less attention is paid to the visual effects of the mass communication (Deacon et al, 1999). In consideration of the fact that images and photographs occupy a significant portion of the media, the visual dimensions of television and newspapers needs to be addressed systemically in order to draw a more comprehensive picture of the contemporary mass media and its ideology.

Rose (2006) points out that whilst the media and its institution offer views of the world in visual terms, the images they provide are neither natural nor innocent. Instead, those visual resources reflect the media's interpretation of the world. In respect to this, in his classical account of *Ways of Seeing*, Berger (1972, p 10) explains that '[e]very time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting that sight from an infinity of other possible sights. The photographer's way of seeing is reflected in his [sic] choice of subject'. Similarly, Becker (1979, p 99) also argues that 'the photographers knows perfectly well that the pictures represent a small and highly selected sample of the real world about which that are supposed to be conveying some truth'. Therefore, images and photographs we encounter in the media mirror the worldview that the media prefer to reinforce and circulate. Taking account of the ideological aspect of the visual in the media, the photographs must be considered as texts and their meanings, whether hidden or manifest, need to be scrutinised (Deacon et al, 1999; Silverman, 2001)

Recently, various concepts that are used for the visual analysis have developed in the realm of social science (Emmison and Smith, 2000) Amongst these concepts,
three notions are particularly useful for the current research project. These are: frame analysis, narrative analysis, and subject position.

Frame analysis focuses upon the context that images and photographs are located and presented to the viewer (Emmison and Smith, 2000; Goffman, 1974). In fact, the context within which an image is shown affects the way in which the image is interpreted. For instance, a photograph of rugby players in action at an English public school corridor and in a sport magazine can be read differently. Cultural norms and mores of the society can also be a frame in a sense that our common sense often leads to decode an image in a particular way in relation to cultural conventions in the society. As C. R. L. James (1963) describes cricket culture in West India, an image of a cricket ground in the Caribbean country and England can have different implications. Thus, the way in which a particular photograph is viewed and decoded depends on the frame the image is presented. In respect to this, the current study will pay attention to the way in which photographs are located and presented in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. In so doing, intended or hidden meanings of the media portrayals of the Games can be revealed.

Narrative analysis concentrates on the storyline that images and photographs construct (Bryman, 2001). Both multiple photographs in sequence and a single image which clearly indicates the past or future event of the picture portrays, can make a narrative (Emmison and Smith, 2000). In the media, particularly in newspapers, a photojournalism plays a significant role in making a news story. While the media do not invent fictional narratives, they use storylines to foreground a precise meaning of the event that the media attempt to deliver to the viewers (Barthes, 1990). Whannel (1992) suggest that narrativisation accounts for a key aspect of the media sport. It is not difficult to find narrative built around a particular sport event and a particular
player in order to attract the audiences’ attention. In the process of narrativisation, deliberately selected and edited images are often exploited to clarify the meaning of narrative that the media attempt to generate (Deacon et al., 1999). In this research, numerous photos and images that used for making narrative in the South Korean newspapers will be explored in a specific reference to the North and South Korean relations.

Subject position refers to the identity that an image invokes (Emmison and Smith, 2000). The images often portray people, and the way they were described is closely related to their identities. In other words, the way in which people behave in the photograph determines their identities. Regarding this, Emmison and Smith (2000, p. 68) explains that ‘determining the subject positions at play in a picture is often central to interpreting its meaning’. In the context of sport, it is not difficult to see a photograph of athletes and fans who are waving St. George’s cross. By publishing this type of photographs, not only do the media clearly indicate English identity of the spectators and participants of a sporting occasion, but they also offer an opportunity that the reader can be reminded their national identities (Billig, 1995, Whannel, 1992). Subject position also concerns with identities of the readers. In fact, people decode the meaning that photograph conveys according to their personal and cultural identities such as nation, race, gender, class and do fourth. In other words, people see those images through their own gazes. Thus, different interpretations of an image can be made according to his or her cultural, political and occupational experiences (Hall, 1980). In this research, photographs and images appeared in the media account of the Olympic Games will be examined with specific reference to discourse of national identities that the pictures convey.
In addition to the three visual research methods introduced above, semiotics also provides a valuable toolkit for investigating images. Particularly the notions of visual metaphor and metonym seem to be useful for scrutinising hidden and ideological meanings of pictures in the media. Metaphor and metonym are originally derived from literature studies. By tradition, metaphor refers to ‘a word (signifier) which is applied to an object and action (signified) to which it is not literally and conventionally applicable’ (Fiske and Hartley, 2003, p. 31). The same logic can be applied to a visual text. For instance, in the coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games, the media often featured an image of a flock of doves flying around the stadium. While doves have no direct relation with the sport event, the birds symbolically represent a messenger of peace. Thus, in a metaphorical sense, the photograph of doves and the Olympic stadium implies that the Olympic Games are the event that promotes peace and fraternity between the participants.

In terms of metonym, Fiske and Hartley (2003, p. 31) explains that it ‘is the application of mere attribute of an object to the whole object’. In other words, a small part of the entire object is featured as if the part characterised the whole. While metaphor is rather arbitrary, metonym is more iconic. In this sense, visual metonym appears to be more realistic (Fiske, 1982). For example, a picture of group of athletes from various part of the world who march into a stadium together without a national demarcation at the closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games indicates that the event contributes to international understanding. However, such an ideal metonym of the Olympic Games only represents a particular aspect of the Games. A number of corruptions and conflict-laden circumstances also characterises the reality of the Olympic Games (Butler, 2005). Thus, metonymical representation often misleads the
readers. In consideration of this, a careful decoding process is required to see ideological nature of visual metonym.

So far, three visual research methods and semiotic analysis have been introduced. By exploiting such toolkits, the visual aspects of the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games will be explored with specific reference to national identity politics. Particular attention will be paid to the way in which the South Korean newspapers represent the North Korean Olympic team. In so doing, a more accurate nature of the inter-Korean relations articulated by the media can be read off.

2-9 Media Research Data

This research project investigates the global and local nexus in the media representation of global sport event. More specifically, the research focuses upon the South Korean media portrayals of the 2004 Athens Summer Olympic Games in an attempt to reveal national identity politics between East Asian countries and within Korean peninsula around the Athens Games. As outlined in the earlier chapter on media sport, the majority of spectators watch sport events through the mass media (Wamsley, 2004). Especially, thanks to the long-distance between Greece and Korea, for most Korean people, the mediated version of the Olympic Games in Athens is the only way to access the games. Given this situation, analysis of the media coverage of the Games can provide fruitful insights in understanding how Korean people experienced the Athens Olympics. Hence, the research attempts to reveal global and Korean nexus and Korean national identity politics around the Games by examining the South Korean media representation of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.
In this research project both newspapers and television portrayals of the Athens Olympic Games will be explored. These include: *Chosun Ilbo*, a conservative quality paper; the *Han Kyo Rhe*, a progressive quality paper, *Ilgan* Sport, a conservative sport only paper; and *Sport Seoul*, a liberal sport only paper. 1235 Olympic-related newspaper articles were identified and coded as part of the content analysis. In term of television, both public (the Korean Broadcasting System, the KBS) and commercial (the Seoul Broadcasting System, the SBS) broadcasters are investigated. Specific attention is given to television coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies and four sporting events (shooting, boxing, judo and table tennis) which featured North Korean athletes.

Checking reliability and validity of the research is one of the key considerations in investigating the media coverage in a qualitative manner. Regarding reliability of the research, two Korean peers will audit the research procedures in order to minimise an arbitrary reading of the data. In so doing, a more reliable coding and categorising process can be conducted. In terms of validity, given that qualitative research is largely oriented to insightful account of the data with specific reference to cultural contexts in which the data are gathered (Bryman, 2001), the researcher's subjective position as a Korean can have an advantage of generating a more valid interpretation of the data. In conjunction with the peer-audited research procedures, therefore, an in-depth but not arbitrary explanation of the data can be made.

### 3-8. Conclusion

In the realms of social science, the issue of research methodology is one of the most important areas. A debate on quantitative and qualitative research paradigms has
generated useful insights in understanding characteristics of the research process as well as that of society. Although these two paradigms adopt different epistemological and ontological perspectives, there is a tendency that the two approaches are combined in order to attain a better understanding of society. However, even if the integration movement is seen as an ideal form of research method, it will be problematic unless the philosophical underpinning of the two paradigms are reconsidered because epistemological and ontological issues of the two methodologies are often regarded as two oppositional positions. Figurational sociologists, however, point out that a division of objectivism and subjectivism is a false dichotomy, and offer an alternative methodological perspective of social research. The balanced recognition of objectivism and subjectivism by figurational sociologists, which stresses *homeness aperi* over *homo clausus*, provides useful epistemological and ontological underpinnings for the combination of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms.

In investigating media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Game by South Korean media, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used. However, quantitative content analysis will be applied only limitedly while the interpretation of the data largely relies on interpretative methods by careful attention to the notion of involvement and detachment. Thus, qualitative media content analysis such as thematic, discourse and visual analysis will be mainly used to investigate the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Olympic Games so that a more in-depth story and a specific pattern of Korean sporting nationalism in the global era can be discerned.
CHAPTER THREE
KOREAN NATIONALISM AND GLOBAL SPORT

3-1 Introduction

The dynamic of nationalism varies according to each nation’s cultural, historical, and political situation (Hutchinson and Smith, 1994, Smith, 2001). In the literature review, nationalism was viewed a complex concept that involves a historical account of nations, an ‘invented tradition’, and ‘habitus code’. In addition, it was also stressed that the nation and nationalism must be understood within the context of civilising processes in flux. However, because, in many cases, each nation has its own characteristics of nationalism, a nation’s specific historical and political condition must be taken into account in order to grasp more comprehensive nature of a particular national movement (Bairner, 2001).

In this research project, therefore, attention will be paid to the national identity politics, and sporting nationalism in particular, of the Republic of Korea, commonly known as South Korea. A specific context of South Korea, and more broadly, that of North East Asian region\(^6\), will be considered so that a more accurate picture of Korean nationalism in relation to the globalisation can be drawn. Before examining the current national identity politics of the Republic of Korea, however, it would be

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6 The region consists of four countries, these are the People's Republic of China, Japan, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), and the People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). However, to consider North and South Korea as two different countries is controversial from the internal perspective of both Koreas. This point will be explained at the later section in details. Moreover, the United States can be accounted to be a part of North East Asia. Geographically, the U.S. is a North American region, however, when we consider its economic and political relations with this region, it is difficult to understand the political and cultural climate in North East Asian region without considering the influence from America. Thus, in this research, the case of the U.S will be examined if it is necessary to understand the regional issue.
appropriate to investigate the history of the Korean peninsula and its relationship with other North East Asian countries as groundwork for investigating Korean nationalism.

With regard to this, the first part of this section will be devoted to a modern history of Korea with reference to events that the nation experienced which include Japanese colonial domination over the Korean peninsula, the Korean war, the division of the nation and South Korean society under an authoritarian regime. The political and nationalistic nature of sport will be also discussed in response to a specific historical condition. Secondly, based on Korea's historical experiences, attention will be paid to the distinctive nature of the contemporary Korean nationalism. The process of the formation of Korean nationalism will also be highlighted. Finally, an attempt will be made to clarify the relation between Korean nationalism and the globalisation of South Korean society. Particular attention will be paid to the socio-cultural impact of the two major global sport events, the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 and the FIFA world cup finals in 2002, which took place in the country, upon South Korea. In so doing, the global-national nexus in global sport events can be understood.

3-2 Historical Conceptualisation of the Korean Peninsula

Very few people would say that to describe a nation's history accurately is an easy task. Korean history is no exception. The history of Korea dates back at least five thousand years ago (Breen, 2004; Lee, 2002), and this long history involves many complex and controversial issues that require close attention. Nevertheless, two more recent crucial factors can be discerned with regard to the formation of Korean

7 To present an in-depth history is beyond the limit of this research project. Therefore, only a brief and limited sense of the history will be examined in this thesis.
nationalism. These are that Korea had been colonised by Japan for 36 years (1910-1945); and that Korea has been divided since immediately after its emancipation from Japan (McCormack, 2002; Shin, 1998). Furthermore, these two events are such significant historical incidents that the legacies of the two events can still be easily found in the political climate and cultural practice within the Korean peninsula.

For Koreans, the memory of Japanese rule represents an unforgettable part of their history, and it has had a serious effect on building a Korean collective sense of identity that can be summed up as the ‘anti-Japanese’ sentiment (Breen, 2004; Choi, 1996; Kim, 2000; Palais, 1998; Reeve, 1963). After liberation from Japan, and the subsequent partition of Korea into the Soviet led North and the US backed South, it has largely been the belief in both Koreas that the only way to establish an authentic nation-state for the Korean people is to reunify the two existing states (Choi, 1996, Hatada, 1969; Kim, 2000). Thus, when the national identity politics of Korea is discussed, these two crucial factors must be considered.

3-2-1 Korea under Japanese Rule

Korea was a Japanese colony for 36 years (1910-1945). Japan was the first modernised country in Asia in the 19th century, and being a modern country, at that time, meant having an ability to mobilise powerful military forces. Furthermore, like European powers, Japan used its military power to expand its colonial domination over a broad Asian region (McCormack, 2002). As part of its colonial scheme, Japan forced Korea to sign the Treaty of Annexation in 1910, and the Japanese became the

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8 In this chapter, when the term 'Korea' is mentioned without any modifier such as South, North, the Republic, and People's Republic, it indicates both South and North Korea. Until 1945, Korea was a single national entity. In addition, even after the partition, both Koreas share many nationalistic emotions although two Koreas tend to interpret these sentiments from different political perspectives.
colonial rulers of Korea for most of the first half of the twentieth century (Kang, 1994). This colonial period can be divided into three phases (Eckert et al., 1990, Nahm, 1996). The first phase involved subjugation and repression (1910-1918); the second phase highlighted issues of nationalism and resistance (1919-1930), and, finally, the third phase focused on forced Japanisation, industrialisation and mobilisation (1931-1945). It is necessary to explore these three phases of the colonial years in detail in order to understand the reasons why anti-Japanese sentiment is such a core element of Korean national identity politics. This section, therefore, will focus on these issues.

The first period of Japanese rule is called the ‘dark period’ (Eckert et al., 1990) During this period, the Japanese repressed most political and cultural life in Korea. For instance, to organise a political party in favour of the Korean people was completely banned, and, for any purpose, assembling people without police permission was illegal. Moreover, the Japanese controlled the Korean media. Major Korean newspapers ceased publication, and only a small number of academic journals, youth magazines, and religious bulletins could be published under the restrictive censorship. As a result of the collapse of the Korean press, it was almost impossible to mobilise the Korean people against Japanese rule.

Controlling the Korean media was not the only way used to repress political opposition against the Japanese rule. Military force was also used to suppress the Korean nationalistic movement. Consequently, in 1912 alone, more than 50,000 Korean people were arrested for organising or assembling political activities (Eckert at al., 1990, Kang, 1994). In the course of the investigation, many of these Koreans were brutally tortured, and were imprisoned or sentenced without clear evidence of conspiracy. Furthermore, the ruthless oppression of the political activists by the
Japanese rulers resulted in the fact that many of Korean nationalists were driven into exile. Later, the nationalists in exile organised a political association outside of Korea.

During the first periods of Japanese domination, the Korean educational system was amended in favour of the Japanese. The purpose of the new education system was to educate Koreans to Japanese customs, culture and language. In addition, the new system was intended to propagate Japanese socio-political values so that the legitimisation of Japanese ruling could be established. As part of the educational system the Japanese controlled textbooks and the curriculum in both public and private schools. As a result, the number of private schools operated by Korean nationalist groups and foreign missionaries significantly decreased. The Japanese government, moreover, built hundreds of public schools in order to effectively teach Japanese values to Korean students. However, Korean and Japanese students in Korea attended separate schools. Not surprisingly, the quality of education was appreciably different. The school curriculum of schools for Korean students was far inferior to that of the Japanese. Moreover, the schools taught a distorted view of Korean history in an attempt to eradicate Korean culture including its language and value system.

The second phase of Japanese rule (1919-1930) is called the period of revival of Korean nationalism and resistance (Eckert at al., 1990). By the end of World War I, Woodrow Wilson, the then President of the United States, declared a 14 Point Peace Programme that involved the principle of humanism, respect for the self-determination of people, and international cooperation. This statement stirred up the spirit of colonised peoples around the world; Koreans were no exception.

Wilson's principles stimulated Korean nationalists in exile to organise political associations outside Korea, especially in the United States, Russia, and China, and these organisations sent a Korean delegation to various international meetings.
including the Versailles Peace Conference in order to plea for independence of Korea from Japan. Wilson's principles also had an effect on the Korean nationalist group within Korea. At that time, despite a harsh policy toward the Korean people by the Japanese government, underground political organisations began to grow. Particularly, given that the Japanese severely controlled any form of political organisations for the Korean, the church provided a shelter for a covert resistant activity in that the Japanese imperialists at least guaranteed freedom of religion amongst Korean people. Thus, disguised as religious activities, various political meetings were able to be held in the churches. Moreover, in many cases, the church itself was an underground resistance organisation. The leaders of various churches including Christian, Chundogyo (religion which largely represented peasant interest), and Buddhist, began to plan a national resistance movement to claim the independence of Korea.

The independent movement reached its apex on 1st of March, 1919. On that day, a well-organised resistance movement took place across the country. The resistance movement included the declaration of Korean independence at the Pagoda Park in Seoul, and the content of the declaration was successfully disseminated throughout the Korean peninsula. Although the Japanese immediate response to the movement was highly repressive, the demonstration was strong enough to threaten Japanese residents in Korea. Moreover, and more importantly, the 1st of March movement provided a cornerstone of the Korean independent movement, and galvanised more organised political resistance both at home and abroad. Consequently, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was founded on April 9th, 1919 in Shanghai, China. In addition, the Korean people regarded the 1st of
March movement as a symbol of the awakening of the injustice of Japanese domination over Korea.

As a result of the 1st of March movement and subsequent nationalistic resistant activities, the Japanese pursued a more or less moderate policy, known as the Cultural Policy, toward Koreans, and relieved control over the Korean media. This policy also allowed freedom of association, but only if the meeting was not intended to challenge Japanese rule. In addition, schools resumed teaching Korean history, Korean language, and Korean culture. However, this, by no means, implied that the Japanese considered Korea as an independent political entity. Later, when Japan attacked China in an attempt to execute its imperialist campaign over the broad East Asia region, a harsh colonial policy re-emerged in more intricate and deliberate forms.

The third phase (1931-1945) is the period of forced assimilation and mobilisation (Eckert at al, 1990). The most distinctive feature of this period is the dramatic industrialisation of Korea. However, it was not promoted to enhance Korean internal development but rather it was in the interest of the Japanese government. In 1931 the Japanese army invaded Manchuria, a border region between the northern part of Korea and China, and established the Japanese's puppet state in that area (See Figure 3-1). The response from the Chinese central government was so ineffective that Japan planned to expand its colony into a vast Asian region. Under these circumstances, the geographical position of Korea which is located between Japan and China was so important that Japan regarded Korea as a strategic and economic cornerstone within its overall Asian scheme (Hatada, 1969). A communication link and traffic line were installed from Busan, positioned at the south-east end of Korea, to the Manchuria area in order to effectively connect the northern part of Korea and

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9 The fact that the 1st of March is a national holiday in South Korea shows the importance of the 1st March movement in Korean history.
Manchuria (Eckert et al., 1990). In the course of the development, raw materials from Korea were extensively extracted, and this led to continued exploitation of industry and mining in Korea (Hatada, 1969). As a result, although the infrastructure of modern technology had been established in Korea, very few natural resources were left.

![Map of North East Region in the 1940s](image)

**Figure 3-1 Map of North East Region in the 1940s**

The Japanese rulers revamped their educational policy which highlighted the validity of Japanese domination over Korean in order to mobilise Korean students. The purpose of this amended educational system was to forcibly propagate Japanese values and indoctrinate the spirit of its empire into Korean students' mind. This new schooling programme involved eliminating the study of Korea, banning the use of the Korean language at school, and attending Shinto ceremonies. This repressive cultural policy was extended to all public offices, and by 1940, business and banks had to work only in the Japanese language. The rulers also forced Koreans to change their
name into a Japanese style. In fact, the Japanese rulers tried to eradicate every aspect of the Korean socio-cultural system and attempted to fully integrate Korea into Japan by force. Not surprisingly, freedom of association was banned, and every circle or club was disbanded as a result. Instead, the Japanese organised a mass institution in an effort to mobilise Koreans into the imperialist war campaign. Under this circumstance, the Japanese ordered both Korean men and women to join the imperial army. However, while the Korean men served in the front, the women were coerced into the so-called ‘comfort women’, sex slaves, to fulfil the sexual needs of the Japanese soldiers.

When Japan ruled Korea, the Korean people felt severe humiliation because, unlike in the case of most of the European colonisers who had had no relations with its colony before they colonised the area, the two countries had a long history of cultural and political relations. In addition, to some degree, the Japanese had adopted Korean culture (Breen, 2004). This historical fact doubled the Korean humiliation. On 15th of August 1945, as Japan surrendered to the United States at the end of World War II, Korea was liberated from Japan. However, the memory of nearly half a century of oppressive cultural policy has not yet disappeared and it has become a collective psychological trauma for Korean people (Breen, 2004; Eckert et al, 1990; Lee, 2002; McCormack, 2002).

3.2.2 Nationalistic Character of Sport during Japanese Rule

It is widely acknowledged that sports and politics, and nationalism in particular, have symbiotic relations (Bairner, 2001; Maguire, 1999; Maguire et al, 2002; Mangan, 1996; Sugden and Bairner, 1993). In addition, the sporting
nationalism of colonised nations and that of ethnic minorities has been widely discussed (Bairner, 2001; Hargreaves 2000; Maguire, 1993a). As a colonised country, the sporting nationalism of Korea was no less fervent than any other country, and it was a vehicle to assert Korean identity and of resistance toward the colonisers during Japanese rule (Lee, 2000; Lee, 2002; Lee at al, 1994).

In the late 19th century, modern sports were introduced to Korea by Christian missionaries, and many Korean intellectuals regarded these sports as an important means to develop and enhance an individual’s health and body condition. However, as Japan intervened in the domestic affairs and foreign policy of Korea, leaders of Korean society argued that developing physical strength through sport was one of the crucial ways to guard the nation against external enemies (Lee, 2000). Kim (1903, cited in Lee, 2000) asserted that ‘the future of nation depends on a spirit of the people, and the spirit of the people is from physical strength by physical education’. He also emphasised a militant dimension of sport. As a result, a military style of physical education, such as a bayonet drill, was stressed in schools. The Korean intellectuals of these years generally understood physical education and sport as a means of integrating the people against external enemies, especially against Japan. Thus, during this period, a nationalistic dimension of sport began to emerge in opposition to Japanese intervention (Lee, 2000).

During the first phase of domination, as discussed earlier, the Japanese repressed the Korean people, and their educational system was changed in favour of that of the Japanese colonisers. As a part of this amendment, the militant dimension of physical education was eradicated. Instead, various gymnastics and ball games were

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10 This period (1904-1909) is seen as phase of pre-Japanese colonisation (EcKert et al, 1990, Kang, 1994, Lee, 2002). Korean government was in crisis during this period because the autonomy of the Korean government had been already violated by Japan, and the Japanese army had also invaded some areas of Korea.
adopted. During this oppressive period, the Korean people were not able to express their nationalistic emotions. Under these conditions, the sports arena provided a suitable place to express their emotions. On the 13th and 27th of April in 1913, as the Korean cyclists defeated the Japanese counterparts, the Korean people was eagerly celebrating the Korean athletes’ victory (Lee, 2000). In addition, when the Korean O-Sung school baseball team beat the Japanese railway team on 10th of October in 1914, there erupted supporters’ violence against the Japanese. As such, sporting nationalism often appeared on the sport fields during this period (Ha and Mangan, 2002).

During the second phase of Japanese rule, their oppression of the Korean people was more or less mitigated. Thus the Korean people were able to express, to some degree, Korean identity through sport. Traditional Korean sports such as archery and ssirum (Korean style wrestling) were restored and disseminated in an attempt to help the recovery of Korean identity (Lee, 2000). Moreover, nationalistic sport organisations were formed in order to encourage the Korean people to participate in sporting programmes. In so doing, the Korean sport organisations believed that the physical strength of the people would be enhanced. They also organised a number of sporting competitions so that the Korean people could be integrated through sports. Korean sports and physical education programmes during this period had three main functions with regard to Korean nationalism. First, it offered the Korean people an opportunity to enhance their pride by defeating Japanese sport teams. Second, it contributed to the recovery of Korean cultural identity by restoring traditional Korean sports and folk recreations. Third, it secured a base for the Korean independent movement by increasing physical strength by the Korean people (Lee, 2000).

The third phase was the harshest period of Japanese rule. The Japanese rulers forced the people to disband Korean sport organisations. They also changed the
characteristics of sporting competitions, which had been held by the Korean sport organisations to enhance both Korean nationalism and the physical condition of the Korean people. Most sporting programmes were replaced with military drills in order to facilitate the mobilisation of the Korean people to the Japanese army. The school physical education programmes encountered a similar fate. Consequently, most Korean sporting infrastructures were destroyed. Thus, unlike in the former period, an organised sport programme for increasing Korean nationalism was no longer possible. Rather, only occasional incidents in the sport arena incited nationalistic demonstrations of Koreans (Lee, 2000).

One incident can be highlighted as an example of this type of demonstration. It occurred during the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936. At the Olympics, the two Korean marathoners competed, and won the gold and bronze medals. However, they went to Berlin not as part of the Korean delegation but as a member of the Japanese Olympic team. Thus, at the ceremony, the Japanese national anthem was being played and the Japanese national flag was printed on their uniforms. Nevertheless, this event gave the Korean people encouragement. An editor and reporter of one of the Korean newspapers, however, did not want to show the Korean people the Japanese flag on the two marathoners' uniforms. Thus, they manipulated the picture of the two marathoners at the podium, and the Japanese flag on their uniforms was deliberately erased. The newspaper, which contained the controlled picture, circulated throughout the country, and the editor and reporter were arrested the following day. For Koreans, this incident, called the 'Incident of Effacing the Japanese Flag', represents the resistant sporting nationalism during the Japanese domination (Lee, 2000).

Sporting nationalism under Japanese rule shows that sport can be an effective means of resistant nationalism. While the socio-political and economic dimension of
Korea was controlled by the colonisers and consequently left a traumatic psychological wound on the Koreans, the sports and physical education programmes during this period gave encouragement, provided a basis for the resistance movement, and offered an opportunity to restore Korean identity (Lee, 2000). For Koreans, the memory of Japanese rule does not disappear, and anti-Japanese sentiment still remains one of the most vivid aspects of Korean sporting nationalism.

3-2-3 Liberation and Partition of Korea

When Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945, feelings of euphoria were abundant in Korean society in general. However, the internal and external circumstances at the time of the liberation were not stable, and these conditions led to the division of the Korea peninsula, and, then, the outbreak of the Korean War (Eckert et al., 1990). At the internal level, the 36 years of the relatively short but intense colonial domination by Japan was over and this resulted in a sudden dislocation of the Japanese social and political administrative bureaucracy. This radical change brought, however temporal, socio-political turmoil in Korea. At the external level, the Japanese defeat in World War II created a political vacuum in the North East Asian region, and this led to the fact that two super power states in post-war era, the United States and the Soviet Union, vied for obtaining hegemony in the Korean peninsula (Hatada, 1969, Reeve, 1963, Kang 1994).

As the oppressive military regime of Japan was suddenly removed, Korea experienced socio-political panic. Organising an institutional infrastructure was no easy task because the Korean people had been completely excluded from the higher positions in all government offices during Japanese domination. In addition, the
Japanese had so harshly repressed Korean political activities that there was no single properly organised political institution by the time of the emancipation (Eckert et al, 1990, Hatada, 1969). As a result, Korea underwent socio-political chaos due to the absence of an administrative and political apparatus.

Since liberation from Japan, many Korean political prisoners, who had been captured by the Japanese military police, were released from a jail, and those who had organised political associations abroad, including the members of the provisional government in Shanghai, came back to their homeland. All of these potential leaders tended to assemble various political parties, and each party had different political ideologies. In addition, there was a severe political conflict between communist and conservative nationalist groups. The only point on which they could agree was a prompt establishment of a unified political authority over the Korean peninsula. In order to fulfil this aim, the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence was founded. However, the committee's political power was not strong enough to integrate various political ideologies into a more unified form of polity. As a result, despite its effort, internal political conflicts of Korea became more radical (Cumings, 1981; Kang, 1994). As such, Korean society experienced severe fragmentation after emancipation. As a result, it was difficult to establish an authoritative government throughout the country immediately after liberation.

International relations also experienced a dramatic change in the post-World War era, and geopolitical issues around Korea and East Asia in general became increasingly contested (Eckert et al, 1990). Ideological conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union began to emerge, and this rivalry had a direct effect upon the partition of Korea (Cumings, 1981). As Hatada (1969) stressed, this external...
factor was a greater obstacle for settling the Korean situation than the internal fragmentation of the nation.

At the Cairo Conference in December 1943, expecting the defeat of Japan, the United States, Great Britain, and China had concurred that Korea should become an independent country ‘in due course’ and, later, the Soviet Union also agreed. While many Koreans regarded this as signalling immediate independence after liberation from Japan, the United States considered that at least some years of trusteeship from the four powerful states would be necessary before politically stabilised Korean society emerged (Eckert et al, 1990; Kang, 1994). However, just before Japan’s surrender, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on 8th of August in 1945, and invaded Manchuria and the northern part of Korea. On 10th of August 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, and Japan surrendered. The US army, moreover, advanced to the southern part of Korea in response to the Soviet invasion of the northern part of Korea, and declared the formation of the US military government in the southern part of Korea in an attempt to prevent the advance of the Soviet red army toward the southern half of Korea. After these incidents, and seeking to avoid direct war between the two super-power states, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed that their armies would reside in the northern and southern parts of Korea respectively until the chaotic situation in Korea was resolved.

A provincial government was established in each side of Korea, and these two organisations held a conference in order to discuss a general election for building a unified government. However, they failed to bridge the ideological and political gap between the two governments. In addition, as the ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union grew worse, so did the political conflict between
northern and southern parts of Korea. Consequently, on 15th August in 1948, with the United States' support, the southern part of Korea declared the founding of the Republic of Korea, and three weeks later, the People's Republic of Korea was established in the northern part of Korea (Kang, 1994). In 1950, an ideological conflict between the two Koreas initiated the Korean War.

3-2-4 Nationalistic Character of Sport in Korean Society in Transition

Many of the nationalistic sport organisations which had been repressed under Japanese rule, were restored, and various sport competitions began to take place. Moreover, while internal conflicts engendered numerous socio-political problems in Korea, a number of sporting occasions were arranged in an effort to ameliorate conflicts based on ideological differences, and thereby to integrate the Korean people. Hence, the main characteristic of sporting nationalism during the period between liberation from Japan and the outbreak of Korean War, can be defined as the integration of peoples and building a corner stone for a united Korean nation-state through sport (Lee, 2000)

In contrast to the political situation within the Korean peninsula in this period, the sporting activities helped to unify the Korean people in north and south. In a statement on behalf of the Korean Sport and Physical Education Association (KSPEA), Un-Hyoung Yeo, the president of the association, stressed that:

Therefore, neither does the Korean Sport and Physical Education Association support any individual, nor does it belong to any political organisation. If the president or staff of the association has a biased political colour, it will be a matter of the individual, and never be a standpoint of the association (Yeo, 1946, cited in Lee, 2000, p. 331).
The association’s neutral position can be seen in this statement and in so doing, the KSPEA attempted to invite a broad range of people to the organisation. Thus, unlike other organisations which argued for their own political authorities, the sport association clearly had functioned to unify the people, regardless of the political spectrum into which they assimilate.

Soon after liberation, Korea was temporally divided into two parts by the UN’s decision. In response to this partition, the KSPEA planned to hold sport competitions between North and South Korea in order to prevent consolidation of the division. Various team sporting events, such as soccer and ice-hockey, took place as part of the sport programme between the two sides of Korea. However, as each Korea established its independent political entity in 1948, it was no longer possible to maintain the inter-Korean sporting contests which had linked the northern and southern part of Korea (Lee 2000).

3-2-5 South Korea under Authoritarianism: A Case of Park’s regime (1962-1979). 11

South Korea experienced an authoritarian and conservative regime from 1948 to 1990 (Choi, 1996; Eckert, 1990, Kim, 2000). Anti-communism and economic development were stressed as the paramount political objective of this period. Among the four presidents during this period, General Chung-hee Park and his regime (1962-1979) highlights a unique case regarding the formation of Korean nationalism in this period. He seized power in a military coup in 1962. The legacy of his government is a highly controversial issue in South Korea. On the one hand, his policy contributed to

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11 In this section, attention will be mainly paid to the South Korean experience
the dramatic economic growth of South Korea. On the other hand, he limited Korean people’s freedom in order to achieve the economic development of the nation (Ha and Mangan, 2002). In addition, he tried to introduce a dictatorial policy into South Korean politics, although that attempt failed because of the assassination of the President Park in 1979. The purpose of this research project is, however, not to evaluate a history of Korea, but to explore nationalism and national identity politics in Korea. Thus, the nationalistic nature of Park’s regime will be mainly dealt with in this section.

In the beginning, the legitimacy of President Park’s government was weak because he became President in a coup. In an attempt to dilute his unlawful nature and to justify his presidency, Park’s government heavily relied on nationalist rhetoric (Shin, 1998). One of his speeches reflects his nationalistic appeal and is worthy of quoting at some length:

Throughout this [the 1st of March Movement] movement, our forefathers were able for the first time in our modern history to achieve a broad unity of the nation.. The fundamental purpose of the October Revitalising Reforms [in 1972] include achievement of an impregnable unity of the entire people, regardless of faction or class, on the basis of a broad national will,...and...enhancement of our national glory throughout the world (Park, 1972, cited in Shin, 1998, p 148).

Based on this nationalistic sentiment, Park identified anti-communism and economic development as the main goals of his government, and these two ideas were used for mobilising the people, and for justifying his authoritarian politics (Choi, 2002).

Park’s concept of the nation involved both ethnic and political elements. In terms of the ethnic aspect of his nationalism, he strongly believed and stressed the fact that Korea, as a single nation, has almost five thousand years history, and all Korean people originated from a mythical founding father of the nation, Tan-Gun. In addition, he also called the people of North Korea ‘our brothers and sisters’, and argued that
they must be saved from a brutal communist regime in North Korea. Indeed, he proclaimed that ‘we have never given up pride nor our dignity in being a homogeneous people...Although we are now separated into south and north, we are one entity with a common destiny, bound by one language, and by one history and by the same racial origin’ (Park, 1972, cited in Shin, 1998) As these statements reveal, he clearly stressed the ethnic dimension of nationalism

According to the political characteristic of Park’s notion of nationalism, however, the North Korean communists could not belong to genuine Korean nation. Park’s government considered the North Korean communist government as an illegitimate Korean group who were temporally in control of the northern half of the Korean peninsula, and asserted that the Republic of Korea was the only authoritative Korean nation state. Therefore, the South Korean people must ‘recognise the honourable duty placed upon our shoulders to reunify our divided territory’ (Park, 1972, cited in Shin, 1998). Moreover, he identified the North’s communist regime as wholly alien to the tradition and a history of the Korean nation, and portrayed the North’s socialist policy as a treasonable attempt to demolish both national tradition and identity (Eckert et al, 1990; Shin 1998) As such, President Park understood that the North’s communist government was a political entity at odds with Korean history. Thus, the ideological conflict between North and South Korea during this period was very severe (Kang, 1994).

For Park’s government, the development and modernisation of the country were crucial political priorities together with an anti-communist rhetoric (Kang, 1994; Shin, 1998) In fact, the development scheme was not just economic policy; it was also a political project. The president stressed that the economic development and modernisation of the country would be a prime means to achieve the ultimate national
objective: reunification of the divided nation. In order to achieve this goal, however, he adopted a pseudo-totalitarian approach, which incited an enormous resistant movement amongst the country's citizens. The President claimed that political circles or political parties were obsessed with factional strife and discord, and warned that disorder under the pretext of freedom, or inefficiency in the name of democracy, would not be allowed and called for loyalty to the nation and love and loyalty to the country (Shin, 1998). By adopting such an undemocratic policy, the Park government was able to achieve dramatic modernisation and economic development of the country.

In the history of modern states in general, nationalists often use historical accounts of a particular region or nation in order to integrate the people. Nationalists also invent traditions based on these historical accounts, and reinterpret history so that favourable accounts for them can be produced (Hobsbawm, 1992). The case of President Park was no exception. Not only had he frequently exploited Korean history to justify his nationalist discourse, he also reinterpreted the history in favour of his policy, and created a national hero based on a history of Korea (Shin, 1998).

President Park often mentioned historical misfortune so that his developmental policy could be justified. In doing so, his government could propagate the idea that resisting his policy would lead the nation into another difficult period of Korean history. In addition, he highlighted the historical heroic acts of nation saving. In particular, he extolled Admiral Sun-sin Yi, who fought against the Japanese navy in the sixteenth century when Japan invaded Korea, and brought a dramatic naval victory to his country. Park called him ‘the sun of our nation’ and erected the Admiral’s statue at the centre of Seoul. He also stressed that the Korean people must

12 This resistance, however, failed to achieve its goal because Park legislated the National Security Law, which was oppressive in character, and founded the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, which was a state apparatus for investigating and preventing any dissident movements.
link their life to the spirit of the Admiral Sun-sin Yi, in order not to forget the duty of the Korean people, which was to regenerate the fate of Korean nation by successful economic developments that required loyalty to President Park and the nation (McCormack, 2002; Shin, 1998). As such, Park exploited history and created a national hero in order to encourage the Korean people's spirit.

In addition, President Park utilised the mass-educational system to disseminate his ideas and to build an 'imagined community' amongst Korean youths (Kang, 1994, Shin, 1998). He promulgated the Charter of National Education, and inserted the full content of the charter into every school's textbook, from primary school to college. In order to understand the characteristics of the charter, it is worth considering the following example:

We are born with the historic mission of national resurrection and prosperity...the love of state and nation based on anti-communist and democratic spirit is the way of our life...[and] create new history (in the Charter of National Education, Park, 1968, pp. 1-2)

As the above quotation indicates, the charter is explicitly linked to nationalism and nation building processes. Moreover, Park also produced 'Our Oath to the National Flag': 'I firmly swear that I will devote my body and mind for the development of the fatherland and nation in front of the proud 'Tae-guk-gi' [Korean national flag]'. Every student from primary to high school level, was obligated to memorise both the charter and the oath, and had to attend morning and afternoon ceremonies repeating the oath before the national flag (Shin, 1998). Clearly, his strategy to spread the nation building ideology utilising mass education system was undemocratic but an effective policy to achieve his aim within a short period.
As part of the political agenda of this period, sporting practice was closely related to anti-communism and economic development (Chung, 2004). Sport was both a prominent vehicle for channelling the people’s political interest into other areas, and a crucial means for mobilising people and for indoctrinating a nation-building ideology to them. In addition, when South Korea’s team or athletes were competing against teams or athletes from communist countries, especially from North Korea, the government regarded them as pseudo warfare against communist enemy (Lim, 1994). In so doing, the government attempted to propagate an anti-communist ideology through sporting occasions. Moreover, as athletes or teams won at international sport competitions, such as the Olympics, they were praised as national heroes and heroines, and the sporting success was regarded a great achievement of the nation in general (Chung, 2004). In fact, in this period, sport was part of the ‘ideological state-apparatus’ of Korean government (Ha and Mangan, 2002).

In 1966, President Park established the ‘Taereung National High Level Training Centre’ in order to develop elite athletes. The main reason for establishing the centre was to compete with North Korea who relatively successfully managed a state-led sporting talent development programme (Hwang, 2002). In 1960s, in terms of sporting achievement at international level, North Korea showed a better ability than the South. President Park perceived the communist’s successful sporting campaign at the international level as a national crisis, and thereby, he adopted a sport policy whose main aim was to develop elite sporting athletes. In doing so, he intended to achieve two goals. Firstly, sport can be exploited to highlight anti-communist
ideology by outperforming North Korean teams. Secondly, sporting success at various international championships would bring a sense of national pride to the people.

The case of football shows the political characteristics of sport under Park’s regime. When the North Korean Soccer team advanced to the quarter-final match at the FIFA World Cup in England in 1966, President Park launched a national soccer club ‘Yang-ji [a sunny place]’. Prior to this occasion, soccer clubs had been operated by private organisations. However, the successful North Korean campaign at the World Cup stimulated him to launch a government backed soccer team so that the Yang-ji football club could be trained in a more systematic way, and thereby the club would be able to outperform its northern neighbour’s team. As such, the main motives for developing sports were largely due to the ideological conflict with North Korea and the desire to spread anti-communist ideology within South Korea (Hwang, 2002).

Moreover, President Park arranged an annual international soccer competition, namely ‘Park’s Cup Soccer Championship’. The purpose of hosting the championship was to integrate the Korean people. The political aim of the sporting event was clear. Not only did it provide an occasion that the Koreans, who were under the repressive regime, were entertained, but the soccer championship also made the people proud of their nation by the fact that the developing country regularly hosted an international sport competition (Chung, 2004; Koh, 2001). Furthermore, he called soccer a national sport, and declared that ‘our ancestors esteemed martial arts and physical education, and they were able to strengthen physical and spiritual prowess simultaneously by practicing martial arts. In so doing, they could preserve a national history and pride’ (Park, 1976, cited in Hwang, 2002). Thus, President Park was able to enhance national pride and provide a basis for the Korean national identity by promoting sporting nationalism.
The 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Seoul were also closely related to Korean nationalism. Although the decision that led to the selection of Seoul as the host city of the 1988 Summer Games was made in 1981, which was after Park’s regime, the first draft to host the 1988 Olympiad was launched by Park’s government (Park, 1991; Larson and Park, 1993). He intended that by hosting the Olympics, not only could the South Korean government boast of its dramatic economic development, but it could also assert the political and economical superiority over North Korea (Larson and Park, 1993; Senn, 1999; Tomlinson, 1996). When the Olympics took place in Seoul, South Korea was still under an authoritarian regime, and the nationalistic intention of Park’s government was successfully realised by the two Presidents of Korea, Doo-hwan Jeon and Tae-woo Roh, who succeed the military regime respectively (Larson and Park, 1993).

Overall, President Park utilised sport as an important political tool. As indicated earlier, he recognised sport as a means of mobilising and integrating the people, and of political propaganda (Hwang, 2002). In fact, under the oppressive regime, sport was both ‘the opium of the mass’ and an ‘invented tradition’.

So far, a brief history of the contemporary Korean has been introduced. Sporting nationalism and its relationship with the historical, cultural and political accounts have also been explored. A modern or contemporary history often involves controversial issues. The history of Korea is no exception. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern, however briefly, the historical base of Korean nationalism and the way in which sport reflect such nationalism. In the following section, the development of Korean nationalism will be systemically evaluated on the basis of the nation’s history reviewed here. In so doing, the specific characteristics of the Korean nationalism in
the 21st century can be clarified. An attempt will be also made to clarify the relations between the sport and Korean nationalism.

3-3 Development of Korean Nationalism

The case of Korean nationalism shows some peculiarities. One point that must be pointed out with regard to Korean nationalism is the paradox of the Korean nation. If we consider the objective factors of the nation, which stress language, religion, custom, and territory, Korea would be one of the rarest cases of the ‘nation’ in the world (Hobsbawm, 1992. Kim, 2000; Smith, 2001). Korea fundamentally consists of one nation, which is called the ‘Han nation’, but it has been divided into two states, North and South Korea. In consideration of this, it is not surprising that both Koreas hope to reunify the nation, rather than remain being separated. However, because of the two Korean states’ different political ideology, a communist North and capitalist South, most attempts to establish a unified Korea between the two states during the Cold War period often engendered hostile circumstances, and thereby deepened the conflict between North and South Korea. Thus, from a nationalist perspective, these situations appeared to be contradictory.

In addition, as examined in the literature review, whilst the concepts of nation and nationalism in European contexts involve an ideology of modernity that was exploited for the formation of modern nation-states or industrialisation (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992), the Korean case, like that of other colonial countries, shows resistant nationalism to the imperial industrialised powers. As explored in the previous section, the distinct historical experience of Korea resulted in a specific condition for the formation of Korean nationalism and national identity. Thus, as
Bairner (2001) warns, the study of nationalism must examine each country's distinctive context so that an insightful knowledge of nationalism can be discerned. In this section, the specific characteristics of Korean nationalism will be explored. Based on Korea's unique historical experience, the distinctive nature of nationalism will be highlighted. Then, the way in which sport represent such nationalism will be investigated.

3-3-1 The Three Phases in the Formation of Korean Nationalism

As a nation, Korea has a long history, which dates back to 2333 BC, and it has its own calendar system called Dangi (Lee, 1973; Breen, 2004; Reeve, 1963). According to the Korean calendar, the year 2004 is Dangi 4337. However, even though the long history of Korea left much cultural heritage, a history of the last two centuries has had a significant effect upon Korean nationalism which can be found in the contemporary Korean people's mind (Choi, 1996; Kim Y. M, 2002; Park, 1997). As discussed earlier, two elements, the facts that Korea had been a Japanese colony for 36 years, and that Korea is a divided country, have considerable meaning when examining modern Korean nationalism and national identity politics (McCormack, 2002; Shin, 1998). Kim Y. M. (2002) distinguishes three phases in the formation of Korean nationalism; a phase that involved an attempt to form a nation-state (1876-1945), a phase of formation of a 'nation-state without nation' (1946-late 1980s), and a phase of the global era and people oriented nationalism (late 1980-present). Let us consider each phase in more detail.

The first phase (1876-1945) involved an attempt to form a nation-state against the backcloth of feudalism and the invasion of imperial powers. Korean nationalism
in this period was resistant in character and opposition to foreign invasion and anti-feudalism were the main aims of the nationalist movement. However, the attempt to establish a nation-state during this period failed because of Japanese colonisation. Nonetheless, this phase influenced contemporary Korean nationalism significantly. Moreover, the experience during this phase becomes, in Eliasian terms, part of deeply rooted national habitus codes (Elias, 1991). With regard to Korean nationalism and Japanese rule, Palais (1998) explains that

The long period of colonial rule from 1910 to 1945 had a dual effect on the Korean people. It drove them further to the depths of despair and anguish as the Japanese exploited Korean resources and the Korean people and attempted to obliterate even the sense of Korean identity, culture, and history in the last phase of colonial rule. At the same time, it spawned a powerful nationalist movement that burgeoned after liberation from colonial rule in 1945 (Palais, 1998, p. 215).

Oppressive Japanese rule hurt both the physical and psychological dimensions of Koreans, and the latter is arguably still embedded in the people's mind (Lee, 2002, McCormack, 2002). Eckert et al. (1990) also adds that 'nearly a half-century after liberation...the psychological trauma it [a memory of Japanese rule] engendered is embedded in literature and song' (p. 318). This thesis argues that it also finds expression in sports culture. Korean nationalism in this phase is also related to what Elias (1994, 1996) called 'national character', and provides a basis for building 'the national habitus code'.

For Koreans the traumatic memory of the Japanese colonisation has become 'part of the national habitus code'. As Eckert et al. (1990) point out, this traumatic memory and the anti-Japanese sentiment based on the trauma, are embedded in the contemporary Korean culture, including sport. When Korean teams or athletes play against Japanese teams, that emotion is likely to be aroused. In addition, if the Korean team is defeated by the Japanese team, the Korean people often feel a type of
humiliation (Choi, 2002; Lee, 2002; McCormack, 2002) Although it had failed to establish a nation-state, the experience of the Korean people during this period provides an explicit insight to understanding a central characteristic of Korean nationalism. Anti-Japanese sentiment is, therefore, a crucial part of the national habitus code of Koreans.

The second phase (1946- late 1980s) is a period of a 'nation-state without nation' (Kim, 2000, p. 297). The most distinctive feature of this phase is the partition of Korea. North and South Korea formed nation-states; however, neither Korea accepted its counterpart as possessing a legitimate government. Therefore, it can be called a 'nation-state without nation' because in this condition, statehood was prioritised at the expense of nationhood (Kim, 2000). In addition, even though a genuine sense of the Korean nation-state should be a unified Korea, each Korean government considered its counterpart as an enemy. Thus, it can be said that during this period, the political interests of both Koreas overwhelmed common nationalistic interests.

A main feature of this phase in the formation of South Korean nationalism is the 'invention of tradition'. Nationalism is part of an ideology for the formation of a modern nation-state, and this ideology requires a traditional value or practice in a particular society or region in order to legitimate its nation building process (Kohn, 1944; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992) Likewise, South Korea, especially under the authoritarian regime, needed a similar ideology. President Park invented traditions in order to legitimate his authority and to mobilise the people, and, in doing so, not only was he able to achieve rapid modernisation and industrialisation, but he was also able to adopt a totalitarian regime for the nation. Although the authoritarian regime eventually ended, the 'invented traditions' such as Tan-gun mythology and a heroic
discourse of Admiral Sun-sin Yi which developed during Park’s presidency still exist. For the conservative party and some right wing politicians, those traditions give a rationale for their political agenda.

The third phase of nationalism in contemporary Korean society began with the democratisation of the country. In the late 1980s, the dominant state ideology based on anti-communism and economic development began to wane (Shin, 1998). Various factors contributed to this social change in South Korea. First, an international political climate tended to move from the Cold War toward the mood of détente. This significantly affected the anti-communist ideology. Consequently, the South Korean people began to discard the idea that North Korea was an ideological enemy. Instead, they were more or less sympathetic towards the North Korea’s harsh socio-economic conditions. Second, resistance against the authoritative government led by the literati, students, and workers was so fierce that the government was no longer able to repress them by forceful means. Therefore, South Korean society experienced a dramatic democratisation. Thirdly, and lastly, the explicit growth of the economic conditions undermined the basis of an ideology of the economic development. As a result, Korean people began to take social welfare and human rights issues more seriously. This social change has also impacted upon characteristics of Korean nationalism. Let me explain further.

First, anti-American sentiment emerged (Shin, 1998). Democratisation processes enlightened the people and, thus, they recognised that the former authoritarian government had been supported by the U.S.A as part of its North East Asian strategy, and that America still significantly limited South Korea’s political autonomy. The Korean people, therefore, begin to resist to the American government and its culture in particular (Shin, 1998). Second, both the South Korean government
and its people no longer saw North Korea as an enemy. The South Korean government attempted to develop a dialogue with the North, and supported the North economically in order to build the conditions necessary for the unification. Particularly the North and South Korean summit in 2000, which was the first time in its history, was a watershed in the inter-Korean relations. In short, two characteristics of South Korean nationalism in this phase can be found. These are anti-Americanism and the unification movement.

In summary, it is possible to conclude that South Korean nationalism in the 21st century shows three major characteristics. These are: anti-Japanese sentiment, anti-American sentiment, and the reunification movement. These anti-sentiments, in addition, fundamentally stem from the Korean national habitus codes which represent nation’s unfortunate experiences in the 20th century. The modern history of Korea shows that its history and identity have been seriously undermined by external agencies; so has its national pride. Therefore, in so far as national identity politics is concerned, the three themes identified here seems to be central aspect of nationalism in the contemporary Korea. In the next section, sporting nationalism that reflects these characteristics will be examined.

3-3-2 Korean Sporting Nationalism in the Global Era

At the beginning of the third millennium, South Korean sporting nationalism often reflects anti-Japanese sentiment, or tensions in its relations between North Korea (Choi, 2002, Chung, 2004). Recently, an anti-American sentiment can be also found (Chung, 2004). However, whereas the first two cases regarding Japan and North Korea tend to be permanent elements, the American case seems to be rather
more episodic which depends on the specific situation (Chung, 2004). Thus, in the earlier section on the formation of Korean nationalism, these cases were only mentioned very briefly. Let me explain by taking each of these features in turn and spell out their significance.

Firstly, anti-Japanese sentiment is arguably the most intense and the most sustained emotion. As if reflecting this importance, many studies have been done regarding sport and nationalism between the two countries (Choi, 2002; Lee, 2002, MacCormack, 2002). When Korean athletes, especially in team sports, play against Japan, both players and supporters often think about nothing but victory (Choi, 2002). This anti sentiment is, indeed, 'second nature' or a 'sleeping memory' of the Korean people. Maguire and Poulton (1999) reveal that these 'habitus codes' are often reinforced and represented by the media. Regarding this, although he did not use the concepts such as 'habitus code', Choi (2002) analysed South Korean newspaper articles. The general theme of these reports can be illustrated by one example of a soccer match between South Korea and Japan 'the Korea-Japan football battle is the nation's pride, at any cost we must win' (Sport Seoul, 19 September 1997, cited in Choi, 2002, p. 221). Based on these data, he concludes that the Korean people tend to feel a kind of self-satisfaction and euphoria through watching Japan's defeat by a Korean team.

Secondly, South Korean sporting nationalism against North Korea has different dynamics in contrast to the nationalism expressed towards Japan. While hostility is the key feature of nationalism against Japan, the notion of unity is a core element of sporting nationalism between North and South Korea. Of course during the authoritarian government, there was severe antagonism. However, as explained earlier, it was not a genuine sense of nationalism because such an anti-North Korean sentiment was led by the government as part of its political propaganda programme. Therefore, anti communist nationalism dose not represent interests of Korean nation (Kim, 2000, Park, 1997)
within the Korean peninsula context is used as a means of building a rapport between the existing two Koreas, and further establishing the cornerstone of the unified Korea (Lee, 2000), which is the ultimate goal of Korean nationalism in the global era (Kim, 2000, Park, 1997). In addition, attempts to organise a unified Korean team have a significant symbolic meaning. Each Korea has its own national anthem and national flag. However, when they participate in any sport event, both at national and international level, as the unified team, they use the Korean peninsula flag and sing the *Arirang*, a traditional Korean folk song, which is shared by both Koreans, as a national anthem (Lee, 2000). Therefore, sporting nationalism between North and South Korea is significant in both cultural and political terms.

Thirdly, though the United States of America is South Korea’s strongest ally and, although they have a close relationship at a governmental level, this is less so at the level of popular culture. Not all South Korean people express anti-American sentiment (Chung, 2004). However, a majority of the Korean people recognise the unequal relationship between the two countries. In addition, Koreans are united in their condemnation of criminal acts by individuals in the U.S. forces in Korea. Korean people have been disappointed by the attitude of America's concerning such incidents and this has resulted in an emotional backlash against the U.S. Indeed, these feelings are often expressed in a sporting context. During the 2002 FIFA World Cup, for example, there was tension between Korean people and the U.S. forces in South Korea around the death of two Korean girls who were hit by a U.S. armoury vehicle, and killed on the spot. Although this tension did not develop into stadium violence against the U.S. team by Korean supporters, the Korean Football Association requested that the Korean police provide intense security for the American soccer team, and the arena where the U.S. team was playing. As such, Korean antagonistic
sporting nationalism toward the U.S. is triggered by incidents that have occurred both in and out of sports contexts.

So far, I discussed the three main characteristics of Korean nationalism and the way in which these elements are mirrored through sporting practice. As Smith (2001) notes, nation's misfortunes generate a more fervent form of nationalist politics which appeals to its members in a more effective way. Given that the contemporary history of Korea includes a number of unfortunate events such as colonial domination by Japan and the division of nation, these incidents characterise a central feature of Korean nationalism in the 21st century. In this research project, therefore, particular attention will be paid to the national identity politics in the South Korean media portrayals of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games with reference to specific characteristics of Korean nationalism identified here.

3-4 Global Sport and South Korean Society: 1988 and 2002

Discussing nationalism and national identity politics in the global era might seem to be contradictory. However, unlike this general assumption, globalism and nationalism can exist simultaneously Bairner (2001) outlines a useful insight into this issue. According to him:

For those who adhere to a simplistic view of globalisation this lack of precision would scarcely constitute a problem. If the world is becoming homogenised, then nationalism or national identities in all of their manifestations are rapidly losing their social significance. If, however, one adopts the more sophisticated approach..., then it becomes obvious that nationalism coexists alongside globalisation and is at times strengthened by it (Bairner, 2001, p. 163)
Maguire and Tuck (1998) also suggest three implications for national identity in a global context. 'Either, they are weakened (as result of increasing global integration), or national and ‘local’ identities are strengthened (in resistance to globalisation), or identities are pluralized to create new hybrid identifications’ (p 106). Thus, it is obvious that these two ideas are not necessarily considered as contradictory concepts. In addition, the question of nationalism and globalisation requires more investigation to clarify relationships between the two ideas.

In exploring Korean national identity politics and sporting nationalism, the three implications by Maguire and Tuck (1998) are helpful because while anti-sentiment towards some countries strengthens Korean nationalism, experiencing global culture, especially hosting global sports events gave the Korean people an opportunity to understand foreign culture. Indeed, Korean exclusive and conservative characteristics are changing towards greater tolerance of ‘otherness’ (Lim, 2002). Similarly, Kim Y. M. (2002) suggests that Korean nationalism in the global era needs to be distinguished into two categories; one is nationalism as diversity, and the other is nationalism as subjectivity. Put simply, for Koreans, diversity means having openness towards foreign cultures. The notion of subjectivity refers to issues such as internal unification and external independence. These issues require further attention.

Traditionally, South Korean society had been characterised as an exclusive and conservative community due both to Confucian culture heritage and to a long period of authoritarianism (Kim Y. M, 2002). However, as the processes of globalisation unfold, the possibility of experiencing foreign cultures has increased. In addition, the immigration of foreign labourers, including athletic talents into South Korea, offers to its people an occasion to meet foreign people in their everyday life. Amongst factors
of which the globalisation processes consist, the two major global sport events held in South Korea played a significant role in making Korean society global.

With regard to South Korea's experiences of global cultures and global sports in particular, the impacts of the two major global sport events held in South Korea, Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 and the FIFA World Cup in 2002, upon the country should not be ignored. Briefly speaking, while the South Korea was able to put its location on the global geographic map by becoming a host of the Olympic Games (Hill, 1992), the country boasted its cultural prowess and diversity to the world through the FIFA World Cup Finals at home (Shim, 2003) In other words, South Korea made a global debut by hosting the Olympic Games, and the country became a global rendezvous by holding the FIFA World Cup.

The South Korean government intended to gain an international recognition through the Olympic Games (Larson and Park, 1993) South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world during the 1950s after the Korean War However, South Korean economy experienced a dramatic improvement from the 1970s to 1980s, and the country emerged as a leading economic power in Asia since the 1980s By hosting the Olympic Games, therefore, the South Korean government attempted to show off the country's miraculous development to the world, and thereby being a significant member of the global society (Hill, 1992). In addition to the political purpose of the Olympic Games, they brought a number of globalising impetuses to Korean society. Let me explain this in detail.

In part of the Olympic project, the government initiated to renovate transportation and communication infrastructure in accordance with the global standards (Larson and Park, 1993) Firstly, with regard to changes in transportation system, South Korea built a new runway and international airport terminal outside
Seoul, and new aviation contracts were agreed with a number of countries. In addition, new motorways and underground system were installed in and outside of Seoul. Secondly, a communication system in Korea also experienced a revolutionary change. In consideration of the fact that the Olympic Games are the world’s largest regular event in which the media played a significant role (Dayan and Katz, 1992), it was essential to construct up-to-date media and communication infrastructures in preparation for the Olympics. Therefore, South Korea built a new satellite station and installed a new telecommunication cable. In addition, it set up a then state-of-art communication system such as mobile phone network, Group 4 fax and colour graphic system (Larson and Park, 1993). In so far as technological aspects are concerned, South Korea were able to equip globally standardised infrastructure by updating nation’s traffic and media system.

Technological development was not the only transformation that the Olympic Games brought to South Korean society. The Game also changed the cultural climate of the country. In preparation for the Olympic Games, the South Korean government promoted a Westernisation process which inevitably required changes in the Korean way of life according to Western standards (Larson and Park, 1993) Three examples will be sufficient to reveal the social change that the government encouraged. These are: guidelines for restaurants, production of Western vegetable and a public order campaign.

Firstly, the government implemented a new health and safety policy which included guidance for restaurants. The government encouraged the owners of restaurants to improve kitchen facilities, toilet facilities and service tables so that foreign visitors could enjoy their meal without a culture shock. Moreover, the owners were asked to prepare à la carte menu so called ‘Olympic food’ for Western
customers (Larson and Park, 1993). Secondly, even if South Korea produced a sufficient amount of indigenous agricultural products, the government felt that the country needed to cultivate Western vegetables which were foreign to the domestic farmers. Consequently, the government and the Rural Development Administration conducted a field experiment so that a numerous types of Western vegetable were to be harvested in the home soil. In addition, the government supported farmers who planted Western vegetables such as lettuce and cabbage, anticipating increased demand for Western food by the athletes and tourists during the Olympic Games (Larson and Park, 1993). Thirdly, the Ministry of Home Affair and the Social Purification Committee led a ‘public order’ campaign (Larson and Park, 1993). This campaign stressed a slogan ‘make public order a part of daily life’ which included public order in the streets, in Olympic venues, and in commercial transactions. The ‘public order’ campaign which the government promoted in preparation for the Olympic Games, was, in fact, euphemism for the Westernisation of South Korean society.

While the government policy on social infrastructure and culture required a significant degree of Westernisation of Korean society, the Olympic Games also provided an opportunity to introduce Korea’s unique cultural heritage to the world. The opening ceremony of the Seoul Games consisted of number of Korean rituals and cultural performances. Regarding this, Tomlinson (1996, p 595) observed that ‘the Seoul ceremony accomplished a simultaneous celebration of the local and global, of its own culture and the grander narratives of human history’. In addition to the opening ceremony, a number of foreign television companies from the US, Germany and Japan produced programmes focused on Korean nation, its culture and its people.
(Larson and Park, 1993) Therefore, South Korea was able to export its traditional images to the world by hosting the Olympic Games.

If the Seoul Olympic Games were considered as the South Korean coming out party, which celebrate the country’s booming economy and dramatic development, the FIFA World Cup Finals in 2002 seems to be prepared in order to celebrate the global festival and symbolise South Korea’s active involvement in the globalisation processes (Lim, 2002). While the Seoul Olympics Games resulted in, to some degree, the Westernisation of South Korean society, the social changes that the FIFA World Cup brought to the country represented more complicate processes of globalisation at work in South Korea.

Four points can be made regarding social changes in South Korea that the FIFA World Cup initiated. Firstly, the event had a deeper globalising impact upon South Korea than the Olympic Games (Lim, 2002). Unlike the Seoul Olympics which mainly took place in the capital city, the soccer competition held nationwide. As more than 30 international teams played the matches across the country, the football championship provided an unique opportunity that wide range of Korean people could encounter foreign nationals and experience diverse cultures. In addition, as more than 10 regional cities involved in the World Cup Finals, each city had to adopt so called a globally standardised practice and etiquette in preparation for the global sporting event. Lim (2002) argues through these short but intensive experiences of foreign people and cultures the South Koreans were able to gain a deeper insight of global community in which each member of the society have to respect cultural differences and diversities of others.

Secondly, the World Cup Final contributed to transforming South Korea’s exclusive nationalism into open-mined nationalism (Lim 2002). As Korea is one of
the few nation that consists of homogeneous ethnic group, the country tends to stress exclusiveness and uniqueness of the national culture and tradition (Hobsbawn, 1992; Park, 2001). However, the FIFA World Cup gave the Koreans a chance to reconsider their exclusive nationalism (Lim, 2002). In preparation for the competition, the Korean Football Association employed Gus Hiddink as a head coach of South Korean national team, and the Dutch national managed the Korean team to advance to the semi-finals which was a surprisingly successful performance. Korean football fans were so impressed by his leadership that they considered Gus Hiddink a national hero, and he became the most beloved foreign national in South Korea (Lim, 2002). Taking into account the exclusive characteristic of South Korean society, the facts that the country voluntarily accepted the Dutch man as a leader of the national football team, and that the people perceived Gus Hiddink as a national hero, hint that the South Koreans began to replace their exclusive conservatism with an open-minded reformism.

Thirdly, the World Cup Finals provided a place in which various national identity politics was expressed (Lim, 2002). When South Korea met Italy in the second round of the finals, South Korean supporters decorated one end of the stadium with a huge banner which contains message ‘Again 1966’ which referred to North Korea’s World Cup victory over Italy in 1966. By reminding North Korea’s successful World Cup campaign as a means of supporting the South Korean team, South Korean football fans attempted to unify, at least symbolically, the two Koreas in the football stadium. Hence, an element of a unitary Korean nationalism could be found here (Kim J. Y., 2002). In addition, as the Korean national team approached the semi-final match of the World Cup Final, Korean soccer supporters declared that the Korean team is the ‘Pride of Asia’ This episode implies that though it was
preliminary form, a pan-Asian identity has emerged in South Korean people's minds (Kim J. Y, 2002). For Koreans, however, pluralisation of national identity politics caused by globalisation is still in the incipient stage. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that Korean society is now open to recognise more diverse national discourses and identities.

Fourthly, strengthened Korean national identity was also expressed through the FIFA World Cup. Anti-American nationalism was the most distinctive form of strengthened nationalism at the FIFA World Cup. As mentioned in the earlier section, South Korean politics, especially in terms of diplomatic relations, rely on the United States, and this has resulted in the fact that the US tends to limit the autonomy of the South Korean political class (Shin, 1998). After democratisation, and the impact of globalisation more broadly, the Korean people have begun to take a realistic picture of relations between the US and South Korea, and have started to resist American influence over South Korea. Some incidents at the FIFA World Cup reflected this sentiment. When the US national team played against the South Korean national team, the US soccer team had to be protected excessively by guards due to possible conflict between Korean supporters and the US team. Moreover, the Korean National Police Agency deployed extra police forces around the US embassy near Seoul City Square, the Mecca of South Korean football supporters, in order to prevent potential threat to the embassy by South Korean crowd. Although no accident concerned happened, the police's behaviour reflected anti-American sentiment amongst South Korean people during the football competition.

The South Korean experiences of the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup Finals show the globalisation processes, which involve diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties of cultures, at work (Maguire, 1999). Not only did the two events
that South Korea hosted standardise the country’s socio-cultural infrastructure in line with the Western developed countries, but the sporting occasions also diversified cultural climate in South Korea. In addition, the global sport events presented a field that various national identity politics, such as anti-American sentiment, a unitary Korean nationalism and pan Asian identity, could be expressed. This phenomenon appears to underpin Maguire and Poulton’s argument (1999) national identity can be either strengthened, weakened or pluralized in the face to globalising impetus.

3-5 Conclusion

Globalism and nationalism, at first glance, seem to be contradictory concepts. However, many studies show that the two can coexist at the global level (Bairner, 2001; Giddens, 2002; Maguire 1999, 2005, Robertson, 1992; Smith, 1995, Waters, 2001). According to research that has been carried out so far, the global impact tends to diminish contrasts between states, and to increase varieties within states. However, the precise pattern and form this takes is different depending on socio-historical contexts of a particular nation-state. Thus, Bairner (2001) argues that a specific history, culture, and politics of the region must be understood in order that a more insightful knowledge of nationalism and sporting nationalism in particular, can be discerned. Further, he warns that to generalise about a theory of nationalism without taking into account the history of a specific country can be problematic. Thus, in examining Korea and global sport events such as the Athens Olympic Games, it is necessary to examine the history and geo-political context in which to make sense of such occasions.
In this chapter, nationalism and the national identity politics of the Republic of Korea has been explored. In addition, the impacts of the two global sports event upon the country has been evaluated, and the way in which the processes of globalisation changes identity politics in South Korea has been introduced.

In terms of nationalism, the dynamic of sporting nationalism in the Republic has also been examined. Two critical facts for the formation of Korean nationalism have been suggested. These are that Korea was a Japanese colony for 36 years (1910-1945), and that Korea is a partitioned country. In order to provide fundamental knowledge on Korean nationalism, three phases of Korean history have been outlined. Moreover, a nationalistic account of sport for each phase was explored.

Based on the historical explanation presented, we discovered four central themes of the current Korean national identity politics, and these elements are often reflected in sport. The traumatic memory of Japanese colonial years has become 'second nature' to Korean people. In addition, the desire for unity between the two Koreas is considered another important element. Moreover, as the climate of international relations has been changed, anti-Americanism has developed within Korean society. These three central themes of national identity politics in the Republic of Korea are often reflected in the world of sport. As to be revealed in the empirical chapters, the media coverage of the Athens Olympic Game will be no exception.

It is suggested that in this global era, South Korea is experiencing change initiated by globalisation processes. As Maguire and Tuck (1998) point out, nationalism and national identity politics can be weakened, strengthened, and pluralized because of the global impetus. Such changes are also found in Korean society. In relation to nationalism, as the employment of foreign athletics shows,
Korea’s exclusiveness has tended to decrease. Nevertheless, anti-Japanese and anti-American sentiments, combined with the unification movement between North and South Korea, indicate the strengthened identity politics of the Republic of Korea. The realms of sport reflect and reinforce these emotions. In addition, in holding global sport competitions, Korea is able to pluralize its culture, and thus increases the variety of Korean cultural identity. Yet, paradoxically, this strengthens aspects of the invented traditions and habitus codes of Korean society.

However, research into the globalisation of national identity politics in South Korean society is still in its early stage, and further research in this area needs to be done. Therefore, this case study of the 2004 Athens Summer Olympic Game will be examined in order to probe further the role of sport in relation to national identity politics of South Korea in the global era.
CHAPTER FOUR

GLOBAL FESTIVAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL PRISM:

REPRESENTATION OF THE OPENING AND CLOSING CEREMONIES

4-1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to present and to discuss the empirical findings from the analysis of the representation of the opening and closing ceremonies at the 2004 Athens summer Olympic Games by the South Korean media. Both print (newspapers) and electric media (television) are studied. Four Korean newspapers are researched. These include: Chosun Ilbo, a conservative quality paper; the Han Kyo Reh, a progressive quality paper; Ilgan Sport, a conservative sport only paper; and Sport Seoul, a liberal sport only paper. In terms of television, both public (the Korean Broadcasting System, KBS) and commercial (the Seoul Broadcasting System, SBS) broadcasters are investigated. However, as far as the ceremonies are concerned, the television offers richer materials than the newspapers. That is due to the fact that the television was able to broadcast the whole ceremonies live while the newspapers only reported the next day within a relatively limited space. In addition, it will be revealed, both print and electric media show a similar attitude in featuring the ceremonies; both globalism and nationalism at the Olympic Games are praised and highlighted. Therefore, unless newspaper articles were particularly relevant, the research is focused mainly on the television coverage of the ceremonies.

Special attention is paid to the ways in which narratives of globalisation and nationalism are constructed and disseminated by the media. A thematic and narrative analysis has been conducted. The thematic analysis focuses on how the media
represent the opening and closing ceremonies. Various themes and narratives regarding globalisation and nationalism appeared in the media were systemically categorised and analysed so that a range of identity politics generated by the media could be grasped. In particular, the research examined four themes, namely nationalism, globalisation, Olympism, and Greek culture as they were the most frequently cited in the South Korean media.

An attempt is also made to highlight the value of the process sociological approach in explaining globalisation. Based on the data analysis, this chapter seeks to map out the complex relations between globalism and nationalism, namely global-national nexus (Maguire, 2005), in the global sport arena. The empirical data provided in this research also contributes to an understanding characteristic of global sport culture in general.

4-2 The Olympic Kaleidoscope: from National Ritual to Global Festival

Even though nationalism is still a key concern in the global sport arena, the characteristics of nationalism seem to be experiencing a process of dislocation due to globalisation (Maguire, 1999, 2005) However, it does not mean that the era of nationalism will soon end. Rather, it implies that the issue of sporting nationalism in the global era has become more complex. Four main themes (globalisation, nationalism, the Olympism, and Greek culture) that emerged from the data reflect this complex situation.

The first two themes, globalisation and nationalism, which seem to be in contradiction to one another, are, in fact, interrelated. Reflecting this, the media representation of the 2004 Athens Olympics Games shows some contradictory
characteristics. On the one hand, the media emphasised global co-operation through sports and stressed Olympic ideals such as peace, universal humanism, and global friendship. According to Sung-soo Kim, a KBS sport commentator

The Olympics are a global festival that the whole world joins in. Therefore, it unifies the whole globe and the whole humankind together. That is what the Olympics stand for. ... It is a peace festival indeed (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

Newspapers also reported the Games in a similar manner. For example: ‘Human scale Olympics is the principal motto of the Athens Olympic Games in which, transcending the borders, religions and race, all the 202 member states of the International Olympic Committee participate in for the first time in its history’ (Chosun Ilbo, 14th Aug 2004: A20, italics original). On the other hand, the media also tended to stress the competitive aspects of sport and, thereby, incited nationalistic emotion by featuring winning medals as a great national achievement. The following newspaper report shows this tendency. Entitled: ‘Korea shooting for the first gold’, the Han Kyo Rhe wrote that: ‘A gold be mine!’ Finally, the Olympic has launched. Who will be the first Korean gold medallist at the Athens Games? The people’s attention is now paid to that question’ (14. Aug. 2004: 13). A similar tendency could also be found in television broadcasting of the event. In introducing the South Korean taekwondo team, Ki-chul Suh from the KBS noted:

Recently, challenges to the Korean team from European and other Asian teams have become intensified as their skills and technique are increasingly progressed. The only way to face such challenges is endless training. The Korean team is ordered to accomplish special operations now! (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony: italics added)

As such, the media stressed a competitive dimension of the Olympics, and in opposition to the peaceful messages mentioned earlier, military terms could be found in the media content.
In addition to such contradictory expressions, the characteristics of South Korean sporting nationalism itself are also undergoing change. The most distinctive feature of this change concerns attitudes towards North Korea. During the Cold War era, there was an unbridgeable ideological conflict between the two Koreas. Consequently, the South Korean media often criticised and negatively featured North Korean teams and athletes when they appeared in international sport contests. The fact that North Korea, along with Cuba, was the only country that declared a boycott against the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games also highlighted the hostile and antagonistic relations between North and South Korea at that time. However, as the political climate between the U.S. and USSR changed from the Cold War to détente, the South Korean government took several steps, such as economic and food aid, to ameliorate the conflict-laden relations between the two Koreas.

The mood of changes can also be sensed in sport. Reflecting such a trend towards the inter-Korean amelioration, the two countries attempted to play in a friendly and cooperative manner whenever they encountered each other at sport competitions. Moreover, since the 2000 Sydney Olympics, North and South Korea have marched together at the opening ceremony, and have recently sought to forge a sporting union. In other words, at least in the sporting context, an intense reunification movement, which can be called a unitary Korean nationalism, has begun to emerge.

The media played an active role in articulating this unitary Korean nationalism. Ilgan Sport headlined its report on the opening ceremony that 'The North and South Korean team marched together: 75,000 spectators praised the team' (14th Aug 2004. 6) In addition, a conversation between Jae-kyu Han, a former Korean ambassador to Greece, and In-suk Jeon, the KBS commentator mirrored the way the media viewed the relations between North and South Korea at the Olympics. They observed
Han: Especially, North and South Korea are going to march together again at this occasion [the opening ceremony], aren’t they?

Jeon: Yes, they are.

Han: I expect the joint march will symbolise peace at the Athens Olympics

Jeon: Do you mean our Korean nation will have a leading role in reviving the Olympic spirit at the Athens Games?

Han: Yes, I do.

Jeon: Ah!

Han: I think our joint march may be the biggest event that symbolises peace at the Olympics.

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

As such, the representation of the opening and closing ceremonies by the media contains both an element of globalisation and of nationalism. It also reflects the improved relations between North and South Korea.

The third theme is Olympism. A unitary Korean nationalism is often depicted as fulfilment of Olympism because the basic principles of this nationalism are grounded on co-operation, goodwill, and fraternity between the two Koreas, which reflects a central aspect of Olympism. The conversation quoted earlier shows how the idea of global co-operation and peaceful relations between the two Koreas are connected to Olympism. With regard to this, quoting Jacques Rogge, the President of the International Olympic Committee, a newspaper reported that ‘as an effort to materialising Olympism, the IOC will do its best in helping and supporting the North and South Korea so that the sporting union of the two Koreas can be realised (Sport Seoul, 14th Aug 2004: 5)’. Furthermore, as Robertson (1990) points out, The processes of globalisation involves recognition of humankind as a universal species who shares similar ethic, mores and emotions. Taking account of an emergence of the notion of universal humanism as an signal for an active process of globalisation, the fact that the media often linked the Olympism to universal humanism suggests the linkage between the Olympic movement and globalisation. Take the following example:

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Shin: Yeh, fundamental principles of the Olympic spirits are the human dignity and the human-centred Olympics. The principles also symbolise a basic idea of the Athens Olympics.

Lee: Yes, I can see such principles here in Athens as the motto of this Olympics is ‘returning to Olympism’ (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

In addition, as Appadurai (1990) argues, the ‘ideascape’ is one of five dimensions of global cultural flows. In a similar vein, it is considered that sporting ideologies, such as sportsmanship and fair play based on Olympism are the key aspects of the global sport culture (Maguire, 2004b). Given that the role that the media play in disseminating ideology is crucial (Curran 2002; Fiske, 1982), research into the media narrative of Olympism provides a useful insight into understanding the contemporary global sport culture.

The final theme is about Greek culture and Hellenism on which that country’s culture is based. Not only was Greece the host of the 2004 Olympic Games, but the country was also viewed as the birthplace of the Olympics. Thus, media accounts of the ancient Greek civilisation occupied a significant portion in the coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies. The media devoted much time to introducing Hellenism in relation to the ‘origin’ of the Olympics and of Western civilisation in general. In that sense, examining the media representation of Greek culture can also be a fruitful way of understanding how the South Korean media perceived and interpreted Western culture. A newspaper article highlighted that:

This Olympic Games returned to Athens after a 108 years journey to the world, has a special meaning. Athens is the place where the ancient Olympics had taken place (sic). The modern Games also first started in Athens. Moreover, it is the home of Greek mythology which is adored by the whole of humanity (Sport Seoul, 14th Aug. 2004: 4)

Television also praised Greek culture. According to Sung-soo Kim, a KBS commentator:
Greece is the place where Western Civilisation was shaped about 3,000 years ago. Greece also established a basis of the contemporary human civilisation such as philosophy, politics, medicine, and science. The event that had halted war between the city-states, and had showed off their physical skills instead, was the ‘origin’ of the Olympics (KBS, 13\textsuperscript{th} Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

So far I have briefly reviewed the four main topics with which this chapter deals. These are: globalisation, nationalism, Olympism, and Greek culture or Hellenism. In the following sections, the four themes are discussed in further detail. In so doing, the global-national nexus in which the global sport culture plays a significant role (Maguire, 2005) can be better understood. In addition, the position of the media within these complex relations will be highlighted

4-3 The Olympics as a Supreme Globaliser

There is no doubt that the Olympic Games are the most globalised sport event. It is widely acknowledged that an emergence of global competitions such as the Olympic Games and the Nobel Prize play a decisive role in the processes of globalisation (Maguire, 1999, 2005; Robertson, 1990) Similarly, Hargreaves (2000) argues that the Olympic Games promote and stimulate the processes of the globalisation. However, as many academics stress, the current development of global sport culture in general, and the globalisation of the Olympics in particular, would have been impossible without the media (Maguire, 1999; Miller et al, 2001; Moragas Spà et al, 1995). In other words, the Olympic Games have been recognised as a global sport/cultural event that people from all over the world can experience simultaneously. In addition, the fact that media coverage of the Olympics consists of many pro-globalisation narratives also contributes to making the Games a ‘supreme
globaliser', in which the globalsing messages are delivered to the whole world and, in
doing so, globalism is flagged and reminded (Billig, 1995, Harvey, 1986) With
respect to this, the section focuses on the way in which the media facilitates and
accelerates the processes of globalisation with reference to the South Korean media
coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games
Four sub themes (the Olympics as a global festival, universal emotions, a global
fraternity, and universal humanism) will be discussed in relation to the Olympics as a
supreme globaliser.

Firstly, South Korean media tend to frame the Olympic Games as a global
festival which attracts people’s attention at a global level. Both television companies,
the KBS and the SBS, show a similar tendency. Concerning this, In-suk Jeon, a KBS
commentator, announced that ‘all members of 6 billion global families will pay their
every attention to Athens soon. The global festival ... will start again shortly (KBS,
13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony)’. Likewise, at the beginning of the opening
ceremony, Jae-ick Song, a SBS commentator, exclaimed that ‘the 2004 Athens
Olympic Games are the supreme sport festival in the global village. It has launched at
last! (the SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)’ Similarly, at the very
beginning of the opening ceremony, the KBS observed that:

There are more than 200 nations and 10,000 athletes competing in more than
300 events at the Olympic Games. Moreover, there are billions people in
the global village who are watching the Game . At last, the curtain is
about to rise (KBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added)

By highlighting the scale of the Olympics and the audience size, the media seem to
confirm the status of the Olympics as a global festival Not only does the media
recognised the Olympics as a supreme global event, but they also stress an everlasting
aspect of the Games in order to enhance the importance of the Olympic Games in a
global society. Young-joo Choi from the SBS claimed that ‘the Olympic Games, the festival of the global village, will live forever! ... We promise to see you [audience] again in Beijing after four years (SBS, 29th Aug. 2004: the closing ceremony). In a similar vein, the KBS also mentioned that ‘now we have gathered together here again, pledging that we are going to meet again after four years (KBS, 29th: the closing ceremony)’. Furthermore, the media disseminate the enduring aspect of the Olympics and its significance for unifying the people. The KBS reported that:

The Olympics were an ancient festival that started about 2,500 years ago in Olympia, Greece. After 1,000 years odd silence, the ancient Olympics has been splendidly revived as the modern Games since 1896 in Athens. The Olympic Games are a peace festival and are a global carnival that unifies the global village every four years (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

This extract clearly indicates a historical and perennial element of the Olympic Games that has an effect of increasing the importance of the Olympic Games in the human history. It also presents the Games as a supreme globaliser that can help the audience in conceptualising a global society. As such, the media tend to represent the Olympics as a global festival which has historical validity, and which takes place on a regular basis. Consequently, the media reminds the audiences that they glimpse the notion that they live in the global society every four years. Therefore, the processes of globalisation can be facilitated by the media representations of the Olympics.

Secondly, the media also highlight the universal aspect of human emotions. The South Korean media often refer to the idea that both the spectators and the competitors experience emotions that are shared universally through the Olympic Games. According to the KBS, ‘the Olympics are the event that various emotions, such as glory and rejoice, agony and sorrow, and jubilation and tears, overlaps (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). In a comprehensive review the Athens
Olympic Games by the SBS before the closing ceremony, commentators also framed the Games as a place in which various human emotions are expressed. It was said that:

**Song:** There are staffs and athletes who train together, and they communicate something in body language. They cheer up, clapping their hands, and I can feel their heartbeat. They check the time and change the direction, and begin to hug, rejoicing. These scenes seem to be self-portraits of ourselves. I think these emotions are the mixture of rejoice and despair that only human beings can express.

**Choi:** Yes, we can find every human emotion at the Olympic Games.

(SBS, 29th Aug. 2004: the closing ceremony)

The various human emotions that appeared in the media not only signified the universal validity of the Olympics but also indicated that meanings of the Games could be shared by human beings across the globe. Regarding these emotions, Won-jae Jang, from the SBS, when asked which was his favourite event at the Olympics, replied that ‘I enjoy the Olympics as a whole because it is basically a human being’s festival, and it inherently contains a lot of emotional moments. Consequently, I try to watch every event all through the night (SBS, 13th Aug 2004. the opening ceremony).’ Another commentary made by the KBS also linked the human emotions to feelings that the Olympic Games generated. It was said that ‘during the next 17 days, the whole world will experience the feeling of challenge, of glory, and even of frustration’ (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: opening ceremony). As a result, the Olympic Games are portrayed as one of the most dramatic events which captures the hearts and minds of human beings at a global level. In this way, the media ensures the claim for the universal validity of the Olympic Games. The Olympics are thus represented as a global festival in which diverse emotions are universally expressed and are globally experienced. Therefore, it can be argued that by emphasising the universal aspect of emotions at the Olympics, the South Korean media tend to make the audience feel
that the Olympic Games are globally experienced in a similar fashion; the Games are framed in terms of integrating people from all over the world.

Thirdly, by mediating the Olympic Games in this way, the media seem to strengthen a notion of global fraternity. In this case, residents of the Earth are recognised as a homogeneous global citizen. It is not difficult to find terms such as 'global families' and 'the global village' in media reports on the Olympics. In other words, the media provide a resource for establishing a common identity that unifies the global citizen together. At the opening ceremony, Sung-soo Kim, a KBS commentator commented that 'yes, there exists a unified globe and an integrated humanity. Now, a peace movement is developing' (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). The SBS also reported that 'now all the athletes from 202 countries gather together hand in hand at the stadium. The stadium is filled with the wave of harmony.' In this way, the media disseminate the idea that every nation in fact belongs to a single global society and relations between them should be established on the ground of friendship and harmony. The following extract also shows the possibility of emergence of a single, inclusive global identity via the Olympics. The KBS announced that:

More than 10,000 young athletes form all over the world have consolidated into a single entity in the middle of a flame of the Olympic torch. It unified the world with a passion and friendship. The Olympics, through which everyone opens their minds and shares their hearts, makes sure that we belong to a single community (KBS, 29th Aug. 2004: the closing ceremony, italics added).

A dialogue between two commentators, Jae-ick Song and Young-joo Choi, from the SBS also suggested an inclusive global identity at the Olympic Games. According to them:
Both television extracts attempted to produce an inclusive global identity via their broadcasting of the closing ceremony. They also highlighted dimensions of global fraternity and co-operation in the Olympic movement. Moreover, all the extracts so far cited represent the Olympic Games as the field in which all participants mingle with each other in a co-operative manner, attempting to build global fraternity, while the media overlook the competitive aspects of the Games. In so doing, a mediated version of the Olympics can contribute to developing the processes of globalisation.

Lastly, a notion of universal humanism is frequently featured in the media coverage of the Olympics. As Robertson (1990) argues, conceptualising a model for universal humanism is one of the key developments in the processes of the globalisation. The mediated Olympic Games involve several narratives that praise a global humanism that can be established via the Olympic movement. In respect to this, the media seem to be a missionary of globalisation, and they regard the Olympic Games as a ‘chapel’ of global humanism. Reviewing the development of the modern Olympic Games, a female announcer of the KBS said that ‘as you can see, many aspects at the Olympics have changed since its beginning. But, there is something that should not be changed. That is an idea of human dignity’ (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).’ Immediately after this comment, two media journalists responded that:

Shin: Yes, it is human dignity. That is the principal motto of the Olympic Games that pursues the human-centred event. That is also a symbol of the 2004 Athens Games.
Lee: Yes, as the fundamental motto of the Athens Games is to restore the Olympic spirits, I can intensely feel such moods across various places in Athens.
(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

As such, an idea of human dignity occupies a significant portion in the South Korean media coverage of the Games. Likewise, the SBS reported that:

Choi: Now, you can hear the heartbeat.
Song: Yeh.
Choi: This heartbeat is the main theme of the 2004 Athens Olympics, and it symbolises the Games’ slogan ‘human centred society’
(SBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added)

Even though these extracts did not exactly define what universal humanism consists of, and what a human centred society looks like, it is sufficient to stress that the media promote a notion that all human beings share similar morality based on a common philosophy. Broadly speaking, according to the media, universal humanism is framed in terms of peace and harmony. In respect to this, a KBS commentator explains that.

Today’s global village have been stained by a particular nation’s hegemony and self-complacency, some individuals’ egotism, and an ideological and political conflict. I hope the global village will become a more peaceful and harmonious place since the Athens Olympic Games (KBS, 29th Aug, 2004: the closing ceremony)

Thus, in this media portrayal, universal humanism linked to the Olympic movement involves building a peaceful and harmonious society and should be the principal aim of humanity. The way to reach this goal is envisaged through the Olympic movement.

The following extract implies that the future development of human society is inextricably linked to the Olympic Games. It was argued that:

These fireworks celebrate the best Olympics ever that every member of the IOC participates in. The fireworks highlight that our hopes that the Olympic movements contribute to building a better society and to see the brighter future, would be materialised. (KBS, 13th Aug. 2005: the opening ceremony)

Similarly, the SBS claimed that:
The higher, the faster, the stronger, the brighter, and the more hopeful! The future of humanity will continually progress further with the Olympics! (SBS, 29th Aug. 2005: the closing ceremony)

Furthermore, the KBS speculated that the development of the global society depended on the growth of the Olympic movement.

There are young people from all over the world at the stadium. They are all tomorrow’s dream; they are our hopes indeed. When they are healthy both mentally and physically, our future will be clearer and brighter (the KBS, 29th Aug. 2005: the closing ceremony).

Therefore, the media seems to suggest that in adhering to Olympic ideals, a global society based on the universal humanism can be established. Consequently, the Olympics are represented as a ‘supreme globaliser’ by the media.

Up to now, several global aspects of the Olympic Games that appeared in the South Korean media have been discussed. In sum, four elements can be identified. Firstly, the media frame the Olympic as a global event that every human being can enjoy. Secondly, the media stress that a universal dimension of human emotions can be found at the Games. Thirdly, the media utilise the Olympic Games as a tool for building global fraternity. Lastly, the media disseminate a notion of universal humanism based on Olympic ideals. As noted earlier, all these elements contribute to establishing a global society. However, it must not be viewed as the whole picture of the mediated Olympics. While the media tend to speed up the processes of globalisation, the media also generate, stimulate and reproduce nationalism (Billig, 1995; Maguire, 1999, 2005; Maguire and Poulton, 1999). Thus, a more accurate picture can be drawn if these two seemingly paradoxical phenomena are considered together. In the following section, the nationalistic elements of the mediated Olympics will thus be discussed.
The logic of the mediated Olympic Games operates in a nationalistic fashion (Tomlinson, 1996). Even though the Olympic Games are considered as a global festival, it is difficult to deny that the Games are also a field of nationalistic representation due to the fact that the Olympics inherently involve nationalistic symbols such as national flags and national anthems. The media seldom fail to discover nationalistic aspects of the Olympic Games. Thus, there is a tendency for the media to transform the Games into a national ritual; the way they do so varies. In this section, attention will be paid to how the South Korean media flag up Korean nationalism.

The South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games primarily comprises of recollection of numerous glorious moments at past Olympics. The achievements of Korean athletes in the past are reiterated, reproduced, and even reinterpreted by the media so that the sporting excellence of Korean athletes at the Games can be highlighted. Nationalism and national identity are at the core of such memories. As part of the live broadcasting of the opening ceremony, the KBS produced a nationalistic documentary on Korean athletes at the Olympic Games. According to the documentary:

It was the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games when Korea first joined the Olympic Games. There were two marathoners, Eun-bae Kim and Tae-ha Kwon, and a boxer Eul-soo Whang. Although they participated in the Olympics under a Japanese flag, they are absolutely the first Koreans who took part in the Olympics! (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony. Italics added)
This extract reminds the viewer of Korea’s colonial past, and attempts to highlight national identity politics during the colonial era. Moreover, the extract focuses on the injustice of Japanese colonial policy by stressing the existence and legitimacy of Korea as a nation and its people at that time. A specific highlight of such resistance during the colonial times was constructed via Ki-jung Seon’s narrative. The KBS reported that:

In the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which took place under a manifest racist circumstance, nobody paid attention to Ki-jung Seon until Hitler declared the opening of the Olympic Games. However, breaking the world record at the time he brought the gold medal to the Korean nation, which was the first gold in Korean history. However, Seon bowed his head down at the podium, demonstrating his feeling as one of the colonised (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

Seon, a Korean marathoner, is considered a symbol of Korean sporting nationalism. Given that he participated in the Berlin Games as a member of the Japanese team due to the fact that Korea was a Japanese colony at that time, his narrative is often exploited as a means of reproducing anti-Japanese sentiment. In so doing, the media are able to awaken Korean collective memory.

The national identity politics that surround Ki-jung Seon narrative also appeared in the SBS programme. It showed the memory of the Seoul Olympics as part of the opening ceremony telecasting, and pointed out the fact that Seon was one of the Olympic torch bearers at the Seoul Games. When re-broadcasting the moment when he entered the stadium with the torch, the text said ‘Seon, Olympic marathon hero, is entering the main stadium. Seon is running again for the first time in 50 years in the name of Korean’ (the SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony, italics original), superimposed on the screen. In relation to this, SBS presenters commented that
That was the moment when the Olympic flame was kindled at the stadium. I certainly believe that Seon was extremely touched when he was relaying the torch.

Jang: He was so deeply moved by the moment that he cannot but shed tears.

Im: To him, it was the first time that he ran into the stadium representing Korea.

Jang: Yes, it was... He kept jumping and hoping when he entered the stadium, showing off his excitement. (the SBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added)

When their commentary ended, another caption ‘unforgettably emotional moment’ overlaid the television screen. This programme evidently shows Seon’s Korean national identity. The fact that he was representing Korea for the first time in 50 years, and that the media featured it as a ‘unforgettably emotional moment’ indicates the South Korean media still feel uneasy about the coerced Japanese identity in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. In this way, not only did the media articulate national identity politics in South Korea, they also expressed resentment towards the harsh Japanese imperialism in the past. In other words, a post-colonial anti-Japanese sentiment was mirrored through Ki-Jung Seon’s narrative.

In addition, a narrative of a nation building process also appeared frequently in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. The KBS documentary on the achievement of Korean Olympians clearly shows sport as a means of promoting nationalism during this nation building process. Two commentaries from the KBS are worth noting in this regard. ‘In 1948, London, we, for the first time, participated in the Olympic Games with the Tae-guk-ki [the South Korean National Flag]. Sung-jip Kim won a bronze in boxing, becoming the first medallist as a member of Korean team at the Olympic Games (KBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony)’ and ‘in 1952, when Korea was impoverished as a result of the Korean War, we found hope through the Olympic Games. At the Helsinki Games, both Joon-ho Kang and Sung-jip Kim won a bronze in weightlifting and boxing respectively (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the
opening ceremony). While the former commentary stresses a Korean national identity at the Olympics when the nation gained independence from Japan, the latter illustrates the Korean's attempt to overcome and find relief from the post-war difficulties through sport. In this way, the media reiterate a historical past and link the history to the sporting achievements in order to generate circumstances in which nationalistic sentiment prevails (Maguire et al., 1999).

Such 'glorious' moments in past Olympics provide the media with a rich resource that can be embellished with nationalistic elements. In respect to this, the media reproduced a newsreel concerning a South Korean athlete who won an Olympic gold under a Korean flag for the first time in Korean history. According to the KBS:

At last, the dream of a Olympic gold medal came true in the 1976 Montreal Games! When Jung-mo Yang's hand was raised, a feeling of excitement and jubilation dominated the country. It was the first gold medal for 30 years since Ki-jung Seon (KBS 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony).

Not only does the above extract celebrate the first official Olympic gold, but it also makes the Korean boxer a national hero in parallel with Ki-jung Seon, a legendary marathoner in Korea. In addition, given that, as mentioned earlier, a narrative of the marathoner connotes anti-Japanese feeling amongst Korean people, the extract renders a more complex and persuasive form of sporting nationalism.

The media also recycled a story of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. The Seoul Games were designed as a national project to enhance the status of South Korea in a global society (Larson and Park, 1993). So valuable and impressive is the heritage of the Seoul Games to Korean society that the media still use a discourse of the Seoul Games to frame the broadcasting in a more nationalistic fashion. The KBS remarked that 'the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, which took place in our capital, was one of the most significant Olympics ever in a sense that not only did it enhance our national
pride but it also declared the end of ideological conflict and of the Cold War (KBS 13th Aug. 2004). Hosting the Olympic Games is viewed as a premier national achievement; for South Korea, as a developing country, it was especially so. Therefore, it was not surprising that the media recycle anecdotes concerning the Seoul Olympic Games in disseminating nationalistic ideas. In a similar vein, the SBS reintroduced the song ‘hand in hand’, the official hymn of the Seoul Games. While the song was played with a short film on the Seoul Olympics, the three presenters, Lim, Yoon, and Jang, conversed that:

Lim: Yoon, do you know this tune?
Yoon: Yes, I know, but I haven’t seen the film before.
Lim: Is it your first time to see the film then?
Yoon: Yes, it is.
Lim: Anyway, I don’t know why I feel so touching whenever I listen the song.
Jang: Also, the song ranked a music chart number one in some European countries such as Sweden, Germany, Spain and Swiss.
Lim: Wow, it is ‘hand in hand’! *Whenever I sing the song, I cannot help recollecting the glory of the Seoul Olympics*
(the SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony: italic added)

In addition, at the end of the film, a graphic phrase, ‘Hand in Hand, all Koreans are being united’, was displayed (the SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). As the conversation revealed, the song was featured in honour of the memory of the Seoul Olympic Games. As such, the South Korean media reiterated and reproduced the Korean achievement at the Olympic Games in order to construct the nationalistic discourses in media sport.

The South Korean media focus mainly on the national team as they previewed the Olympic Games; the television seldom introduced foreign athletes. In addition, the evidence suggests that the media tended to frame Korean athletes or teams in a patriotic or nationalistic manner. Moreover, in opposition to the Olympic spirit which will be discussed later, the most valued aspect was winning a medal at the Olympic
Games at all costs. Therefore, according to the media, the Olympics are nothing but all about winning. In respect to this, the KBS introduced its programme with this sentiment in mind: ‘The Olympic Games are returning to its sanctuary, Athens, Greece, for the first time in 108 years. The Tae-guk [traditional Korean symbol] warriors will embellish the first page of a new legend in the land of splendid mythology and rich history’ (KBS, 13th Aug 2005: the opening ceremony). The extract stresses both a hostile characteristic of the Korean team and Korean identity politics. The South Korean team was called as ‘the Tae-guk Warriors’ which represented the team in an aggressive and antagonistic way. Also, by exploiting a national symbol, the Tae-guk, a specific Korean identity, that of warrior was highlighted. In addition, the term, ‘a new legend’, connotes winning Olympic medals. The fact that Greece was represented as ‘the land of splendid mythology and rich history’, and that ‘the Korean team will embellish the first page of new legend in the land’ indicated that the team would accomplish a grand sporting achievement at the centre of western civilisation. In so doing, the media tended to stimulate nationalism by emphasising an offensive manner of the Korean team. In a very similar way, the SBS commented that ‘the Tae-guk warriors are ready to be in the race for an Olympic gold (SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)’. This comment also stresses the result. Here is another example:

The louder our teams are shouting, the better result will come out. Now, everything is ready. The 267 Tae-guk warriors have been running the race pursuing only one dream. If the amount of sweat they have dropped were taken into account in deciding the winner, they would all win an Olympic gold (KBS, 13th, Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added).

The sentence ‘the 267 Tae-guk Warriors have been running the race pursuing only one dream’ reveals the fact that winning at all costs is valued most by the media (Coakley, 2003)
A preview of the South Korean medal hopes was also featured at the centre of the Olympic broadcasting. The media framed all of them in a nationalistic manner. A report on the Korean taekwondo team represents this tendency vividly:

1350 meters above the sea level, the Peak of Hambaek Mountain is where the national taekwondo team’s training centre is located. Recently, challenges to the Korean team from European and other Asian teams have become intensified as their skills and technique are increasingly developed. The only way to defend such challenges is endless training. *The Korean team is ordered to accomplish special operations now!* (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added)

Barmer (2001) argues that a particular sport that originates in a particular nation and is considered as a national sport has a significant implication for a country’s cultural nationalism. Therefore, taekwondo, which has its origin in Korea, is viewed as the Korean national sport. Interestingly, the media presumed that the capacity of the Korean taekwondo team is far better than any other teams. In this context, neither does the Korean team compete with others, nor does the team challenge others. The team only ‘defends such a challenge’. Nationalistic implication in this media report appears that, as taekwondo is Korea’s national sport, any defeat in the event would be considered as a humiliation. Thus, the team must maintain national honour.

In addition, the media introduced the national sport with a specific Korean landscape, ‘the Peak of Hambaek Mountain’, which is regarded as being flagging up a nationalistic emotion. As Smith (1986) argues, understating a national landscape and geography has a profound implication for the formation of a national identity. In the case of Korea, Hambaek Mountain is located at the centre of Baek-du-dae-gan mountain range, which is known as Korea’s social, cultural, and historical foundation (The Province of Gangwon, 2002). Understandably, the mountain itself has national importance. By framing taekwondo in relation to Hambaek Mountain, therefore, the media are able to construct a more persuasive nationalistic discourse. With regard to
this, the media report emphasised that 'a magnificent view of Korean Mountains from the top was spectacular enough to be a reward for their effort [the taekwondo team’s training] (KBS, 13th Aug, 2005)' This media extract rendered a message that the grand landscape of the nation provide the team with a vision of national fervour and thus a duty to devote their effort to making the nation proud.

The South Korean media also focused on Bong-joo Lee, a Korean marathoner and a potential medal winner. Given the fact that it was in a marathon event in which a Korean won a gold medal at the Olympic Games as part of the Japanese delegation during the colonial period, marathon entails a particular meaning in the context of Korea as far as sporting nationalism is concerned. Consequently, marathon is often framed in nationalistic fashion. Take the following example:

Bong-joo Lee makes his final effort to win an Olympic gold at Athens. Having won an Olympic silver at Atlanta Games in 1996, he became a people’s marathoner. *His career as a marathoner literally corresponds to a history of the Korean marathon*. In 2000, he broke the Korean record, and in 2002, he won an Asian Game gold, which was his double gold in succession. However, unfortunately, he had no luck at the Olympics and never won an Olympic gold in his 15 years career. Now, in realising every marathoners dream, his final challenge towards an Olympic gold has begun (KBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added).

Lee is considered the ‘people’s marathoner’ which shows his popularity in South Korea. Furthermore, his personal career is introduced in parallel with a marathon history in South Korea, albeit as an exaggerated expression. In so doing, South Korea as a nation was personified through him. In fact, despite the ‘great expectations’, he failed to win any medals in Athens. However, in spite of the disappointing result, his name was still mentioned by the media. At the marathon medal ceremony, Song, a SBS presenter, lamented that ‘how wonderful if our Bong-joo Lee were there!’ and then added ‘the scene reminds me of Young-jo Hwang [a marathon champion] at Barcelona. Also, I would like to pray for the repose of the late Ki-jung Seon’s soul.
through this moment (SBS, 29th Aug 2004: in the closing ceremony). As such, the names of successful Korean marathoners were mentioned including Bong-joo Lee, during the medal ceremony, even if no Korean won the event at Athens. The call to pray for the late Ki-jung Seon’s soul at the ceremony reveals the profound status of the marathon in Korean sporting nationalism. Another component of Korean sporting nationalism related to a reunification movement in South Korea, namely a unitary Korean nationalism. It can be argued that this type of sporting nationalism was the most distinctive feature of Korean nationalism that emerged in the media coverage of the opening and closing ceremony. When the North and South Korean teams entered into the main stadium together, the media highlighted a mood of reconciliation between the two Koreas. However, the media articulated this notion of a unitary Korean nationalism throughout the Olympic Games in various ways. Further discussion of a unitary Korean nationalism at the Olympic Games will be dealt with in Chapter Six. It will be sufficient, for the moment, to provide some examples that highlight the improved political climate in the Korean peninsula. The media represented relations between the North and South Korean teams in a friendly and cooperative manner, eulogising the joint march at the opening ceremony. The SBS made following comment about the issue:

**Jung:** Above all, the most joyous thing happened is that North and South Korea is going to march together at the opening ceremony. We wear same uniform and carry one flag. It will be easy to be unified soon.

**Lee:** Yes, North and South Korea has marched together since the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Two Koreas made sporting union under a Korean peninsula flag for the first time in 52 years since the division.

**Jung:** By marching together, North and South Korea .. will restore the Olympic spirit, pursuing peace and reconciliation


The KBS also framed their report in a similar way:
Han: Especially, North and South Korea are going to march together again at this occasion [the opening ceremony], aren’t they?
Jeon: Yes, they are.
Han: I expect the joint march will symbolise peace at the Athens Olympics.
Jeon: Do you mean our Korean nation will have a leading role in reviving the Olympic spirit at the Athens Games?
Han: Yes, I do.
Jeon: Ah!
Han: I think our joint march may be the biggest event that symbolise peace at the Olympics.

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony, italics added)

As the extracts above indicated, both the KBS and the SBS highlighted the fact that North and South Korea were predicted to display a degree of reconciliation and unity at the opening ceremony. When the Korean team entered the stadium, Sung-soo Kim, a KBS presenter, commented that:

Ah! How long time are we waiting for this moment! The Korean team is now entering the stadium, declaring the unity and reconciliation of the two Koreas through sport! Led by the white and blue Korean peninsula flag, our teams are marching hand in hand, symbolising reconciliation. Our Korean teams are brothers and sisters in North and South Korea indeed! (KBS, Aug, 13th 2004. the opening ceremony)

This extract emphasises reconciliation between the two Koreas, highlighting the existence of familial ties between the North and South that transcends politics. As such, the South Korean media coverage featured the joint march as its key event during the broadcasting; this is the moment in which the global event becomes a national ritual through the national prism (Lee et al., 2000). In this way, the media seem to support the idea that reunification should occur.

So far, Korean sporting nationalism in the media coverage of the Athens Olympic Games has been discussed. The evidence suggests that the media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games comprises a range of nationalistic expressions. In summary, three aspects of sporting nationalism can be identified. Firstly, the achievements of Korean athletes were reiterated, reproduced, and reinterpreted so that
the glorious moments in the Olympic history were remembered. In particular, the achievements that were made when the nation was in crisis are highlighted. Secondly, the Korean medal hopes were framed in a nationalistic manner. Narratives of national geography, national history, and national sports are intermingled in order that an effect of nationalistic sentiment is enhanced. Finally, a unitary Korean nationalism was featured. Reconciliation and unity between North and South Korea were highlighted.

Overall, apart from a patriotic portrayals of the South Korean athletes, the South Korean media reflected and reinforced two current nationalistic discourses in South Korea, namely anti-Japanese sentiment and a pro-unitary Korean nationalism. However, it was found that anti-Japanese sentiment rarely appeared in the coverage of the Olympics. This tendency might be less to do with the fact that Korea-Japan relations become less important, but the two countries seldom encountered at the Olympic sport event. Overall, it can be asserted that the South Korean media tended to work in favour of the national interest. The empirical data seems to support the arguments that nationalism hardly disappears in the global era, and that sport is one of the key areas, along with warfare, in which the most fervent nationalism emerges.

4-5 the Olympic Ideal: A Global Political Ideology

In the opening and closing ceremonies, the South Korean television coverage often produced media narratives in relation to Olympism. As Maguire (2005) points out, the spread of Olympism or the Olympic movements is a key example of the processes of globalisation. With regard to this, not only did the Korean media perceive Olympism as a philosophy that characterises global sport culture but they
also presented it as a global political ideology. Thus, in investigating the narrative of Olympism in the South Korean media a fruitful insight into understanding the way in which Korean people recognise the processes of globalisation can also be gained.

The South Korean media tend to stress that Olympism is a political ideology which seeks to establish a peaceful and co-operative society worldwide. This tendency can be found in the KBS commentary. It was said that 'We are living in the world where a war and terrorism are constant threats. Under this circumstance, the Olympic Games will teach us the meaning of goodwill by highlighting the Games’ basic principle that is to unify the world together in peace' (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). A similar comment was featured in the SBS coverage. Jae-Ik Song, a SBS presenter, said 'I wish the day when we can enjoy the Olympics without concerning about terrorism and without feeling any threat, will come soon in our global village' (SBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony). Both commentaries presume that a peaceful and cooperative society can be established through materialising the principle behind the Olympic Games.

In this connection, the SBS highlighted an educational function of Olympism. After the opening ceremony, a dialogue between the two SBS anchors reviewed the ceremony. According to them:

**Jung** [Through the opening ceremony] we could learn how the religion, philosophy, and politics of humanity experienced the rise and fall. The contemporary human beings continually fight and conflict each other, and suffer from starvation before such a wonderful textbook.

**Lee** Today, the global village are suffering from war, terrorism, poverty and starvation. This is the moment that the help from the gods is needed most. I wish the global festival which will take place for next 17 days, would touch the hearts of the gods in the Olympus Mountain so that they can bring peace to the people all over the world.

**Jung:** Yes, while ethnic, territorial and political competitions easily lead to war, sport contests contribute to goodwill and fraternity. I hope global families restore a peaceful mind through the Athens Olympics (SBS, 13th Aug 2004: the opening ceremony, italic added).
As detailed here, one of the main purposes of the Olympic Games are to enhance human understanding through the realisation of Olympic ideals. Both the KBS and the SBS featured the Olympics as more than just a sport competition. According to them, what is more important is to build a peaceful and cooperative society in association with the Olympic movement. Therefore, the media presented Olympism as an ideal political thought that we need to follow.

The ideal of Olympism was also framed in connection with the Olympic truce. Young-Joo Choi, a SBS presenter, claimed that:

Olympia, where the ancient Olympics took place, was a sacred land. No armed man could enter the land. A divine convention which ordained that no warfare is allowed; no execution is carried out, and no violence is accepted during the Olympic Games; was completely kept (SBS, 13th Aug 2005: the opening ceremony).

By mentioning the ancient tradition of the Olympic truce, the media emphasized that the Olympics must keep away from conflict laden political circumstances. Based on this, Jae-ik Song, a SBS presenter lamented that ‘it is tragic that we worry about a terrorist attack in the place where the global festival is opening’ (SBS, 13th Aug 2005: the opening ceremony). In a similar vein, Sung-soo Kim pointed out that ‘the Athens Games are particularly meaningful because it pursues the idea of building a peaceful society through exploiting the Olympic truce’ (KBS, 13th Aug 2005: opening ceremony). Therefore, when the Iraq Olympic team marched, Kim commented that ‘even though Iraq is now suffering from the war, they participate in the Olympics, pursuing the Olympic spirit’ (KBS, 13th Aug 2005: opening ceremony). As such, the media highlighted that the goal of the Olympic Games is to reconcile every conflict around the world.

The event that best expressed the Olympic ideals was a temporal sporting union of North and South Korea at the opening and closing ceremonies. Given that
the two Koreas are the last remaining Cold War frontier, it is not surprising that the reconciliation of North and South Korea via sport often appeared in the media in association with Olympic ideals. This was also related to Korean nationalism in the global era which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Here, however, the issue is dealt with in connection with Olympism.

The Korean media emphasised that the union of North and South Korea at the opening and closing ceremony symbolised the core value of the Olympic movement. Before the opening ceremony, a narrative of sporting union was stressed and repeated. This tendency is evident in the following comment by Jae-kyu Han, a former South Korean ambassador to Greece:

I believe the ancient Olympics existed for keeping peace. When I first positioned in Greece, one Olympian said ‘thanks’ to me. So when I asked the reason, he replied that it is because Korea realised the Olympic ideal at the Sydney Olympic Games by marching North and South Korea together (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

The facts that the two Koreas marched together at past Olympic Games, and that the march contributed to continuing Olympic ideals, were reiterated so that the significance of the joint march at the Athens Games was reinforced. Interestingly, the fact that the comment was made by the politician helped to highlight its importance. A similar statement was also made by media personnel Song said ‘like the last Olympics in Sydney, Korea will deliver a message of peace and reconciliation to the global village by marching together and by bearing the same flag’ (SBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). In addition, Kim remarked that ‘the fact that North and South Korean teams entered the stadium hand in hand bearing a unitary Korean flag certainly contributed to restoring the Olympic spirit’ (KBS, 29th Aug. 2004: the closing ceremony). As such, the media linked the reconciliation of the two Koreas at the Olympics to the restoration of Olympic ideals. In doing so, the media were able to
ensure that, at least to Korean people, not only is the Olympics a global sport festival, but it also is a humanitarian political movement.

However, the media do not deny that, in some cases, the Olympic Games are interrupted by political issues. KBS presenters observed that:

**Jeon:** While ancient Greeks never stopped the Olympic Games for about 1,170 years, the modern Olympic Games had to stop, didn’t it?

**Lee:** Yes, you are right. The modern Olympics had to be cancelled for three times owing to the World War within its 108 years history.

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

While the media admitted the Olympics had been tainted by political and economic interest, they emphasised that a more important issue was to make efforts to restore ideals of the Olympics. Kim remarked that:

Last 108 years, the Olympic Games has grown up both quantitatively and qualitatively. The Olympics that resulted in a huge economic loss have begun to make a profit since the 1984 Los Angeles Games. But, overt commercialism was criticised for damaging the innocent Olympic spirit. In addition, the Games had to be cancelled for three times for the political reasons, and the Olympics were once stained by a terrorist attack. As such, while the Olympics have been developed in scale for the 108 years, it experienced many hard times. However, the most important thing is whether the Games have kept its innocent spirit for last 108 years. With regard to this, the meaning of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games can be found in relation to keep the spirit. This is a historical moment that we can restore the innocent Olympic spirit (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony).

As this extract clearly indicates, the Olympic Games have not been as pure and innocent as the Olympic ideals suggest. In fact, a gap between its principle and practice seems to be widening (Bale and Christensen, 2004). In this situation, by utilising a narrative of the return to innocence, the media tend to hanker after a make-believe idealism at the Olympics.

Even if we accept an idealistic notion as expressed with reference to Olympism, at least one question can arise. Due to sport’s inherent characteristics,
which is a competition in essence, it is inevitable that the Olympic Games consist of a degree of struggle. Thus, it is true that the Olympics have been criticised for worsening relations between political or sporting rival (Triesman, 1984; Toohey and Veal, 2000). Moreover, the Olympics have caused scandals such as doping and controversial judgements due to the highly competitive nature of the Olympic Games. Nevertheless, the media attempted to reduce the gap between the ideal and practice by focusing on the sportspersonship envisaged by Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic Games. A conversation between KBS presenters, Shin and Lee, mirrored this tendency. They said:

Shin: As this Olympic Games take place in Athens, the home of the Olympics, I hope that there will be no discrimination between popular and unpopular events, and that humble winners and losers can celebrate each other. I hope such circumstance will be generated in Athens.

Lee: You mean, anyhow, try to restore the Olympic spirit, don’t you?

Shin: Yes, that is what I mean ..

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

Another occasion, they also observed that:

Lee: Father of the Modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin, once said ‘not being the winning but the taking part’. That reminds me what the meaning of the Olympics is.

Shin: You are right. The spirit of the taking part can also be clearly read the Games’ emblem. The emblem symbolise the four mottos of this game, namely the taking part, the tradition, the celebration, and the free exchange of human intelligence.

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony)

The media also emphasised that participation in the Olympics is more valuable than a victory at the Games. In respect to this, it can be argued that the media tended to disseminate the idea that a global fraternity can be strengthened through sport competition. This tendency was clearly seen in the following comments. It was said that. ‘Young athletes learn self-control, respect toward others, and tolerance through sport. At this moment, nobody takes the result seriously.’ (SBS, 13th Aug 2005: the
opening ceremony). At the closing ceremony Kim also expressed that ‘here, all the athletes are equal whether they won the medal or not!’ (KBS, 29th Aug, 2005). The closing ceremony). Based on the comments and the evidence provided in this section, therefore, it can be asserted that the South Korean media are likely to support and promote the ideals of the Olympic Games and overlook its actual practice.

So far, the narrative of Olympism that appeared in the South Korean media has been discussed. Evidence suggests that the media encouraged Olympism. Even though the media do not clearly define the Olympic spirit, it can be said that Olympism is an ideal political thought that pursued a global understanding based on peace and cooperation. The Olympic spirit is closely linked to globalisation both at an abstract and a practical level. In term of the abstract level, the South Korean media regard the Olympics as an enlightenment movement that makes people aware of more humane values across the globe. At the practical level, it accelerates standardisation of global sport cultures by offering norms and practices based on Olympism. This is what Appadurai (1990) calls ideoscapes in the processes of globalisation. However, it must be noted that it is only a partial view of the mediated Olympic Games. In fact, the South Korean media have a Janus-faced character. While they promote universal values such as a globalism and the Olympism, the media also incite nationalism and tend to interpret the Olympics from a South Korean view. Therefore, any partial explanation must be avoided. When the multiple aspects of the Games are considered simultaneously, a more accurate picture can be drawn.
4-6 Greek Culture – Hellenism

The South Korean media featured Greek political, cultural, and historical issues as part of their coverage of the Games. Three sub themes regarding Greek culture can be identified. Firstly, the South Korean media illustrated Greek culture as the origin of western civilisation and of the Olympics. As such, it provides a useful insight into understanding the way in which the South Korean media perceive western civilisation. Secondly, Greek nationalism was highlighted. As the opening and closing ceremonies comprised Greek national symbols and national rituals, the South Korean media represented these elements in relation to Greek nationalism. The modern history of Greece also framed in a nationalistic fashion. For Greece was the host nation, some degrees of their nationalistic expression at the opening and closing ceremonies were inevitable. Thirdly, the media tended to introduce Greek culture with the reference to South Korean experiences. In other words, the South Korean media compared the two nations’ history, culture and politics in an effort to construct cultural, political and economic ties between Greece and South Korea. This South Korea and Greece connection is also exploited as a means of making nationalistic discourses. By investigating these three sub themes a better understanding of the South Korean media’s attitude toward Western culture and civilisation can be provided.

The media often illustrated Greek culture as the ‘origin’ of western civilisation. A day before the beginning of the Athens Games, a Korean newspaper wrote about travelling to Greece that:

The 2004 Summer Olympic Games will take place in Greece. Western people regard Greece as a place where they should visit before they die. It is not only for Westerners. According to the survey, Korean people also choose Greece as one of the most desirable holiday destinations. How can
we describe Greece? There are numerous expressions that characterise the country such as ‘home of the mythology’, ‘the land of the gods’, ‘a more mystical place than the mythology itself’ and so forth. But, these expressions are simply not enough to capture the heart of the country. In order to understand Greece, one must go there, feeling the country through your body (Ilgan Sport, 12th Aug 2004: 14).

What makes the Greece such an attractive place? In the same article, the newspaper added that:

However, travelling to Greece can be boring without understanding a basic element of Greek mythology and culture. … Research is essential before travelling to Greece. Without this, you will only see some ruins, never recognising its importance. Athens is the origin of the European Civilisation indeed (Ilgan Sport, 12th Aug 2004: 14, italic added).

These extracts seem to encapsulate the attitude of the South Korean media toward Greece. Its message is evident; one must visit Greece at least once in his or her lifetime; one must understand a history of European Civilisation; Greece is the birthplace of the Civilisation; and, therefore, Greece is a nation with high prestige. In the same vain, Chosun Ilbo featured Greece with reference to the home of the Olympic Games. Headlined ‘tourists were overwhelmed by the temple of Hera and the stadion’, it was wrote that: ‘Greece is the home of the Olympics where the ancient Games had continually taken place for about 1,000 years since 776 B.C. At that time, all city-states contested their physical prowess before the gods. (Chusun Ilbo, 9th Aug 2004 A22)’ Similar manners can be found television commentaries. During the opening ceremony, Lee, a SBS presenter commented that ‘Greece is an ‘origin’ of Europe isn’t it? It is all about mythology, philosophy, society, art, sport, and so forth. Nothing can be said about today’s European or Western society without mentioning Greeks and Greek gods (SBS, 13th Aug, 2004: the opening ceremony)’. The view that Greece established a basis of western civilisation can also be discovered in the KBS coverage. The following conversation described this aspect:
Han: I've travelled and visited many countries as a diplomat. Among the many countries, Greece was the most distinctive.

Jeon: Was it something special?

Han: I think it was very special country, because, first of all, the Olympic was originated from there, wasn’t it?

Jeon: Yes, it was.

Han: And, the democracy derives from there and, also the most academic disciplines was developed in Greece as well.

Jeon: Ah,

Han: We still learn Pythagoras's theorem at school, and must read Oath of Hippocrates to become a medical doctor, don’t we?

Jeon: Yes, we do

Han: Those people all worked in Greece in B C. 500 or so.

Jeon: Ah,

Han: Therefore, it was not possible to fully understand the contemporary civilisation without understanding ancient Greek civilisation. And, in that sense, my life in Greece was very useful and unique.

(KBS, 13th Aug. 2005: the opening ceremony)

Both the KBS and the SBS described Greek civilisation as a base of contemporary life.

At the end of the opening ceremony, the SBS evaluated the ceremony in relation to Greek civilisation:

Jung: I would like to say it was the most beautiful ceremony ever. It was the most Greek, and the most civilised ceremony. I strongly feel that the origin of humanity is surely from the sea.

Lee: Yeh, while the opening ceremonies that had been performed so far were rather like entertainment shows, the Athens ceremony that just finished was like a thick history book which help in understanding western civilisation.

(SBS, 13th Aug 2005: the opening ceremony)

Based on the media discourses investigated, it is clear that Greece is regarded as the origin of European civilisation and the birthplace of the Olympic Games by the media.

It seems that the South Korean media accept and even respect western civilisation without criticism. Given that South Korea is a highly westernised society, due to the American influence, and that, as Maguire (2005) observes, western civilisation still maintains a status of the established position in the global civilising process, it is not surprising that the South Korean media perceived the western culture positively. In
addition, from the South Korean perspective, Greek culture is located in, what Collins (2001) calls, a zone of prestige. As the above extracts pointed out, a political thought and academic disciplines developed by the ancient Greeks are still in use. In relation to sport, as far as the Olympic Games go, Greece is still the centre of the world. Thus, at every Olympic Games, the Greek Olympic team is privileged to lead the march at the opening ceremony. In that sense, Greek culture and its civilisation still attract people and are still respected by others. Choi’s comment on Greece well illustrated this point: ‘Here is Athens where a freedom of thought was planted and the democracy was developed. Here existed unlimited imagination and creativity with the air of freedom’ (SBS, 13th Aug. 2005: the opening ceremony). A newspaper also claimed that ‘Fantastic Greece and Athens!’ (Ilgan Sport, 13th Aug. 2004: 35).

Therefore, Greece seems to be recognised as a zone of prestige by the South Korean media.

The South Korean media take Greek nationalism seriously. As Greece was the host country, the ceremonies inevitably consist of a range of national symbols and rituals which consequently contribute to stimulating nationalism. The national symbol was often introduced with the reference to related histories. For instance, as a Greek national flag was being raised, Kim commented that: ‘Yes, a Greek national flag is now being raised. It involves nine blue and white strips that symbolise the motto, ‘freedom or death’, during the independence war’ (KBS, 13th Aug. 2005: the opening ceremony). Furthermore, while the Greek national anthem was being played, a similar pattern of flagging nationalism can be found. It was said:

Greek national anthem, a paean to liberty, is based on Solomos’ poem which was written in 1822 celebrating the nation’s independence, and the music is composed by Manzzaro in 1865. The anthem praises a precious spirit of liberty gained through a holy sacrifice (KBS, 13th Aug 2005: the opening ceremony)
For modern nation-states, having a national flag and anthem is considered as essential condition for being a legitimate member of the international community (Billig, 1995). In other words, these are key symbols of the modern nation states. By explaining the history and meaning of the symbols, the South Korean media highlighted Greek nationalism.

The national symbolism and its importance reached its apex as the South Korean media pointed out an issue of Hellenic national identity. As far as nationalism is concerned, an appropriate title of a nation is crucial in defining its nationhood and national identity (Billig, 1995). With respect to this, the case of Greece suggests an idiosyncratic perception of its title by its people. Even though Greeks reluctantly accept its name Greece internationally, they, in fact, internally reject the words Greece and Greeks as these titles remind them of their humiliated memory. In Chosun Ilbo, a report headlined 'Greeks say 'we are Hellas’’ introduced a specific aspect of the title. According to the report.

Greek people call their country either Hellada or Hellas. They also call themselves Hellines instead of Greeks. Greece had been a Roman and Turkish colony. In colonial times, Romans named the people as Greek for the term implies a slave in Latin. Consequently, although they unwillingly accept the title Greece as the name is widely used at international level, they fell uneasy when their nation is called Greece (Chosun Ilbo, 13th Aug 2004: A1).

Another newspaper also introduced the countries profile that ‘Greece is located in southern part of Balkan Peninsula, and its official title is Hellenic Republic’ (Ilgan Sport, 13th Aug 2004: 35, italics added). The South Korean media seem to flag Greek nationalism by mentioning their historical past and stressing the nation’s authentic title. With respect to this, the opening ceremony offered an ideal place in which their national identity could be asserted, and this issue was also highlighted by the media.

Kim, a KBS presenter, commented that ‘now every audience is shouting Hellas.'
Hellas means Greece in Greek. Greek people call themselves Helladians. Greek athletes are now entering with a national flag and a laurel tree. The official name of the nation is the Hellenic Republic’ (KBS, 13th Aug. 2005. the opening ceremony)

This extract involves terms such as ‘Hellas’ and ‘the Hellas Republic’ that stress an authentic national identity of Greeks. Given that all the television audience watched an identical picture, it can be assumed that these elements were also being used to stimulate Greek nationalism in Greece by the media, and to declare Hellenic identity to the world. However, it is not clear the reason why the South Korean media emphasised Greek or Hellenic identity in their coverage of the ceremony. One possible explanation is that, by stressing nationalistic aspects, the media supported the idea of the nation and nationalism being a central part of the Olympic Games (Tomlinson, 1996) In this case, for the South Korean media, Greek nationalism is regarded as nationalism in general at the Olympics. Once such concept is established, then, the South Korean media are easily able to feature its national side in a nationalistic manner. Therefore, the Olympic Games certainly are a field in which nationalism can be preserved in the global era and in which various nationalistic expressions are sanctioned both officially and unofficially (Hoberman, 2004)

In addition, Greek culture often appeared in connection with South Korean experiences. In other words, cultural, political and economic linkages between the two nations were made. In doing so, not only did the media try to establish an imagined South Korea and Greece alliance, but they were also able construct a nationalistic discourse. A newspaper article reported that:

Even though Greeks are totally different ethnicity who lives in an opposite side of the globe, the nation shares some similarities with South Korea. ... Greece was the only Balkan country who was able to keep liberal democracy against communism with the help of the United States after World War II [so was South Korea in Korean peninsula] Historically, as Korean had experienced a Japanese colonial domination, Greece had also
been a colony of the Ottoman Empire for about 400 years since the mid 15\textsuperscript{th} century. ... During the Korean War, Greece sent about 5,200 troops to [South] Korea, and 186 young soldiers sacrificed their life (Chosun Ilbo, 14\textsuperscript{th} Aug 2004: A2).

The media highlighted similar historical experience and geographical characteristics of the two nations in an effort to make a bridge between South Korea and Greece. As Smith (1986) states, both a national history is an essential element in a nation building process. In particular, a more emotional and fervent national identity can be engendered when a national history involves a tragic and traumatic experience. With regard to this, the newspaper article implied several connections. Firstly, given that a political spectrum of the paper is conservative ideology, the paper featured a pro-American Cold War narrative. The media text, ‘Greece ... was able to keep liberal democracy against communism with the help of the United States after World War II’, shows that the newspaper regards the United States as an political and economic ally. In addition, the media presumed that readers (South Korean of course) know the fact that the American Government helped South Korea politically, economically, and militarily during the Cold War Therefore, the paper omitted this fact. Consequently, the text connotes that; a political identity of South Korea is liberal democracy; the US was (and is) South Korean’s the closest ally; and every Korean should be aware of these facts. Secondly, an anti-colonialism narrative appeared. The paper wrote that; ‘Historically, as Korea had experienced a Japanese colonial domination, Greece had also been a colony of the Ottoman Empire for about 400 years since the mid 15\textsuperscript{th} century’. In this case, the paper seems to justify an anti-ex coloniser sentiment by saying South Korea is not the only nation having a post-colonial problem. Interestingly, unlike the pro American Cold War narrative, the paper did not omit a Korean story, indicating its ex-coloniser, Japan instead. Therefore, the Chosun Ilbo tended to wake up ‘sleeping memories’ (Maguire and Pounton, 1999) of South
Korean people, and to reinforce anti Japanese sentiments. Lastly, a discourse regarding the Korean War was exploited. The media reported that: 'During the Korean War, Greece sent about 5,200 troops to [South] Korea, and 186 young soldiers sacrificed their life'. Given that Korean peninsula is the last existing Cold War frontier; and is still technically at war, a narrative of the Korean War can offer a resource for a conservative Korean nationalism that is based on anti-communism and neo-liberalism. Moreover, by reinforcing the fact that Greece helped South Korea during the War at the expense of Greek troops' life, the newspaper attempted to establish a temporal and artificial fraternity between two countries.

Regarding Greek’s support during the Korean War, a newspaper published an article dealt with an interesting incident. Ilgan sport reported that:

Mr Yeon-Tak Lee, the president of Korean Sport Council, and Mr Park-Jae Shin, the chief of the South Korean Olympic team, visited a war monument near Greek parliament building and mourned for the souls of the soldiers who were killed at the Korean War. Escorted by five Greek Korean War veterans including former general Mazos, Mr Lee and Mr Shin with other 15 officials laid flowers at the foot of a monument. After that, they had teatime at a cafe nearby, and Korean officials paid their respect to the Korean War veterans and the soldiers who dedicated their precious life for Korea (Ingan Sport, 10th Aug. 2004: 3).

Here, the media paid attention to the conduct of the South Korean Olympic team. This rather solemn media account dealt with a patriotic behaviour of the staff members of the team. The report highlighted the Greek contribution to South Korean anti-communist war campaign during the Korean War, and the key officials of the South Korean Olympic teams who showed their respect towards the war-dead and the veterans. By publishing such a patriotic report which stressed Greek-Korean cooperation during the War, the newspaper seems to define the attitude that South Korean readers should have towards Greeks: it is the time to repay the invaluable help
from Greece during the Korean War by celebrating the Athens Olympic Games and by supporting Greek athletes.

Interestingly, the electronic media also mentioned very similar narrativesAccording to a conversation between Jae-Kyu Han, a former ambassador to Greece, and In-Suk Jeon and Seung-Yeon Lee, KBS commentators:

Lee: I think, er, it seems to me that, historically and geopolitically, there are many similarities between Greece and South Korea. Is it right?
Han: Yes, it is. First of all, Greece is located in the 38th parallel as we are, and is peninsula country as also we are, and moreover, historically Greece was surrounded by powerful countries such as the Roman and Ottoman Empires as we were [surrounded by China and Japan]. The fact that they were tragically under the Turkish rule about 40(sic) years, was also similar to our history, and finally, they fought against an expansion of communism after World War II as we did.
Jeon: Their national fate is very similar to ours, indeed!
Han. Yes, I personally think that Greece is very similar country to ours. If I were asked to find the most similar country to ours in the world, I would say that it was Greece (KBS, 13th Aug 2004. the opening ceremony)

In another occasion, they also conversed that

Lee: Mr. Han, you said before that, er, South Korea and Greece share many similarities But, er, since when the two country have had relations?
Han: It was since the Korean War. During the War, Greece participated in it, keeping our liberal democracy. It was very meaningful that a citizen of Greece, the birthplace of democracy, contributed to saving our democracy

The main topics of the conversation are almost identical to the newspaper extracts. Thus, it can be argued that the South Koran media featured Greek culture and history with reference to South Korean experiences in order to construct nationalistic narratives.

To recapture the topics discussed in this section, the three themes examined this section include Greece as the origin of western civilisation, Greek nationalism, and a Greece and South Korean connection. Firstly, the South Korean media viewed Greek civilisation with respect. Given that Greek civilisation is the basis of western
civilisation, and political and scientific thoughts developed by the ancient Greeks are still available, the South Korean media seem to locate Greece in a zone of prestige. Secondly, the South Korean media frequently featured Greek nationalism at the opening and closing ceremonies. In doing so, the media reinforced the notion that even if the Olympic Games are the most globalised sport event, a nation acts a key role at the Games. Greek nationalism was regarded as an example of sporting nationalism in general. Finally, Greek culture and history was introduced with reference to South Korean experiences. Some geographical and historical similarities were mentioned so that an imagined alliance could be established. However, the similarities between the two countries reported in the media were mainly used for asserting South Korean nationalism.

4-7 Conclusion

In this chapter, four main themes featured in the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympics have been discussed. These are globalisation, nationalism, Olympism, and Hellenism or Greek culture. The evidence suggests that the media promoted both globalisation and nationalism. While notions such as a global fraternity and goodwill were praised and celebrated at the opening and closing ceremonies, the media also reflected and reinforced a Korean national interest such as the national team's achievement. In that sense, the ceremonies were both a global festival and a national ritual. Moreover, a narrative of Olympism, which implied a global sporting and political ideology, appeared continually. The South Korean media seemed to trust the surface value of Olympism without criticism. Finally, the media focused on introducing Greek culture. The culture was positively framed as the origin.
of Western Civilisation, and this reflected the power that Western cultural forms still wield upon the global sport-cultural field.

All the four themes represent profound characteristics of the processes of globalisation which underpin the notion of the global-local nexus. Therefore, any unidirectional and deterministic view on globalisation such as Americanisation theory should be avoided. Instead, every variable involved in the processes of globalisation must be taken into account in order that the processes can be understood more accurately. In other words, globalisation is open-ended structured processes which involve heterogenisation, homogenisation and creolisation (Maguire, 2005). In consideration of this, a concept ‘the global media sports complex’ by Maguire (2004a) is particularly useful in investigating the media contents on globalisation and nationalism. In the same vein, a figurational perspective, which stresses the processes of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, the global established and outsider relations, and a very long term global civilising processes, offers valuable conceptual tools in explaining such complex phenomena. This will be discussed in greater depth in Conclusion. At this stage let me outline some preliminary thoughts.

The evidence suggests that while the processes of globalisation develop, a more distinctive and unique form of nationalism emerges. In other words, the world experiences both homogenisation and heterogenisation processes simultaneously. A figuration concept, diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties as a result of long term cultural encounters and exchanges, closely captures the situation (Maguire, 1999, 2005). In the processes of globalisation, or the global civilising processes, the power balance between cultures or civilisations is neither equal nor static, rather the balance is constantly changing; therefore, the globalisation processes is always in flux. Nevertheless, at the current stage of globalisation, western civilisation still holds more
power than other civilisations. Therefore, the established and the outsiders relation between western and non-western civilisation can arise. However, it does not mean that non-western cultural realms are subordinated to the western power, they can emulate and resist to the occidental cultural practice. The South Korean media representation of the Olympic Games underpins this tendency.

The media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympics suggested that the main ideology that leads globalisation mainly originated from western civilisation such as the Olympism, liberal democracy and capitalism. In this situation, western civilisation becomes the established civilisation. As the South Korean media coverage shows, South Korea generally accepts this western cultural norm For instance, that Olympism is an ideal political thought which pursues a global understanding based on peace and co-operation with the help of sport is widely accepted and promoted. In addition, as the South Korea media locate Greece in a zone of prestige, the media showed respect toward Greek culture.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that Korean society will be subordinated to western society. The evidence also shows that distinctive Korean nationalism emerges A unitary Korean nationalism and anti-Japanese sentiment becomes more and more intensified, and such nationalistic feeling are reflected and reinforced via sport In so doing, South Korea is able to assert its own nationalism by emulating western sporting practices. Moreover, although Greek cultural heritage is featured in a positive way, the media tend to make linkage between Greece and Korea. In many cases, focal point of reports on Greece is not Greek culture itself but Korea or Greek-Korean connection. Consequently, the South Korean media featured a more or less Koreanised Greek culture
In consideration of these characteristics of the South Korean media portrayals of the opening and closing ceremonies in which the complicate global and national nexus exists, it seems that the ceremonies are both national ritual and global festival. Therefore, we must consider the complex dynamics of globalisation and nationalism as a figuration network. In doing so, a more accurate picture of contemporary sport and society can be painted.
CHAPTER FIVE

A CONTEST OF DISCOURSES:

PEACE FESTIVAL, TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

5-1 Introduction

The Olympic Games are a global sporting contest par excellence. When the Olympics are transmitted by the mass media, however, the sporting competition seems to become a contest of various discourses. It is widely acknowledged that the media is not a neutral institution. In fact, ideological and culturally-biased messages can easily be found in the media coverage of any event (Golding and Murdock, 2000, McQuail, 2000). With regard to media coverage of the Olympic Games, numbers of research suggest that gender, ethnic and national biases were embedded in the media portrayals of the Olympic Games (Billings and Eastman, 2002; Butler: 2005, Gardiner, 2003; Wilson, 1998). Thus, it can be argued that the media produce numerous discourses that reflect and reinforce the socio-cultural and political circumstances of a society.

The South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games is no exception. The representation of the 2004 Athens Olympic by the South Korean media featured several discourses, including commercialisation, globalisation, nationalism, gender, and terrorism. Moreover, these discourses were not always presented in a coherent manner, rather, they were in numerous cases contradictory. For instance, while a newspaper may criticise commercialisation of the Olympic Games in one report, it may promote, and even praise, commercial activities in Olympic programmes in another. A similar tendency can be seen in the media coverage of the Olympic Games.
that dealt with issues of globalisation, nationalism, and feminism. Hence, it can be asserted that the mediated Olympic Games are truly a competition of ideological discourses (Barnard et al, forthcoming).

In this context, the present chapter attempts to analyse such contradictory discourses which appeared in the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Particular attention will be paid to discourses on three distinctive issues which are relevant to the overall research project. These are: the Olympic Games as a peace festival, terrorism; and nationalism in the Olympics. It would appear that the first two topics, a peace festival and terrorism, directly contradict each other. While the Olympic Games are often eulogised as the most cheerful festival in the world by the media, reports on heavily armed security forces outside the Olympic venues deliver a negative image of the Olympic Games. It seems ironic that the most enjoyable moments require the most secure armed forces.

In terms of nationalism, as seen in the chapter on the opening and closing ceremonies, the content of the mediated Olympic Games consists of numerous elements that stimulate nationalistic sentiment. In this chapter, particular attention will be paid to nationalistic discourse in Olympics-related commercial advertisements, namely commodification of nationalism and national identity. It is interesting to see that several commercial companies, both transnational enterprises and South Korean corporations, tend to exploit nationalistic messages by the media in their public relations activity. This tendency seems to be in contrast to the Olympic ideal that arguably eschews both commercialised and politicised Olympic movements.

This chapter is mainly concerned with newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games. Unlike the other two empirical chapters which concentrate on an individual event and a specific theme (the opening and closing ceremony in Chapter 4 and a
unitary Korean nationalism in Chapter 6) the current chapter attempts to investigate various media discourses during the overall period of the Olympic Games. In this regard, the print media seem to offer adequate material. On the basis of the newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games, the themes of peace festival, terrorism and corporate nationalism will be discussed in this chapter.

5-2 Peace Festival and Terrorism in the Mediated Olympics

The mediated Olympic Games present some contradictory discourses. On one occasion, South Korean media eulogised the Olympic Movement, noting that 'the human scale Olympics is the theme of the Athens Olympic Games, which transcends borders, religions and races (Chosun Ilbo 14\textsuperscript{th} Aug 2004: A20, italics added). Here, the press implies that the Olympic Games can resolve, however briefly, conflicts over religions and races. On another occasion, the same newspaper published a rather striking report which said that 'the scale of military forces and weapons that are going to be deployed to secure the safety of Athens during the Olympic Games, is comparable to a serious war effort (Chosun Ilbo 14\textsuperscript{th} Aug. 2004: A22)' According to this article, a military raid against the host city appeared to be so imminent that it is necessary to arrange a heavily armed defence system in the preparations for the Olympic Games. Surprisingly, two totally different descriptions of the Games appeared in the same newspaper on the same day. How can we make sense of this ironical situation? These seemingly contradictory or paradoxical accounts indicate

\[14\] Given that both Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) and Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) transmitted the Olympic Games for more than 9 hours daily during the Olympic period, the television resources seem to consist of too much information. Meanwhile, in comparison with the television coverage, the newspapers produced a more organised and limited number of Olympics-related news items daily during the Olympic Games. Thus, raw research materials from the newspapers is more systematically manageable. Subsequently, the newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games will be primarily discussed in this chapter.

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that there exist some discrepancies between principle and practice of the Olympic Games. In respect to this, the present section attempts to compare two different media discourses on the Olympic Games. In addition, some sociological explanations are offered to explain such contradictory elements. In so doing, the characteristics of the South Korean media and their report upon Olympic Games can be more accurately understood.

5-2-1 The Olympics as a Peace Festival

One of the main characteristics of the Olympic Games may be its festive character which attracts a massive volume of materials and people including media personnel from almost every part of the globe to its host country. Those who are not able to attend the festival in person can feel they are taking part via the media. In addition, a number of cultural events that take place both inside and outside of the Olympic venues enhance this festive climate. The host city itself is also decorated with a variety of ornaments that enliven the city’s life. The three week-long festival is claimed to change people’s daily experience at a global level. A few days before the opening of the Olympic Games, a Korean newspaper vividly described the carnival atmosphere as:

Prelude to a Magnificent Festival!

On the seventh of August, a week before the opening day of the 2004 Athens Olympics, spectacular fireworks are beautifully embellishing the mid summer night near the Rion-Antirion bridge. Olympic athletes from all over the world are continually arriving in Athens, and the city has already been full of Olympic fever as the opening day of the Olympic Games, which take place in Athens again after more than a century, is coming closer (Sport Seoul, 9th Aug. 2004: 2, italic added).
The South Korean newspaper described the Olympic Games as a ‘magnificent festival’. Not only does this report state ‘spectacular fireworks are beautifully embellishing the mid summer night’ but it also contains a colourful photograph of exploding fireworks in the Athens sky. To concentrate on the fact that this news item focuses on fireworks, the cultural meaning of fireworks seems universal. Culturally, fireworks imply a special occasion, usually a cheerful moment that needs to be celebrated. In Britain, bonfire night marks the failure of the Gunpowder plot. In Japan, people enjoy an annual hanabi (fireworks) festival on summer nights. The Chinese have a long tradition of including fireworks in their national holidays. Moreover, it is common feature that most advertisements of theme parks such as Disneyland show a display of fireworks. Likewise, the Olympic Games were represented in association with exploding fireworks. Thus, it can be said that the news report powerfully connotes that a period of the Olympic Games is, as the various regional festivals mentioned above, a time to be celebrated. Given that the title of this report is ‘prelude to a magnificent festival’, with a photograph of a firework explosion and related texts, the press seems to herald the beginning of a massive carnival.

While the fireworks rather symbolically represent a festive climate in Athens, the following newspaper extracts provide a more concrete vision of Athens as a host city of the Olympic Games. Entitled ‘Heroes Are Coming Back!’ the newspaper reported that

The city of gods is waking up. Athens is moving rapidly as the city welcomes incoming Olympians and visitors and prepares for staging a festival. Decorated with Olympic symbols, streets in Athens are now full of an Olympic fever. In each Olympic venue, the final embellishing touches are being carried out. Athens is so busy conducting a rehearsal of the Olympic events that the city seldom falls asleep even though it is long after the sunset (Sport Seoul, 9th Aug 2004: 9).
This news item gives some ideas how active and dynamic Athens is in preparation for the Olympic Games. It is interesting that in the first sentence of the news the main verb is ‘waking up’, and the final sentence consists of the phrase ‘seldom falls asleep’. This structure of the article implies the overall undertone of the report: Athens is an active and dynamic city that is doing its best to host the Olympic Games. In order to enhance a dramatic effect of the news story, the newspaper ascribe a personified character to the city. The expression, ‘Athens is waking up and moving rapidly’, implies that a variety of work and events are taking place in the Greek capital. Firstly, it stresses the manner in which the host city welcomes athletes and tourists from various parts of the world. Secondly, the coverage also describes the vivid and active inner-city life in relation to the Olympic Games. Third, the report states that all the sport facilities would soon be ready to host the Olympic events. Finally, it indicates that the citizens of the city are participating in the preparatory works, spending a significant portion of resources on the Olympic events. All these serious efforts made by the Greeks to host the Olympic Games look sufficient to suggest the importance of the Olympic Games in a global festival calendar. By publishing this type of story, therefore, the newspaper seems to underscore the premier status of the Olympic Games as a global festival.

The media also emphasised a particular characteristic of the host country which entices tourists’ gaze and, therefore, eventually enhances a festive spirit in Athens by seducing more holiday makers into the city.

‘When Mythology Meets the Olympics’

Tourism is a central economy of Greece. An idiosyncratic circumstance of Greece in which gorgeous natural scenery and ancient mythology are
beautifully harmonised, makes the Athens Olympic Games an attractive and mystic ‘global festival’ In Athens, one can sense a fully engaged but exciting festive emotion in every corner of the city. A spectacular night view of the Athens sporting complex including the main stadium seems to notify that the opening of a global festival is at hand (Ilgan Sport, 11th Aug. 2004: 4, italic added)

The most famous cultural heritage of Greece, according to the South Korean media, is Greek mythology. In fact, the ancient Olympic Games as part of a religious ritual accounted for a significant portion of the mythology. As issues around the relation between the ancient and modern Olympic Games will be discussed later in this chapter, here attention will be given to Greek mythology in relation to a tourist attraction The title, ‘When Mythology meets the Olympics’ implies a central theme of this news item, the mixture of the two producing a unique cultural experience. Defining a main source of the country’s income, tourism, the article introduces Greece as a place in which ‘gorgeous natural scenery and ancient mythology are beautifully harmonised’. Then, it stressed that such a wonderful harmony ‘makes the Athens Olympic Games an attractive and mystic ‘global festival’’. Without question, a festival would be much more exciting if it offers spectacular events and views. In this light, Athens seems an ideal place to host a ‘global festival’. The unique circumstance might bring more people into the city, and the more people come, the more delightful a festival could take place In addition, ancient Greek mythology such as Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey may be among the best-known literature of the ancient world. Naturally, most tourist attractions in Greece are associate with ancient religion. Thus, by exploiting a narrative of Greek mythology, the South Korean press seemed to invite a broader range of people to make sense of the Athens Olympic Games.

The highest value of the Olympic Games, above all, may be its underpinning of a specific philosophical or ideological proposition, namely Olympism, which largely consists of elements of a political idealism. The Olympic Charter clearly states that
‘the goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity’ (IOC, 2004, p. 9). Although many critical academics have pointed out the gulf between the Olympics in principle and in practice (Donnelly, 1996, Hoberman, 2004; Tomlinson, 1996), the South Korean media discourse on the Olympic Games framed it in close relation to a notion of Olympism. Moreover, when such a idea is linked to a festive circumstance of the Olympic Games, the global festival claims a significant cultural value. In a Durkheimian sense, therefore, a profane event becomes a sacred ritual. The following extracts encapsulate this trend.

It was written that:

_The Great Peace Ensemble Has Commenced in the Land of Mythology_

_The 2004 Athens Summer Olympics, the biggest sporting festival in the global village, was splendidly launched on 14th at the Olympic main stadium in Athens, Greece. Highlighting the ‘human scale’ event, the Athens Olympics sent a message of peace and reconciliation to the whole world (the Han Kyo Reh, 16th Aug. 2004: 28, italics added)._  

This account defines the Olympic Games as ‘the great peace ensemble’. The term ‘ensemble’ indicates that the Olympics are the event which requires a considerable amount of co-operation amongst participants. Moreover, political and moral values are added to the event as the phrase ‘the great peace’ indicates. Such a political statement becomes more evident as the paper noted that a message of peace and reconciliation was delivered to the world with the beginning of the Athens Olympic Games.

In addition to this, the news item also consisted of two colourful photograph which were entitled ‘a celebratory cannon salute that rings through the global village’ and ‘the North and the South make peace again’ respectively. The first photograph that captured the moments when the fireworks were displayed above the Olympic
main stadium, seems to demonstrate the degree in which the Olympic Games are celebrated globally. The second photograph depicted the two Korean teams marching together at the opening ceremony. Given that the Korean peninsula still remains the final frontier of the Cold War, one can easily perceive the intended meaning of this image: peace and reconciliation. When these photographs are viewed in association with texts, a possible image of the Olympic Games that conjures up in the reader’s mind appears evident. The text and the photographs indicate that Olympic Games are a festival that promotes peace and reconciliation at a global level. In this way, a specific cultural and political meaning of the Olympic Games was constructed, reproduced and reinforced by the mass media.

A discourse on the Olympic Games as a global peace festival can also be found in reports upon a particular country and event. Above all, the Korean newspapers cast the Iraq Olympic teams as a symbol of the ‘Olympic Truce’ because the Iraqis participated in the Olympic Games despite an ongoing military conflict in their home nation. Regarding this, the Han Kyo Reh published a group photo of the Iraq Olympic team with a caption that ‘despite the wound, we stand’ (the Han Kyo Reh, 7th Aug 2004: 9). Similarly, Ilgan Sport noted that ‘despite a state of war, the Iraqis are on the way to Athens (Ilgan Sport, 7th Aug 2004. 9). A few days later, the same newspaper published a photographic report of the Iraq team. The photograph depicted the team members waving hands with a smile. The accompanied text also highlighted that ‘war should not mix with the Olympics; members of the Iraq Olympic team were waving hands as they arrived in Athens’ (Ilgan Sport, 10th Aug 2004. 4) Likewise, another South Korean newspaper remarked that ‘even though the Iraq team consists of

15 It is interesting that no South Korean newspapers mentioned other countries whose military forces were involved in the Iraq war in this manner. In 2004, the number of South Korean servicemen stationed in Iraq was the third largest after to the US and the UK although most of the Korean forces were from non-battle units.
a small number of athletes and expects to win only one medal in a single event, their participation looks serious (Sport Seoul, 10th Aug 2004: 7). All these reports clearly point out that the South Korean newspapers showed, if not respect, at least a sympathetic attitude to the Iraq Olympic team.

In terms of the issues around the Middle East conflicts, the most distinctive topics appearing in the South Korean newspapers were about an Iraqi boxer, Najah Ali and his American coach, Maurice Watkins. The facts that Iraqi and American individuals were in cooperation in an Olympic team, and that a sporting union of the US and Iraq resulted in a moderate success was sufficient to attract the South Korean media’s attention. Their stories focused on narratives of peace and reconciliation. Regarding this, Chosun Ilbo wrote that:

The co-operation of an Iraqi boxer and an American coach made ‘a Olympic victory which facilitated reconciliation’.

Winning the match, Najah Ali from Iraq ran into a white man coach who was at the ringside, and hugged and kissed him.... Ah was the only Iraqi boxer at the Athens Olympics, and the white man coach was an American Maurice Watkins. Smiling widely, they said: ‘We are diplomats who are symbolising reconciliation between Iraq and the US ’ Watkins said: ‘I coached 24 Iraqi boxers, believing that a success in the Olympic boxing would bring hopes to the Iraqis’. At the match, Ali wore a shirt printed with the phrase ‘Iraq is back’ and did his best. As a result, he was able to give a victory to his country (Chosun Ilbo, 20th Aug 2004: A28, italics added).

The recent military conflict between the George W. Bush’s and Saddam Hussein’s governments was often featured as part of the ‘clash of civilisations’ (Huntington, 1996). Although the principle cause of the conflict that Huntington pointed out in his book ‘the clash of civilisations’, is controversial, it is an undeniable fact that a serious and prolonged friction exists between the US forces and Iraqi Islamic militia in Iraq. It is debatable whether the current situation in Iraq indicates the conflict between the
two countries because the incumbent Iraqi government asks the US forces to stay in the Middle East country. In spite of this, the newspaper represented the two countries are in conflict in an attempt to highlight the role that the Olympic event play in ameliorating hostile international relations. The newspaper account suggests that sport helped ameliorate the conflict-laden US and Iraq relations. According to the South Korean press, the United States and Iraq seemed to be dramatically reconciled at the Olympic Games, however temporal this might have been. This incident seems to be in accordance with a notion of Olympism of which fostering international goodwill and fraternity through sport is one of the major principles. In the headline to the news story, the victory of the Iraqi boxer coached by American was praised as an ‘Olympic victory which facilitated reconciliation’ The term ‘co-operation’ also suggests a positive connotation in US-Iraq relations. By transforming the countries in conflict into countries in co-operation, the media featured this event as a realisation of Olympism in practice.

Let me explain the main text in further detail. It was written that ‘[w]inning the match, Najah Ali from Iraq ran to a white man coach who was at the ringside, and hugged and kissed him’. It portrayed the moment when Ali won the match. The first thing Ali did after the match was to run to Watkins whose identity was not fully revealed at this stage. He was just described as a ‘white man’. A white man, in Korean context, commonly means a person from western developed countries. Thus, the text so far appears to imply a possible integration of western and Islamic cultures in general. Then, Watkins’ American identity was revealed as the focus of the story becomes more and more narrowed; ‘Ali was the only Iraqi boxer at the Athens Olympics, and the white man coach was an American, Maurice Watkins’ (italics added) Here, the term ‘Iraqi boxer’ was located in parallel with the term ‘American
Maurice Watkins'. By highlighting the national identities of the two individuals in this way, this sentence hints at a surprising and dramatic connection between the Iraqi and the American.

The next sentence appears to be a key verse as if it gave a specific meaning to the Olympic boxing match: 'They said 'we are diplomats who are symbolising reconciliation between Iraq and the U.S.' and smiled widely ’ The newspaper quoted what the two Olympians stated. They themselves defined their identities, the relation they have and the message they attempted to send. The coach and the boxer perceived themselves as diplomats trying to bring peace and reconciliation to US-Iraq relations and to the Middle East crisis in general. Not only did this political statement by the boxer and his coach correspond to the Olympic Charter, but the statement was also more or less in concert with the discourse that the media attempted to impose on the Olympic Games. It was already pointed out the South Korean media wrongly represented that the US and Iraqi governments were currently in conflict in order to highlight that the Olympic Games can have a positive impact upon the region. Nevertheless, by exploiting the US and Iraq example, the newspaper constructed their preferred discourses which emphasised that the Olympic Games transcend political problems. To sum up, the report seems to suggest that no other event but the Olympic Games could engender such a US and Iraq alliance.

So far, the media discourse on the Olympic Games as a festival that promotes global peace has been examined. The South Korean newspapers tended to define the Olympics as the biggest global festival of our time, and attempted to highlight that the value embedded in the Olympic movement benefits a universal human development, overcoming political and cultural barriers. In contrast to these optimistic
representations of the Olympic Games, the dark side of the event will be discussed in the next section.

5-2-2 The Olympics as ‘Terrorlympics’

Modernity has brought manufactured risks into society (Beck, 1992, Giddens, 2002). The Olympic Games, which are considered as one of the key agents of global modernity (Roche, 2000), also face numerous risky situations. Among others, a global terrorism looks the most serious external risk that threatens both the organisers and the participants of the Olympic Games. In fact, the Olympic movement is so vulnerable to a terrorist attack that a considerable amount of security costs are incurred in order to hold the Olympic Games safely. This unstable and risky situation conjures up a picture which is in stark contrast to the scene previously depicted. Attention will thus be paid to the media discourse on terrorism and the Olympic Games.

Terrorism at the Olympics is not a novel phenomenon. The fear of terrorist threat, however, has become intensified since the September 11, 2001 attacks. As the 2004 Olympiad was the first Summer Olympic Games since the 9/11 terror attacks, the Athens Olympic Organising Committee invested huge sums of money in the anti-terror programme. Subsequently, a large number of armed forces was mobilised in the anti-terrorism campaign. Understandably, one of the main discourses of the Athens Olympic Games was built around these security issues. In fact, the Korean media dealt with the topic so seriously that, if someone who knew nothing about the Olympics and read the Korean newspapers covering the terror issue at the Olympic Games, he or she might consider the Olympic movement as a type of military
operation. In this context, a Korean paper reported the war-like circumstances in Athens. It noted:

Armed security guards in every corner of the city.

*The city of Athens is surrounded by armed security guards* as the opening day of the Olympics comes closer. Machine gun-armed troops and pistol-carrying police were deployed to various places such as in the Olympic village, at the media centre and at the Olympic venues. A security checking point is installed at the entrances of various Olympic facilities. Security guards ask that everything the visitor holds, even if it was a little coin in the pocket, be put into the basket, and frequently order belts to be taken off. (*InGAN Sport*, 10th Aug. 2004: 6, italic added)

The newspaper article depicted a frightening atmosphere in Athens. The headline, ‘armed security guards in every corner of the city’, illustrated an image that the host city are under control of armed forces and security organizations. The report also established a positive co-relation between the Olympic Games and armed forces, with ‘machine gun-armed troops’ guarding the Olympic related facilities. Whilst a group of security guards can be seen in any venue for mega-events nowadays, heavily armed soldiers can normally be found either in a place in which a critical military or terrorist attack is expected or when the host country is in a state of war. Although neither was the case in Athens in 2004, the Olympic venues were protected by armed forces as if military conflicts were imminent.

Even though the term ‘security guard’ implies that the paramilitary forces existed for defensive purposes, the security checkups considerably restricted people’s daily life. The newspaper wrote that the guards not only ask but also order ordinary citizens to behave in accordance with their direction. This implies that the people in Athens, to a degree, gave up their freedom in order to secure the terror free Olympic Games. This high level security system made Athens looked a safe area. However, the
circumstance that the security forces in the city generated seem to be far away from the climate in which a global festival which promotes peace and goodwill took place.

The committee members of the Athens Olympiad were so concerned about a possible terrorist attack that policy they implemented for the Olympic Games seemed to tarnish the ideals of the event. In respect of this, the Han Kyo Reh newspaper described the Athens Olympics as ‘Terrorlympics’.

‘Terrorlympics’: When Peace Festival Become Military Festival

Due to anxiety over terrorism, the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, which are intended to be a peace festival, seem to be under the most restrictive martial law. More than 70,000 security forces armed with machine guns are thoroughly policing the Olympic venues and the Olympic village. ... In addition, NATO has launched a number of battleships to guard Greek offshore waters. Patriot Missile batteries and an air strike radar surveillance system are also in operation. In case of airplane hijacking, fighter crafts are ready to take off at anytime from the airbase at the outskirts of Athens. After all, ‘the present military operation in Athens would be the largest peacetime military action in European history’, one news agency reported (the Han Kyo Reh, 12th Aug. 2004: 35)

The role that the military played at the Olympic Games seems obvious in the article. In fact, the report vividly illustrated the military action involved in preparation for the Olympic Games. In the headline, it ironically contrasted a peace festival to a military festival in order to underscore the grave anti-terror campaign in operation. In so doing, the media seemed to imply that military action replaced the sporting competition in Athens. In singling out the tarnished image of the Olympic Games linked to the anti-terror campaign, the media were contrasting this to the image that the IOC and the organising committee preferred to create. The expression ‘[the Olympic Games] seem to be under the most restrictive martial law’ represents a highlight this media portrayal.

In addition, the article emphasised the scale of the armed forces involved in the Olympic movement in Athens. It said the military operation was ongoing on land,
sea and in the air. The media also focused on the rather unusual military forces in Athens. This was evident in several respects. Firstly, the newspaper pointed to the NATO sanctioned navy forces in Greece; ‘NATO has launched a number of battleships to guard Greek offshore waters’. According to this article, it was not the Greek navy which guarded the Athens waterfront and the Olympic venue within the city but naval forces organised by NATO. In so doing, the media seemed to signify, at least at NATO level, the internationally concerted military effort to protect the Olympic Games. Secondly, it noted a defence system in operation on the land. Patriot Missile batteries and air strike radar surveillance equipment were installed in the city area as a means of protection from terrorist attacks. Even if terrorism could cause severe damage to the Olympics, such a high-tech defence system seems more or less inordinately excessive. Thirdly, the press also indicated that military aircraft were ready to take off in case of any necessary situation. These rather complex military efforts in Athens and the media discourse built around them seem more likely to deliver a war-like picture of the Olympic Games to readers. By pointing out military forces deployed in Athens, the media seems to criticise political characteristics of the Olympic movement. Moreover, in order to highlight an immense anti-terrorism campaign, the newspaper also quoted a statement by an international news agency which remarked that ‘the present military operation in Athens would be the largest peacetime military action in European history’. Such an inordinately massive scale of the military forces mobilised in preparation for the Olympic Games, and the media representation of the strained situation appear, to suggest that the event took place not for welfare but for warfare.

Reflecting the immense anti-terror campaign, Chosun Ilbo ironically stated that ‘during the Olympic Game period Athens is the most dangerous but, at the same time..."
the safest place in the world’ (*Chosun Ilbo* 14th Aug 2004: A22). Similarly, the *Han
Kyo Reh* criticised such a contradictory situation with reference to the Olympic
Games and the Middle East conflict. The newspaper wrote:

> During the day, Athens’ main streets, which are decorated with colourful
flags and the Olympic symbols, are completely filled with a festive air. A
group of Olympic athletes touring around the street also contributes to the
festive circumstance. When the sun begins to set, however, armed soldiers
and police battle units are deployed to the streets without exception. If we
forget the fact that the Olympic Games are on going in the city for the
moment, it looks exactly like ‘Athens under martial law’. ... More
magnificent illuminations and spectacular fireworks will be displayed in the
Athens sky as if they obscured the war flames in Iraq. But, taking account of
the history of the Ancient Olympic Games, the 2004 Athens Games, which
take place while the Iraq war is ongoing, is certainly a ‘feast of humiliation’.
(*Han Kyo Reh*, 14th Aug. 2004: 35)

This report consists of two comparisons and evaluations of them. Firstly, it shows
two different faces of the city of Athens: the city when the street is filled with various
attractive ornaments and people, and the city when the street is filled with rather
abhorrent machine gun-armed soldiers and police battle units The former illustrated
Athens in festival and the latter the city in martial law. Secondly, it contrasts two
different types of light: ‘spectacular fireworks’ in the Athens sky and ‘war flames’ in
the Iraqi sky The former denotes an enjoyable moment and the latter symbolise a
shameful time. In both comparisons, the media positioned a peaceful circumstance in
parallel with a war-like environment After contrasting the two incompatible concepts,
the paper concluded that the Athens Olympic Games is a ‘feast of humiliation’. The
paper appears to respect an ideal dimension of the Olympic movement, particularly of
Olympic truce. As the Athens Games took some hypocritical forms, which people in
one part of the world celebrated the Olympic festival in the name of peace while
people in the other parts suffered from the war, the media chose to highlight this by
such deceitful character and criticised the Athens Games as a ‘feast of humiliation’.
The mobilisation of military forces was not the only way to guard the city and the Olympic related facilities. A web of surveillance system was also in operation as part of the anti-terror campaign in Athens. In fact, the security system worked so thoroughly that some citizens of Athens were concerned about the possibility that their private life could be investigated. By highlighting the surveillance system in Athens, the media seemed to produce an image that ‘Big Brother’ is watching over you in the city. In respect to this, a Korean newspaper illustrated that:

If you want to feel like to be in George Orwell’s novel ‘1984’, you should go to Athens now! In today’s Athens, your talk and behaviour may be thoroughly watched by somebody. During the Olympic period, the Greek intelligence agency scans the city throughout with state-of-the-art surveillance equipment as the intelligence agency, above all, takes precautions against the terror threat to Athens (Sport Seoul, 17th Aug. 2004: 6)

The newspaper likened Athens’ circumstances to George Orwell’s 1984. According to the article, it an individual’s freedom was highly restricted. In other words, one is required to sacrifice his or her privacy for the need of the collective. It seems to prove Foucault’s argument (1991) that a distinctive feature of modern society is its surveillance system which demand a self-discipline on its members. Ironically, it appears necessary to oversee people’s behaviour in a highly individualised and liberalised society in order to maintain a safe and stable condition. Likewise, Athens needed to adopt such a panoptical surveillance policy so that the Olympic Games could take place without any detrimental risk. By comparing the city’s present condition with Orwell’s sceptical futuristic novel, however, the report maintained a critical view on the security policy in Athens. As a result, the newspaper generated a more or less negative depiction of the 2004 Athens Games.

A similar media discourse can be also found in other newspapers. Ilgan sport showed a concern that:
It is revealed that the Greek intelligent community is observing Athens throughout by setting up a voice and picture scan system at every corner of the city. They particularly pay attention to places like every Olympic-related facility, seaports, airports and historical sites in Athens. More than a thousand high definition cameras, a dozen patrol boats, around 4,000 police vehicles, a number of helicopters and airships equipped with sensitive observing sensors are now collecting visual and verbal information. Meanwhile, human rights organisations in Greece show deep concern, making a petition to the Greek Parliament, that the surveillance system could breach people’s private life (Ilgan Sport, 11th Aug 2004: 6).

The news account demonstrated the way in which the Greek intelligence agency gathers information in detail by intrusive methods. It indicated the sheer number of cameras, patrol boats and aircraft that investigate the people. By singling out the surveillance tools in Athens, the press attempted to forge a news report that highlighted the morally unacceptable policy that governs the city in an attempt to keep terrorism away from the Olympic Games. The final sentence of the report seems to point out a preferred meaning of the news, stating that ‘human rights organisations in Greece showed deep concern, by making a petition to the Greek Parliament, that the surveillance system could breach people’s private life’. In doing so, not only was the newspaper able to express its moral standpoint on the scan system, but it also reinforced its critique by referring to human rights organisations. In this way, the newspaper underlines its critical view on the current Olympic Games

So far, I have examined media discourses on the link between Olympic Games and terrorism. The evidence shows that the ideals of the Games has been tarnished by its anti-terror programme. In addition, the media pointed out the hypocritical characteristics of the Olympic Games such as co-existence of military action and peace promotion. These darker sides contrasted with the celebratory discourses on the Olympic Games that were discussed previously. Earlier, I investigated media discourse on the Olympic Games as a festival, and in such frameworks, numerous
joyful narratives dominated the media representation of the event. By contrast, the newspapers also produced somewhat critical and sceptical discourses on the Olympic Games. The media both celebrated the Olympics as ‘a magnificent festival’ and criticised it as a ‘feast of humiliation’. It seems that no single discourse on the Olympic Games dominated the South Korean media coverage: both critical and supportive accounts co-exist.

5.3 Corporative nationalism: Advertising discourses

It is widely acknowledged that the economic importance of sport, both domestically and internationally, is increasing (Tomlinson, 2005). Not surprisingly numerous commercial companies sponsor a number of sport events and athletes because sport sponsorship is deemed to be an effective way to promote their products and brand images (Silk et al, 2004). In fact, as Maguire (2004b) points out, commodification of sport accounts for one of the central elements in the globalisation of sport. Given the massive scale and the high reach of Olympic Games at a global level, sponsoring the Olympic Games is regarded as an excellent opportunity for interest groups to enhance their public relations16.

In the South Korean media, numerous commercial messages in relation to the Olympic Games were produced and delivered to the public. Regarding a public relations strategy of so-called transnational corporations, a number of scholars argue that advertising campaigns towards a specific nation or region by such corporations often consist of discourses that construct or imagine national and cultural identities (Giardina and Metz, 2005; Miller, 1998; Silk and Andrews, 2001). The South Korean

16 The IOC states that ‘the Olympic Games are the most effective international corporate marketing platform in the world, reaching billions of people in over 200 countries and territories throughout the world’ (2007, the IOC website)
case was no exception, nationalistic and patriotic narratives frequently appeared in the advertising discourse in the South Korean media. For instance, Pro-Specs, one of the largest sport wear brand in South Korea, published advertising message claiming that 'we are proud of you ... Pro-Specs is continually supporting the South Korean Olympic team' (*Ilgan* Sport, 18th Aug. 2004: 7). Not only do such commercial messages in association with the Olympic Games underpin the corporations' interest, but they are also enmeshed in the complicated identity politics of the global cultural sphere. In this respect this section examines advertising discourses which appeared in South Korean newspapers during the Olympic Games.

5-3-1 Samsung and Korean Corporatism and Nationalism

Samsung, a transnational electronic company rooted in South Korea, published three interesting advertisements in sequence - before, during, and after the Athens Olympic Games - which reveal an interesting approach regarding nationalism, corporatism and the Olympic Games. They reflected a general trend of corporate ideology and nationalism in an Olympic discourse. Samsung's participation in the Olympic Partner Programme (TOP) gave the company an exclusive right to use the Olympic symbols and logos in its marketing activity. Samsung developed a specific promotion strategy, which largely appealed to a patriotic sentiment, diverted at South Korean consumers during the Olympic Games. The following advertising discourse published before the start of the Olympic Games demonstrates a message in which corporate and nationalistic ideologies are mingled.

The Olympic Games will rise again in Athens. Samsung electronics make the Olympic Games more historic than ever before. [Samsung] is providing
the WOW (Wireless Olympic Works) system that combines a wireless terminal with data process technology so that officials can search all information regarding the Olympic Games anytime, anywhere. In order to make a more dynamic and harmonious event Samsung is running as the Olympic partner. *Samsung runs in the name of Korea at the Athens Olympic Games where 6 billion global citizens are paying attention*. Both in the Olympic Games and in wireless technology, Korea will be the best! *(Chosun, 9th Aug. 2004: D8, italic added, Highlight original)*

The text shows how discourses of capitalist ideology, the Olympic Games and nationalism were intermingled in a single commercial message. In this respect, the commercial message can be divided into two parts. The first part is embedded within a corporate or capitalist ideology, and the second part a nationalistic sentiment is stressed in association with corporate ideology. In the first part, the advertisement seems to presume that the Olympic Games are by nature a historically significant event. Then, it stated that Samsung makes this Olympic Games even more historical than other occasions by applying new communication technology to the Games operating system. The statement that these technological advances by a commercial company make the Games more historical appears to be ideological. While text underscores the way in which Samsung's technology and its contribution to the Olympic Games benefits the public, the financial interests that the company generate was not mentioned. Thus, Samsung seek to be viewed as a benevolent institution. That is not only does this technological innovation make the Olympic Games more efficient and accessible, but it also suggests that it brings 'harmony' to the Games. The advertisement indicates that 'in order to make a more dynamic and harmonious event Samsung is running as the Olympic partner'. No justification is given for this claim. The commercial simply asserts that Samsung helps to make the Olympics a more harmonious event. In so doing, Samsung represents itself as a benevolent
institution that is helping the Olympic Games take place. As a result, the company is able to disseminate a positive image to the public.

The latter part of the advertising text shows corporate ideology in association with nationalism. Giardina and Mets (2004) point out that the corporate capitalists tend to fashion national consciousness in their commercial activities. This tendency can be found in Samsung’s advertising discourse. The text states that ‘Samsung runs in the name of Korea at the Athens Olympic Games where 6 billion global citizens are paying attention (Chosun, 9th Aug. 2004: D8)’. In this text, Samsung is featured as a Korean participant in the Olympic Games, and its activity attracts people’s attention at a global level. In other words, by taking part in the Olympic Games, according to the commercial, Samsung improves South Korea’s status in the world. Thus, the company appears to ask readers to show a positive, if not supportive, attitude towards Samsung’s promotion campaign during the Olympic Games. The underlying intention that presents the company as having a strong Korean identity is clear: Samsung exploits patriotic discourses in an effort to impress its positive brand image on South Korean consumers. In this way, Samsung attempts to equate its profit with a Korean national interest.

The following sentence, ‘Both in the Olympic Games and in wireless technology, Korea will be the best! (Chosun, 9th Aug. 2004 D8)’ clearly indicates Samsung’s association with the country. The name of the company is omitted. Instead, the term ‘wireless technology’ is used in order to metaphorically indicate the corporation. Moreover, the technology is cast with a direct reference to Korea. The text seems to infer that as Korean Olympic athletes will perform their best, Samsung, as a Korean representative company, will also carry out its mission at the Olympic
Games. In so doing, according to the advertisement, both the athletes and the corporation contribute to enhancing the prestige of the country.

These commercial messages are highly ideological; equating a private commercial company with a national institution. In fact, the company is exploiting a patriotic discourse in order to promote its products effectively. By equating the company’s commercial activity at the Olympic venue with South Korean Olympic athletes’ performance, Samsung tried to make a positive impression on Korean consumers. In reality, however, it is rather obscure in what way the corporation contributes to increasing Korean’s national interest and prestige at Olympic venues. A more accurate analysis is that by participating in the Olympic TOP programme, Samsung hope to succeed in promoting its brand image as a high-tech company in the global market place. Outside South Korea, it is unclear how much the company contributes towards improving the status of South Korea. Nevertheless, the corporation built its commercial media messages around a nationalistic and patriotic discourse within South Korea.

During the Games, Samsung also published an advertisement that related to nationalism and corporate ideology. The following example from Samsung’s commercial message demonstrates this pattern. Interestingly, the personal pronoun ‘our’ is frequently used in this commercial:

Our nation becomes prestigious in every part of the world. The world pays attention to our nation. What does it feel like? The Korean national anthem is being played amongst global citizens, and our technology and our brand compete for the top position ... Samsung wishes the South Korean Olympic team success in the name of Republic of Korea (Ilgan 13th Aug. 2004: 14-15, italics added)

Here, the text links Samsung with national prestige. It illustrates that South Korea’s stature in a global society has been so dramatically improved that any Korean person
should feel proud of being Korean. This type of narrative reflects the remarkable economic and political development of the country in the second half of the 20th century. In 1950s, largely due to the aftermath of the Korean War, South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, and its political situation was unstable. Since the 1960s, however, the industrial power of the Republic of Korea began to grow continually and in the 1990s, it became one of the leading economies in East Asia (Eun, 1996). Politically, although the Korean peninsula is still ideologically divided into two parts, South Korea experienced a successful democratisation process during the past two decades (Breen, 2004). Such rapid political and economic development engenders a situation in which a state nationalism based on a developmental ideology accounts for a significant part of Korean cultural life.

Such advertising discourse mirrors this instrumental Korean nationalism. The text underlines an improved status of South Korea in the global community, and claims; ‘Our nation becomes prestigious in every part of the world (Ilgan 13th Aug. 2004: 14-15)’. This is followed by the sentence; ‘The world pays attention to our nation’, intended to indicate the remarkable socio-economic change that South Korea experienced from 1960s onwards. The text claim that South Korea’s development was so dramatic that the world now shows respect, and developing countries try to emulate the Korean developmental model. In so doing, the discourse attempts to encourage Korean readers to be proud, and eventually to exalt Korean patriotism. In addition, the term ‘our nation’ was used instead of South Korea. As a number of academics point out, personal pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘our’ are used in discourse in everyday life to represent the identity politics of belongingness that discursively distinguish ‘our’ group from others (Billig, 1995; Elias and Scotson, 1965, Mennell, 1994, Pickering 2001). Considering the identity politics that the personal pronoun
conveys, the advertisement deliberately uses the term 'our nation'; it was 'our nation' that had gained a prestigious status, and it was also 'our nation' to which the world pays attention. In this way, the advertising discourses attempt to stimulate Korean patriotism and, therefore, to deliver corporate ideology to the people in a more effective manner.

While the opening lines of the text demonstrate that the advertisement exploits a nationalistic and patriotic discourse, the majority of the text shows more elaborate discourses in which nationalism and corporate ideology are deliberately interconnected. It is noted that 'the Korean national anthem is being played amongst global citizens, and our technology and our brand compete for the top position (Ilgan 13th Aug. 2004: 14-15, italics added).’ Let me concentrate on the way the personal pronoun is used here. Given that the sentence is part of Samsung’s advertisement, and that communications technology is one of the major products of the company, it is not difficult to see that the pronouns refer to Samsung. However, by deliberately using ‘our’ instead of a name of the company with a statement that Korean anthem is being played, Samsung is attempting to equate its success with national achievement. In this way, Samsung represents itself as if it was a national institution which contributes to the development of South Korea.

Indeed, the last sentence, ‘Samsung wishes the South Korean Olympic team success in the name of Republic of Korea (Ilgan 13th Aug. 2004: 14-15)’, summarises the overall characteristics of the advertisement. Unlike other sentences which appeared in this commercial, the final line does not contain personal pronouns. It seems that the terms employed in this sentence clarifies what the personal pronouns used earlier refer. According to the advertisement, Samsung, the South Korean Olympic team and the Republic of Korea are located in sequence so that the common
characteristics of the three terms can be highlighted their Korean-ness In this sentence, Samsung is represented as an agent which supports the South Korean team for the Republic of Korea In so doing, Samsung was able to advertise that it is an essentially Korean company for Korean people.

The advertisement expressed can be summed up in the following way. Firstly, it indirectly reminds Korean people of the country's dramatic development process in the past. Secondly, it underlines that Samsung played a crucial role in this development process. The advertisement implies that it was Samsung and its technologies that helped South Korea to revamp its image and that made the country possible to accumulate its national wealth. Thirdly, the company maintains its support and contribution to Korea's national interest by acting as a patron of the South Korean Olympic team. Finally, considering the three points above, the corporation tries to deliver a positive and benevolent image to the Korean people. This advertisement is not an isolated example.

At the end of the Olympic Games, Samsung produced another advertisement that contained a highly ideological message:

In the 2004 Athens Olympics, we were honoured to be the ‘Olympic Partner'. The proud gold medals bring glory to Korea; one in every ten athletes in the South Korean team won a medal; and [Samsung was] one of the 11 global brands that officially supported the Athens Olympic Games! At the time when 6 billion global citizens paid attention to Korea, Samsung was always with them. The corporation is responsible for improving national prestige not only through achieving economic success but also through supporting a sporting triumph. For the South Korean Olympic team in four years' time, Samsung, again, will support the team as best as possible. Together with the Korean people, Samsung applauds the South Korean team's performance (Chosun, 30th Aug. 2004: A16).

Here, the corporation recalls what it did during the Olympic Games and its attitude towards the South Korean athletes. The first sentence expressed that Samsung's
participation in the Olympic Games was an honourable activity. The personal pronoun ‘we’ was also used. Whilst the term ‘we’ appears to connote that Samsung officially took part in the TOP programme, a more appropriate reference of the pronoun seems to include South Korea because the company tended to represent itself as a pseudo national institution on numerous occasions. In addition, subsequent sentences make clear that the pronoun refers to both the country and the company as the text linked the South Korean team’s accomplishments in parallel with the corporation’s involvement in the Olympic Games. Thus, the expression ‘an honourable Olympic Partner’ appears to have a double meaning. Firstly, it means that Samsung was literally a participant in the IOC’s TOP (the Olympic Partnership) programme. In this case, the pronoun ‘we’ only implies the corporation. Secondly, the ‘we’ can also refer to South Korea as a whole because the country took part in the Games, and accomplished a more or less notable success. Hence, the personal pronoun ‘we’ in the first sentence means both the company and the country.

In addition, the advertising discourses appear to overstate the South Korean team’s achievement and the corporation’s contribution to the Olympic movement. While it is understandable that the sporting success at the Olympic Games brings a certain degree of euphoria to the respective country, the expression, ‘the proud gold medals bring glory to Korea (Chosun, 30th Aug 2004: A16)’ appears to be more or less exaggerated in an effort to stir up nationalistic sentiment amongst the readers. Furthermore, the text regarded Samsung’s involvement in the Olympic Movement as significant as winning an Olympic medal. It asserts that ‘Samsung was one of the 11 global brands that officially supported the Athens Olympic Games (Chosun, 30th Aug. 2004: A16)’. It also seems to assert that, taking account of the dramatic economic development of South Korea, the fact that such a major economic player in the global
sport economy is rooted in the country should not be underestimated. In other words, Samsung is worthy of receiving some respect from South Korean citizens. The text thus consists of a corporative ideology that justifies the company's economic activity at the Olympic Games and in a global marketplace in general.

The capitalist corporative ideology is also manifest in other texts: 'At the moment when 6 billion global citizens paid attention to Korea, Samsung was always with them (Chosun, 30th Aug. 2004: A16)'. The text shows that Samsung played a significant role in helping to introduce and deliver South Korea and its sporting success to the world. In other words, the corporation was a key medium in promoting a positive image of Korea in the global community. Moreover, the advertisement defines the responsibility of a capitalist enterprise in a society. It noted that 'the corporation is responsible for improving national prestige not only through achieving an economic success but also through supporting a sporting triumph. For the South Korean team in four years' time, Samsung, again, will support the team as best as possible' (Chosun, 30th Aug 2004: A16). The text thus seeks to enhance Samsung's image for created by the company's public relation department indicates Samsung's social responsibility. However, one of the key reasons, if not the key reason, to support the national team was hidden: to promote a brand image that will result in enhancing the company's profit. Despite the fact that a strictly commercial interest is one of the major concerns of the corporation's involvement in the Olympic movement, the advertising discourse only highlighted the company's public role in financially supporting the national team. It seems that the text reflects sentiment that can be understood in terms of Gramscian sense of capitalist hegemony in a society that is dominated via negotiation (Gramsci, 1971). In so doing, the profit-driven enterprise was represented as a benevolent charity organisation.
The final sentence of the advertisement, ‘Together with Korean people, Samsung applauds the South Korean team’s performance’ (Chosun, 30th Aug. 2004 A16, italics added) is also of significant. While, it shows that Samsung praises the South Korean team’s Olympic campaign, the text also indicates how the company has a shared common interest with the Korean people. That is the company supports the Korean Olympic team ‘together with the people’. Even though it can be presumed that a large portion of Korean people backed its national team, it was not clear whether the Korean team supporters supported the team in association with Samsung. The company, thus, arbitrarily defined the close relations between the Korean people and Samsung in order to give the impression that the company’s interest in the Olympic Games was identical to that of the citizens. In so doing, the media discourse seeks to influence people’s recognition of the company in their every day life. Consequently, a corporate capitalist economy is justified and the existence of such an economic system is unquestioned (Golding and Murdock, 2000, Jhally, 1989b).

So far, Samsung’s advertisements and the discourses within them have been analysed. Through this investigation, it was revealed that discourses of nationalism, of a corporate ideology, and the Olympic Games, were intricately linked. Not only does the capitalist enterprise ideologically underpin the company’s profit-driven activity, but it is also a bearer of nationalism. However, Samsung was not the only company that demonstrated such a tendency. In the next section, other advertising discourses concerning a specific issues and athletes will be investigated.
5-3-2 Athletes and Teams as Symbols of Nationalism in Advertising Discourses

Whenever South Korean teams or athletes won an Olympic medal, a number of corporations, usually a sponsor of the respective teams or individuals, used to discourses to exploit the medal winners in their advertising campaign\textsuperscript{17}. The case of advertisements discourse relating to the Korea Racing Association (KRA) offers a vivid example of the process at work.

Before addressing the text, however, it would be helpful to know more about the specific characteristic of the organisation. The KRA is a non-profit public organisation which is in charge of horseracing in South Korea. The KRA is seen as a non-profit organisation because all the profit it generates is used for the public expenditure. Given that horseracing is one of the few officially sanctioned wagering activities in South Korea, the equestrian race attracts wide range of people. Thus, the KRA gains a huge amount of income which eventually transfers to the public purse. Put simply, the more money the KRA gains, the more income the government earns. However, any type of gambling has a negative connotation in South Korean cultural context, and horseracing is no exception. Therefore, for the KRA, it is necessary to impress a positive image of the organisation upon the public, and the nationalistic marketing campaign appears to be effective to achieve this purpose.

Another point that needs to be mentioned regarding the nationalistic advertising campaign of the KRA is that it is a governmental organisation. As Gellner (1983) asserts, a national government has to reproduce a national consciousness continually in order to maintain the established dominant system. As the South Korean government has direct control over the KRA, it is not surprising that

\textsuperscript{17} Although Samsung sponsors a number of Olympic teams and athletes, I intentionally exclude Samsung's cases in order to avoid unnecessary repetition as I have already discussed the company's corporate nationalism in the previous section.
nationalistic expressions feature in the organisation’s advertisements. Taking account of this background, let me explain the discourses evident in KRA’s advertisements.

Here is one example:

Splendid Lee! Glorious Korea! ... The KRA judo team’s Won-hee Lee ruled the world with a forceful spirit and fortitude. When tae-guk-ki [the South Korean national flag] was raised and Ae-guk-ga [the South Korean national Anthem] was played in Athens, we become united again. Holding an Olympic gold that reflects the people’s hopes, KRA will forcefully support the Republic of Korea (Ilgan, 18 Aug. 2004: 3).

Beginning with a highly nationalistic statement which associates the athlete with the nation, the above excerpt consists of a number of patriotic phrases. Above all, the athlete’s sporting achievement was represented in a more or less aggressive manner as it was written that ‘he ruled the world with a forceful spirit’. The text also contains images of war and domination; the ritual of raising the national flag and playing the national anthem in the land of enemy are highlighted. In addition, ‘we’, the Korean people in this context, became integrated in the name of the nation, according to the KRA advertising campaign. The text highlights how South Korean citizens became a single entity in celebration of Won-hee Lee’s achievement. Moreover, the KRA emphasised that arbitrarily cast that the winning of an Olympic gold mirrored the nation’s hopes, and it promised to support the South Korean Olympic team continually so that more sporting success will be accomplished in the future. In so doing, the organisation could give the readers an impression that the KRA maintains the national interest, and eventually builds a positive image amongst South Korean people.

Similarly, when another member of the KRA judo team won an Olympic silver, the Association published an advertisement that contains quite overt nationalistic expressions. It noted
We won again! Sung-ho Jang, a member of the Korea Racing Association judo team, won an Olympic silver in Athens! The KRA judo team is surely splendid! Following Won-Hee Lee, Sung-ho Jang also gained an Olympic silver in Athens. Especially, as he overcame his injury, the result is even more precious. ... KRA does its best to maintain Korea’s sporting pride (Ilgan, 21st Aug. 2004: 3).

The text started with the statement ‘we won again!’ Moreover, in order to highlight the dramatic effect of Jang’s achievement, the text mentioned his injury. It underlined that despite the injury, Sung-ho Jang managed to gain an Olympic silver. Therefore, his sporting success was viewed as more meaningful in an attempt at making an emotional nationalistic discourse. The final sentence of this message also reaffirmed the KRA’s patriotic standpoint. It said that in order to keep the country’s pride, the association would do everything it could. As it can be presumed that a large portion of South Korean people wanted to see the home athletes’ victory, the KRA’s support for the national Olympic team could generate a favourable image of the organisation amongst Koreans.

At the end of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, the KRA published a rather solemn and nationalistic poetic passage, which can be considered as the highlight of KRA’s nationalistic advertising programme during the Olympic Games. Entitled ‘Cheer up Korea’, the text delivered a highly nationalistic message to its readers. It is worthwhile to reproduce the passage in full:

Cheer up Korea!

When our athletes compete with fortitude,
The whole nation becomes unified.
When the athletes win the medal as a result of their best efforts,
We feel a ‘we-can-do-it’ spirit together.

People say life is difficult nowadays
But if the whole nation combines its forces together,
We can overcome the current difficulties,
And move forwards to the bright future
Cheer up Korea, Cheer up our nation!
Korea Racing Association will support you.
(IIgan, 28th Aug 2004: 5)

This passage alludes to the financial difficulties facing South Korea, as a result of a long-term economic downturn. The advertisement stressed that, under such depressing circumstances, sporting success could bring hope to the people and integrate the whole population in the name of the nation. Sport is exploited as a symbolic means of national mobilisation. The first paragraph described the moment when people watched the Korean athletes who were doing their best. When it happened, the national identity of South Korean citizens was reinforced, and the people started to be integrated into a single national entity. Moreover, the poetic passage implied that as the athletes beat their opponents and win an Olympic medal, overcoming various barriers, the people become motivated and regain confidence in order to transcend the current economic difficulties. Despite its imaginary scenario, the text seems sufficient to encourage people to face the problems they were experiencing. Thus, it appears to be political propaganda built around sport narratives, intended to influence people's behaviour.

While the first paragraph is a fictional description that stressed a preferred behaviour that the government wanted its people to follow, the second paragraph illustrates a more or less suggestive and advisory discourse. Firstly, it attempted to define the current situation on the basis of the opinion of an unspecified mass. The opening sentence of the second paragraph, 'people said life is difficult nowadays (IIgan, 28th Aug 2004: 5)', still contains, to a certain degree, a fictional element for it is unlikely that the organisation carried out a social survey in order to understand the way in which the people recognised the present socio-economic circumstance. In the
following sentence, the text offered some suggestion to overcome such a depressing period. It asserted that if the people co-operated, they would prevail over the hard times, and gradually a bright future would follow.

The third paragraph, which is rather a brief and conclusive passage, clarified its message; 'cheer up Korea, Cheer up our nation! Korea Racing Association will support you (Ilgan, 28th Aug 2004: 5)’ Here, the KRA attempted to give encouragement to the Korean people, highlighting that the racing association will always help overcome the contemporary economic crisis. Such an obvious presentation of a political statement makes it impossible to overlook a nationalist connotation in the KRA’s public relations programme.

Numerous nationalistic messages were evident in the advertising discourses of the KRA. Such a tendency, as noted, is derived from the fact that, firstly, it is necessary for KRA to continually renew its positive image, and, secondly, as a governmental organisation, it is important to reproduce a nationalist ideology in order to maintain a current political system. In this light, the nationalistic aspects manifest in the KRA’s advertising programme can be understood.

In addition to the case of the Korea Racing Association, a number of private commercial enterprises also followed similar pattern to the KRA. In its advertisement Pro-Specs, a South Korean based sport wear company, stated that:

His name is Won-hee Lee, the first South Korean gold medallist in the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Today, we are proud of you who carried out extremely difficult training programme for the glory without fans’ support and media’s attention Pro-Specs keeps assisting the national Olympic teams such as the South Korean wrestling, boxing, judo and field hockey teams (Ilgan Sport, 18th Aug 2004 7 italics added)

Not only did the text glorify the athlete’s achievement, but it also highlighted his training process which required a serious physical and psychological strength. It also
focused on the fact that judo is an unpopular event in South Korea. Regarding this, the text underscored the fact that Won-hee Lee underwent a harsh training process ‘without fans’ support and media’s attention’. In so doing, the advertisement seems to suggest that Lee’s achievement is greater than any other Olympic success as he overcame both physical and mental difficulties. In addition, the text also mentioned series of Olympic events which South Korean people do not pay much attention, implying that training circumstances for athletes in those events are poor. The main point of this commercial is that Pro-Specs keep patronising the wrestlers, the boxers, the judo fighters and the hockey players so that they can train and participate in the Olympic Games under the supportive circumstance. Taking into account of this, the message seems to advocate that Won-hee Lee was able to manage to be an Olympic Champion partly thanks to the company’s sponsoring programme. By doing so, the private company highlighted its public responsibility and its contribution to the society. Hence, Pro-Specs is attempting to impress a positive brand image upon the publics; nationalist sport marketing is at work here

The case of Reebok also offers an interesting example. Rebook exploited an issue of a controversial judgement in the gymnastic event which involves South Korean and American gymnasts. Paul Hemm, American gymnast, won an Olympic gold in the men’s individual all-round event. However, the South Korean coaches later discovered that there was a calculation mistake and argued that the gold medal should be awarded to South Korean Tae-young Yang. Nevertheless, the IOC rejected the appeal. In response to this rejection, the South Korean team took this case to the Court of Arbitration for Sport, but the authority also declined the Korean request despite the fact that the president of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG) admitted the mistake and stated that the gold medallist should be the South Korean

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gymnast. The next day, reflecting this incident, Reebok published an advertisement that contained following text:

**We will remember you as a gold medallist**
As we know that the silver and bronze medals reflect your passion and effort which is more valuable than winning a gold medal, you are the best in our heart. Reebok Korea supports the South Korea gymnastic team (Ilgan, 21st Aug. 2004: 1, bold in original).

The opening sentence, published in bold font, clearly expresses the point that the advertisement attempted to make. This critique of to the IOC’s ruling seems to represent and protect South Korean sporting interests. It should be noted that Reebok is not a Korean-based corporation but a transnational sports good producer that has reached the South Korean market. Instead of a universalised and standardised advertising strategy, the corporation chose an indigenised nationalistic marketing method. Regarding this, Silk and Andrews (2001) demonstrate that it is essential that any product and service that transnational corporations offer needs to reflect local taste and culture in that respective region. Likewise, Maguire and Falcous (2004) also indicated that global sporting brands are consumed in a localised form. Thus, the Reebok’s advertising discourse in South Korean media can be understood in this light.

The text attempted to show sympathetic attitudes towards the Korean gymnast’s performance. Given that a large portion of Korean supporters felt uneasy about the judges’ decision, the advertisement sought to appeal to Korean consumers. Moreover, it was an American athlete who was involved in the controversy. In the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympics, a South Korean speed skater was entangled in a controversial judging against an American athlete which resulted in the disqualification of the Korean skater. This incident forged, at least amongst South Korean people, a sporting hostility against the US athletes. Taking account of this
background, it is not difficult to see the Reebok's strategy behind advertising campaign in the South Korean market. The text claimed that the corporation placed a higher value on the second and third places that the Korean gymnast achieved rather than the controversial champion. This advertisement reflects Reebok's efforts to penetrate the Korean market by exploiting a localised message that showed a sympathetic attitude towards the South Korean team, and inciting a nationalistic sentiment amongst South Korean people. The Reebok's advertisement shows that the Global-local nexus, whose characteristics include global products consumed in a localised taste, is at work (Maguire and Falcous, 2004).

So far, the media discourses in various advertisements by commercial companies and government organisations have been examined. Through this investigation, it has been shown that several corporations frequently adopted a nationalistic corporate ideology as their key public relations strategy. In this respect, Bairner (2001) argues that sport, in peace time, is the most emotional activity that incites nationalistic sentiment in a contemporary society. Understandably, when the two ideas are combined, sporting nationalism arguably attracts people's attention more than any other cultural practices could. Regarding this, Giardina and Metz (2004) note that capitalist corporations tend to produce and reproduce national identity in their commercial activities. Therefore, when the marketing process is developed in relation to nationalistic issues in sport, it can be expected to deliver the preferred message of a corporation or organisation to the readers in an effective manner. Similarly, in their thesis on sport and collective identity in a consumer society, Silk and Andrews (2001, 2004) argue that nationalism still plays a key role in forming a person's identity. Therefore, in order to penetrate into the local markets successfully, global capitalist groups and transnational corporations need to understand the local
taste and culture of respective regional markets, in which nationalistic sentiment is still a major driving force that moves local people. On the basis of this global-local nexus, the nationalistic characteristic of the media discourse in the advertisement in South Korean newspaper can be explained.

5-4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the three broad themes in South Korean newspaper coverage during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games have been studied. These are peace festival, terrorism and nationalism. The first two themes dealt with two contrasting representation of the Olympic Games. While the South Korean media celebrated the Olympic Games as a festival, they criticised the anti-terror campaign in Athens during the Games. As noted earlier, these themes need to be considered simultaneously in order to grasp a more accurate picture of the media representation of the Olympic Games. In terms of nationalism, attention has been paid to corporate nationalism nationalistic overtones in the advertising discourse. It seems that such commercialised national discourse in the Olympic-related advertisements is against Olympism that avoid nationalism and commercialism at the Olympic Games. In addition, commodification of nationalism is also considered in relation to broader globalisation processes. Let me conclude the peace and terrorism discourses first.

From the Olympic idealist perspective not only do the Olympic Games differ from other sport competitions, but they also offer some cultural values that purport to transcend the level that an ordinary sport contest can provide. The reason that makes the modern Olympic Games distinguishable from other sporting events lies in its founding principle, known as Olympism. With regard to this, putting aside the issue
whether or not the principle is maintained in practice, the main purpose of the Olympic Games can be grasped through the role of the IOC. On numerous occasions the South Korean media linked their coverage on the Olympic Games with reference to the Olympic Charter.  

Even though the belief that the modern Olympic Games is the continuation of the ancient prototype has been questioned (Elias, 1986), the media tend to reiterate such an idealist narrative based on the ancient Olympic tradition, in order to frame the Athens Olympic Games as a cornerstone of the revival of the pure Olympic spirit. One of the key ideas regarding the Olympic Games as a peace festival seems to originate from the practice of an Olympic truce. Sociologically speaking, however, an Olympic truce is difficult, if not impossible, to be kept in contemporary society because the characteristics of the present society differ significantly from that of ancient society.

That the practice of an Olympic truce was kept in ancient time was primarily because of the religious aspect of the ancient Olympic Games (Guttmann, 1978, McIntosh, 1993) as theocracy was a key political system in ancient Greek society, religious rituals, of which the Olympic Games was a part, were considered as the holiest aspect of Greek life at that time. Subsequently, people believed that war during the Olympic Games resulted in profaning a sacred ceremony, which was accounted as a serious offence in ancient Greek society. Therefore, the social significance of the ancient Olympic Games derived from its religious character that made keeping a so-called Olympic truce possible. In other words, as religious aspects of the Olympic Games maintained a central dynamic force in the ancient Greek society, it was a religious obligation to cease conflicts during religious rituals.

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18 In their research into the British media portrayals of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, Barnard et al (forthcoming) also find a similar tendency
In contrast to the ancient society, religion is no longer a major dynamic force in contemporary mainstream society (Hamilton, 1992). In respect to this, secularism, particularly capitalism and the market economy, may be considered to have replaced sacred aspects of Olympic rituals (Guttmann, 1978). Therefore, although the Olympic Charter indicates some ideal propositions such as promoting a peaceful society, it is difficult to say that the Charter has a wider social and political implication unless those propositions correspond to the interests of the organizing committee and sponsors. While the Charter may be a cardinal thought within an Olympian circle, Olympism appears to be a relatively trivial ideology which barely influences political conflicts in the world. Sociologically speaking, Olympism is not a prime mover of the contemporary societies and determines neither social structures nor social action in global society. Therefore, it is not surprising that, unlike its ancient prototype, the modern Olympic Games barely show any deterrent power to stop numerous ongoing conflicts in the globe during the Olympic Games.

To sum up, this sociological contrast between an ancient society and the current societies provide a preliminary explanation for the existence of the contradictory discourses of peace and terrorism in the media. While an ideal notion of the Olympic Games seems to emulate an ancient tradition, the current society driven by secular ideologies does not require to keep the Olympic truce in order to hold the Olympic Games. Thus, although idealist Olympians whose voices seem only powerful within the Olympic circle underpin the Olympic spirit, such idealistic Olympism appears to be difficult to achieve in the world in which economic and political interest prevail over other values. The two inconsistent discourses on the Olympic Games in the South Korean media appears to reflect this gap between the ideal and reality of the Olympic movement.
In terms of corporate nationalism, some explanation of this phenomenon has already been offered. Here, an attempt is made to link the commodification of nationalism to the broader globalisation process. The commodification of national discourses in the commercial marketing process links to the globalisation processes (Maguire, 2004b, Maguire and Falcous, 2005). Above all, a commercialised sporting discourse represents the current power balance in favour of a capitalist enterprise group in the processes of globalisation. As investigated, a commercial nationalism is frequently linked to a corporate ideology that tends to equate private enterprise profit with the national interest. In other words, what the commercial companies do is viewed as an action that is beneficial to national development. In so doing, their business activities can be justified. It is difficult to deny that the capitalist economy is one of the current driving forces of the globalisation processes; consequently, the commodification of nationalism and the corporate ideology embedded in nationalised marketing discourses mirror the current trend of economic globalisation.

However, one should not rely on a single major force in explaining the social world. The commodification of nationalism also reflects a local interest. As Hall (1996) indicates, the consumption process is closely linked to an individual’s identity and politics. In this light, local identity and regional practice play key roles in competing against and with external global influences. The resistance of the local or national identity to the globalising social current is so persistent that, without a certain degree of modification or indigenisation, a universal globalising force is more likely to face resistance and, therefore, to fail to penetrate into a deeper level of local culture (Maguire and Falcous, 2005). Regarding this, Tomlinson (1999) argues that universal and standardised global culture exists at only a superficial level that can be found in places like international airports, five star hotels and popular tourist zones.
Thus, the global-local nexus, which highlights both resistance to and emulation of external and foreign global culture by locals, must be taken into account in order to draw a more accurate paint of the current processes of globalisation (Maguire, 2005, Maguire and Falcous, 2005).

The commodification of national identity, therefore, can be seen as a continual negotiating process between local and the global practices. In other words, the transnational economy must reflect the cultural and national interest of local areas in order to penetrate into the respective regional markets. Commodification of national identity is a good example. However, once the indigenised global forces reach the local level, constant communication between the two forces sometimes, although not always, generates a new type of identity. Eventually, the penetration of the global forces and a subsequent negotiation between the global and the local result in the situation that local or national identities are either weakened, strengthened or pluralized (Maguire, 1999, 2005).

To conclude, as globalisation proceeds we must pay more attention to the global and the local communications in order to understand the process more accurately. In this light, the commodification of nationalism and national identity can be understood to be a result of such global-local negotiating processes. Moreover, character of the current corporate nationalism should be noted that the current corporate nationalism is on going and depends on various factors that exist and interrelate with each other in the communication processes. Thus, while the result of the short-term processes between global-local communications can be estimated relatively easily, the longer-term analysis of the processes requires constant further investigation.
CHAPTER SIX
THE ROAD TO NATIONAL UNIFICATION?:
THE NORTH KOREAN ATHLETES IN SOUTH KOREAN MEDIA

6-1 Introduction

In this chapter, attention is paid to how North and South Korean relations are articulated in the South Korean media. Insofar as national identity issues are concerned, the inter-Korean relation has always been located at the centre of South Korean politics since the division of the Korean peninsular in 1948. Moreover, various views on its northern sibling have been, at all times, contested since this division. However, as the last chapter revealed, a unitary Korean nationalism seems to have emerged as one of the major dominant national discourses in South Korean society at the beginning of the 21st century. With respect to this an investigation of the relations between the two Koreas provides a fruitful opportunity to gain a comprehensive insight into Korean nationalism in the global era.

To do this the chapter focuses on the way in which North Korean athletes and officials are featured and represented by the South Korean media. Broadly, this chapter can be divided into two sections, and each section consists of various sub-sections. The first section covers the print media, the newspaper analysis. In this section, photographic images and discourses of North Korean athletes featured in the South Korean newspapers are studied. This consists of three sub-categories. Each category deals with photographic images of symbols, officials, and athletes respectively. By this means the way in which a unitary Korean nationalism is mirrored in South Korean media can be discerned.
In the second section, attention is given to the electronic media: particularly an analysis of television coverage. Live commentaries of South Korean television on North Korean athletes are investigated. This part includes two cases studies. The first case refers to a North Korean female judo player, Sun-hui Kye, and the second case concerns the female table tennis match between the two Korean teams. In terms of the first case, Sun-hui Kye was the Olympic champion at 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, and is one of the most famous North Korean sport personnel in South Korea. Thus, she was the focus of South Korean media attention. With regard to the second case, as a female table tennis match was the only occasion in which the North and South Korean teams directly encountered each other during the Olympic Games, an investigation into media reports on this match reveals some interesting points with regard to North and South Korea relations.

However, as Jarvie (1993) noted sporting nationalism can involve '90 minute patriots', implying that sporting nationalism is not always identical to political nationalism, and that it is more likely to have a temporal euphoria. Thus one should bear in mind that there exists a potential gap between sporting nationalism and political nationalism; sporting nationalism may be more exaggerated than political nationalism. This is especially so when inter-Korean relations is considered. While a unitary Korean nationalism is generally accepted and is becoming more dominant in South Korean society, such a mood of reconciliation and of the national unification expressed in sporting contexts may be exaggerated. There are still numerous political problems that need to be resolved in order to realise national unification. Nevertheless, as will be discussed shortly, a hyperbolic unitary nationalism, which only asserts the principle aspects of a national unity without consideration of the practical political
cleavage that exists between the two Koreas does highlight some important characteristics of South Korean national identity politics.

Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to gain a more comprehensive appreciation of South Korean media’s behaviour in portraying North Korean athletes and officials. Particular attention is given to the construction and the dissemination of a unified Korean national identity by the mediating of the 2004 Olympic Games. Moreover, it is emphasised that sports become a symbolic arena in which a discourse of a preliminary concept of the national unification is exchanged and discussed, despite political conflicts and disagreements with which the two Koreas have to face. Not only will this study enhance an understanding of a particular nationalism in the Korean peninsula, but the research will also be able to contribute to expanding our knowledge on nationalism in the global era in general.

6-2 The Portrait of North Korean Athletes: the Text, Image and Style

North and South relations in the Korean peninsula is one of the most crucial areas that determine numerous political, economic, and cultural policies in the two Koreas. Since the partitioning of the country, this relationship has often been in flux depending on the political climate and, more often than not, the two Koreas have shown a hostile attitude towards each other. After the Korean Summit in 2000, in which the leaders of the two states signed the North and South Joint Declaration, however, the South Korea government has attempted to maintain a sympathetic view towards its northern neighbour. Economic and cultural relations between two Koreas

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19 In the Joint Declaration between North and South Korea, it is mentioned that ‘the North and the South agreed to build mutual confidence by activating cooperation and exchanges in all fields, social, cultural, sports, public health, environmental and so on’ (the Joint Declaration, 2000, italics added)
have been facilitated, and as the majority of North Koreans suffer from famine and poverty, numerous aid programmes have been developed in South Korea. Eventually, the notion of national unification, which seemed unrealistic and impractical during the Cold War, began to be discussed in more practical terms.

Sport may be the most fertile ground in which this mood of reconciliation between the two Koreas is expressed. The media representation of North Korean athletes at the Olympic Games vividly illustrates this tendency. During the Olympic Games, South Korean newspapers, at least in the Olympics or sport related pages, tended to highlight a possible national union of the two Koreas. This section, therefore, looks at the way in which the South Korean print media portrays North Korean athletes. As Deacon et al (1999) point out, the contemporary media are saturated with photographic images, and the interplay between language and image plays a significant role in producing political and cultural codes in media reports. Likewise, South Korean newspapers published a number of photographs that reflects inter-Korean relations at the present time. Thus, this section focuses on photographic images and accompanied texts in South Korean newspapers so that the way in which specific characteristics of South Korean sporting nationalism are expressed by the media can be clarified.

6-2-1 General Characteristics of Image of North Korean in the South Korean Newspaper

Before looking at images of the North Korean athletes and officials partaking in the 2004 Olympic Games, it would be useful to see preliminary statistics of the photographs in the media. During the investigation period (7th Aug. 2004 – 31st Aug.

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2004), the newspapers produced 57 North Korean related images. Amongst the photographs, only one shot portrayed North Korean national negatively. More than 60% (37 images) depicted its northern siblings positively, and the rest 19 images showed a neutral position (See figure 6-1).

**Figure 6-1 The Image of North Korean Athletes in the South Korean Media**

In addition, 36 images of North Korean related photographs signified the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism (see Figure 6-2). In fact, amongst the 37 positive images, all but one photograph implied unified Korean nationalism.

**Figure 6-2 Signifying a Unitary Korean Nationalism**
Overall, these preliminary statistical data highlight that the South Korean newspapers showed no hostile behaviour towards North Korean participants in the Olympic Games. Rather, a unitary Korean nationalism was the key notion that the major portion of the photographs indicated. Given this background, a number of images that imply the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism will be qualitatively investigated in detail.

6-2-2 Reconciliation

Inter-Korean relations have been dramatically ameliorated in recent years, and the transformation of the political climate in Korean peninsula is mirrored by the media. In respect to this, four photographic news items analysed here underpin this tendency; all the reports indicate reconciliation between North and South Korea. The photographs capture individual athletes, national flags, and the teams, respectively, and, interestingly, all the images have a similar pattern: two photographs in combined form. In other words, these photographic images are not natural but manipulated in an attempt to signify and highlight the improved relations between North and South Korea. The discourse on inter Korean relations in South Korean media, therefore, underlined a mood of reconciliation.

One newspaper (Chosun Ilbo, 7th Aug. 2004: A22) published a photograph and text that encapsulates this mood of reconciliation. As Figure 6-3 shows, the coverage contains two photographs, of a male South Korean marathoner, Bong-joo Lee, and of a female North Korean judo player, Sun-hui Kye. In terms of the location and type of photograph, they were deliberately positioned as if Lee and Kye faced each other, and the photographs depicted the two Olympians with a smile on their face. In addition,
the judo player and the marathoner were potential medal hopes for the North and South Korean teams respectively. Therefore, it can be said that the two athletes were symbolically framed as representative of their national teams. Given the fact that a national team in international sport competitions symbolically represents the nation (Bairner, 2001; Hobsbawm, 1992; Maguire et al, 2002) it can also be argued that the photographs of the two individuals symbolize North and South Korea respectively. By tactically deploying the photographs, therefore, the newspaper seemed to attempt to create an impression that there is no hostile element in North and South Korean relations, and that they are now friendly and co-operate with each other.

The texts attached to the photographs featured an important aspect of Korean nationalism. It was written ‘let’s smile together, the hero and heroine in this land’. Even if North and South Korea are two separate sovereign states, from an ethnic-nationalist view, they are a single homogeneous national entity (Smith, 1986) The term ‘this land’ used in the report indicates neither North nor South Korea but signifies a unified Korean territory. Moreover, a discourse of national hero and heroine, which is a common element of nationalist politics, was exploited in featuring the two Olympians. In other words, Lee and Kye are cast as hero and heroine in the unified Korean nation. As Smith (1986) explained, narratives on hero and heroine and on retrieval of a lost territory occupy a significant place in national discourses. In a similar vein, the media discourses used above, which contains the term that implied Korean peninsula as a whole, ‘this land’ and the term that framed the two athletes as ‘the hero and heroine’, appear to encapsulate the current mood of reconciliation between the two Koreas and desire to establish a unified Korea within South Korea.
Similar patterns can also be found in other newspapers. The Han Kyo Reh (9th Aug. 2004: 32) published images of the North and South Korean national flags in Athens. Figure 6-4 shows juxtaposition of photographs. Given that it was illegal to publish North Korean symbols in a friendly manner and to distribute them to the public during the Cold War, this report is worthy of particular note. The fact that the report exploited images of national symbols in order to signify a co-operative relation between the two Koreas underlines the transformation of inter-Korean relations from a destructive opponent to a co-operative partner. By featuring the North Korean national flag in parallel with South Korean national flag, the newspaper underlines that the reports on the North Korean team are as significant as those on the South Korean. This suggests that positive representations of the North Korean team by the South Korean media is conducive to establishing a sporting union between North and South Korea.

The texts accompanied the photographic report also helped to generate a mood of reconciliation. It was written that ‘all the best for both the North and the South’ which suggests that the newspaper, and thereby the reader, would and should support
both teams. In other words, even though the two Koreas participated in the Games separately, because the North and South are essentially a single national entity, the newspaper wished that both Koreas would have a successful result. Consequently, the newspaper seemed to underscore that the distinction between North and South Korea is no longer valid, at least in a sporting context.

Fugue 6-4: the Han Kyo Reh (9th Aug. 2004: 32)
‘All the Best for Both the North and South’

Sport Seoul also published a photograph that focuses on the meeting of North and South Korean teams, and carries the connotation of a possible sporting union between the two teams (Sport Seoul. 11th Aug. 2004: 34). Similar to the photographs analysed so far, this report also contained two deliberately juxtaposed photographs: the images of the North and South Korean Olympic teams (see Figure 6-5). The report dealt with the arrival of North and South Korean teams at the venue. Even though they arrived in Athens on different days, the newspaper covered the two teams in one report as if they arrived in Athens together. In this way, a linkage between the North and South can be made. Interestingly, the image of the South Korean team focused on
female athletes and that of North Korean team concentrated on male members. In doing so, the newspaper seemed to symbolise a harmonious gender combination based on an oriental yin and yang philosophy between two Korean teams, which also implied a harmonious integration of the two states.

The texts also stressed Korean sporting union. The report headline, "One Korea' will shake Athens' (Sport Seoul, 11th Aug. 2004: 34, emphasis in original), means the two Korean teams would surprise the world by outperforming other participants at the Olympics. Moreover, by describing the North and South Korean teams as 'One Korea', and emphasised the term by printing it in a different colour, the newspaper underscored the importance of national unification of Korea. Likewise, it was written that 'The joint parade at the opening ceremony prefigures a sporting union at the Beijing Games. The goal of the North and South Korean teams is to win 17 Olympic golds...having a ambition to be a member of the global sporting 'Big 4'' (Sport Seoul, 11th Aug. 2004: 34). Despite the fact that the two Koreas took part in the Olympics separately, the newspaper cast the North and South Korean team as a single sporting entity. The newspaper forecasted that the number of possible gold medal winners, 17, which would reflect the North and South Korean teams' combined results. Furthermore, the phase concerning that those involved were, 'having a ambition to be a member of the global sporting 'Big 4'', was suggestive of the notion that the media would take account of both Korean teams' records when the Olympic medal table was calculated.

The report also declared that 'In the stadium, it is expected that both North and South Korea will get the best results in Korean sporting history so that Korean prowess in sport can be boasted' (Sport Seoul, 11th Aug. 2004: 34, emphasis in original). Thus, both North and South Korean teams contributed to the projection of
Korean prowess to its people and the world at the Olympic Games. Given that the discourse of Korean nationalism stresses the importance of national unification, the fact that the newspaper emphasised the term ‘Korean prowess’ is significant as it did not distinguish between North and South Korea. In other words, both North and South Korea are seen to be co-operating in displaying its shared national pride to other nations. Sporting success becomes national achievement. On another occasion, *Sport Seoul* also published a brief commentary made by a North Korean shooting team coach that stated ‘Let’s have the best result together’ (*Sport Seoul*, 9th Aug. 2004: 2, italics added). These newspaper articles clearly emphasised a notion of union even if they took part in the Games separately.

This notion of a unitary Korean nationalism in sport can also be found in a photograph that appeared in the *Ilgan Sport*. As Figure 6-6 illustrates, the newspaper...
also published two separate photographs in combined form. Here, the photographs of the two Korean teams were deliberately located as if each team were approaching towards the other teams in the Olympic village. No tension between the two teams can be seen in this report. Rather, the athletes and staff members are portrayed as enjoying the occasion. By combining positive images of the two teams, the newspaper attempted to engender the impression that the North and South Korean teams in Athens could trust and assist each other, thereby, the report essentially connoted a reconciliation between the two Koreas. Therefore, along with other newspaper reports investigated above, the Ilgan Sport also seemed to underline that North and South Korean teams are fundamentally a single entity.

However, the accompanied texts tended to suggest a slightly different political and ideological message. The boldly written texts ‘flagging Tae-guk-ki in Athens sky…’ pointed out a South Korean-centred view on the sporting union as the term ‘Tae-guk-ki’ is the name of the South Korean national flag. Likewise, another sentence “Top 10, Oh, victory for Korea!” also reflected a South Korean supporter’s perspective as the expression ‘Oh, victory for Korea’ is a catchphrase that is mainly used by South Korean football supporters. Thus, it can be said that, even though the photographs published in this report implied reconciliation of the two Koreas, which might eventually lead to national unification, the tone of the accompanying report represented South Korean sporting interests. In other words, while the newspaper basically supported the notion of national unification of Korea, the processes of the unification should be proposed and led by South Korea.

20 The name of the North Korean national flag is ‘In-gong-ki’ which means the flag of the People’s Republic of Korea.
So far, I have examined the photographs that imply reconciliation between North and South Korea. Particular attention has been paid to the images that are deliberately positioned in order to circulate the notion of national unification in sport. Interestingly, all the newspapers investigated published similar patterns of photographs: that is two separate photographs in combined form. Moreover, all the newspapers had a tendency to support the notion of the national unification without question. Images of individual athletes, national flags, and national Olympic teams were exploited in order to emphasize a discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism in sport. Based on these news items, it can be argued that sport is the most distinctive cultural arena that a unitary Korean nationalism is expressed, and that the media play a key role to circulate the discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism to the public. However, as indicated above, all these news items consisted of two separated photographs in making a single report in an attempt to compose a media discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism. The next section, therefore, will focus on photographs
that capture the moment when North and South Korean individuals and teams are together.

6-2-3 Meeting of the Officials

There was a number of occasions that North and South Korean athletes and officials met and encountered each other inside or outside of the stadia. The media seldom missed these occasions. Whenever it happened, the media covered the encounter with reference to the mood of reconciliation and of unification. Consequently, numerous media reports that featured North and South Korean together also denoted that the two Koreas are essentially a single national entity. It should be noted that, apart from a political dialogue between the two Koreas, it is unusual for North and South Korean people to meet in everyday life. Even though relations between the two Koreas is improving, the barrier that divided the Korean peninsula still seriously blocks inter-Korean communication. In this situation, international sport competitions offer North and South Koreans an opportunity to meet each other relatively freely. Given this specific condition, here, attention is paid to the news reports that captures the occasions in which the key officials and other staff members of the two Korean Olympic teams met. Then, the way in which South Korean media represent inter-Korean sporting encounters will be analysed.

The photographic news items to be discussed in this section have metonymical elements. As explained in the methodology chapter, metonym refers to 'the application of a mere attribute of an object to the whole object' (Fiske and Hartley 1978). In other words, only a certain characteristic of the whole is offered and stressed as if the particular characteristic represented the totality while a number of other
elements that consist of the whole are ignored. The newspaper articles investigated here clearly showed that tendency in that the behaviours and attitudes of Olympians from the two Koreas were used to highlight a national discourse based on a unitary Korean nationalism. The newspaper images of members of the two Korean teams signified co-operative relations between the two teams, and these images were further applied to explain inter-Korean relations in general. Therefore, as framed by the South Korean media, no tensions and conflicts exist in the relationship between North and South Korea even if the political circumstances in the Korean peninsula are still uncertain due to some complex political issues. Bearing this in mind, let me introduce some further examples that underline this unitary Korean nationalism in a sporting context.

Figure 6-7 is suggestive of the alliance between the two Koreas. The photograph consisted of the two presidents of the North and the South Korean Olympic Committees, Yeon-taek Lee (left, South Korean) and Jae-duk Moon (right, North Korean) along with Jacque Rogge, the President of the International Olympic Committee. The photo captured the moment when three presidents held each other’s hand with a smile on their faces. This indicates that they were agreeing on some issues which satisfied all three parties. This photograph itself, regardless of the content, is sufficient to deliver the meaning that the two Koreas are beginning to overcome the barrier that has physically and psychologically divided the Korean peninsula since 1948. In addition, an appearance of the IOC President implies that the co-operative relations between the North and South are supported and endorsed under the auspices of an international organisation.

The accompanied texts observed that: ‘having clarified that the International Olympic Committee will support the two Koreas in forging a joint team at the 2008
Beijing Olympics, the IOC president and the leaders of both Korea's Olympic Committees shook hands’ (the Han Kyo Reh 16th Aug. 2004: 28). The text also added more information for interpreting this photograph. The two Koreans were viewed as happy with the support from the IOC in making a possible sporting union at the next Olympic Games, presuming that the North and the South agreed to send a combined team to Beijing in 2008. Thus, with help from the IOC, the leaders of the two Korea's Olympic committees could openly express a satisfied gesture and emotion. Against this backdrop, the photograph and the texts metonymically associated the meeting of North and South Korean people with a constructive and enjoyable event. In so doing, the newspaper appeared to emphasise a positive aspect in inter-Korean dialogue.

Figure 6-7: the Han Kyo Reh (16th Aug. 2004: 28)

Another image in the Han Kyo Reh newspaper also illustrated the meeting of North and South Korean officials. Unlike the photograph in Figure 6-5, where the two chief officials met each other in the scheduled meeting, the photograph here captured
the moment when they encountered each other in the Olympic village by chance (See Figure 6-6). This photographic image portrayed a more accidental and ‘natural’ occasion. There is no way to check if the scene was a staged action or not, and even if so, it does not matter. A crucial fact is that the media published this image as a means of suggesting that South Korean people no longer tried to avoid meeting its northern siblings as they had done during the Cold War. Instead, by publishing such images, the media attempted to stress the notion that South Koreans get on with the North Koreans.

Figure 6-8 shows the officials from the two Koreas shaking hands, and another South Korean official in the middle introducing one to the other. The photograph implies that the North and South Korean officials willingly approached one another and gladly exchanged greetings. In so doing, this photograph denoted a positive relation between the two Koreas. However, by contrast to Figure 6-5 where an external agency mediated the meeting of North and South Korea, the photographic image here featured that the two Koreans voluntarily contacted each other. In respect to this, two interesting connotations arise. Firstly, an inter-Korean meeting is constructed as a joyful occasion, and secondly, no external influences are required in organising such meeting. Therefore, the media framed the occasion in terms that North and South Koreas have the ability to unify the divided nation autonomously.

The image was titled as ‘the meeting of the North and the South’. Moreover, the accompanied text added that ‘the leader of the North Korean team, Dong-ho Lee, and the general manager of an international relation department of the South Korean sport council, Ki-young Jung, were gladly exchanging warm greetings as they bumped into each other in the Olympic village’ (the Han Kyo Reh, 09th Aug. 2004: 32, italics added). The title ‘the meeting of the North and the South’ implies the
restoration of inter-Korean relations after a prolonged conflict, and the term '[they] were gladly exchange warm greetings' clearly indicates an improved relation and mutual respects between the two Koreas. Therefore, by framing a photograph of North and South Koreans in a positive manner, the media tended to reinforce the notion that inter-Korean relations involves occasions that need to be celebrated.

![Figure 6-8: the Han Kyo Reh (09th Aug. 2004: 32) The Meeting of the North and the South](image)

The Chosun Ilbo also published an interesting photographic report that requires particular attention. Figure 6-9 shows the two senior officials of the two Koreas; they are leaders of tae-kwon-do federations in North and South Korea. Taekwondo represents Korea's national sport, and its importance in cultural and sporting nationalism should not be overlooked. Thus, the two Korean governments have developed distinctive cultural and political programmes concerning the martial art. Moreover, the two Koreas have organised two separate Taekwondo Federations, the
International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) in North Korea, and the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) in South Korea, and the two federations have disputed the authenticity of the Taekwondo tradition and culture respectively. Under this circumstance, it is not surprising that the two Taekwondo organisations have experienced severe conflicts. During the Cold War, the struggle between the WTF and the ITF was often characterised as a symbolic ideological battle which made the peaceful co-existence of the two federations impossible.

Here, however, the newspaper published a photograph of the presidents of the ITF and the WTF, shaking hands. The symbolic implication of this photograph needs stressing: re-unification of tae-kwon-do would be indicative of the possibility of reunifying Korea. As Bairner (2001) points out, a sport that originates from a nation has a crucial cultural and political meaning in the production and maintenance of a distinctive consciousness of the nation in question. Given that this martial art is regarded as Korea’s national sport, and that the two Koreas have struggled over the authority of the taekwondo tradition, the image of the two leaders’ reconciliation symbolically represents that there exists a potential that the two Koreas can reach an agreement on broader issues. That is, the integration of the Korean national sport can be seen as the first step towards national unification. In view of this, Figure 6-9 signifies an improved relation between North and South Korea, and suggests cooperation between the two Koreas in sporting contexts may, in turn, contribute to the unification of Korea.

The text attached to the photograph was brief but played no less important role in stressing a discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism. Entitled as ‘the North and South taekwondo conference in Athens’, the report note that: ‘in the morning on 17th [of August] Mr Cho, the President of the WTF, and Mr Jang, the President of the ITF
and also a member of the IOC, met and shook hands at a Korean restaurant in Athens' ('Chosun Ilbo, 18th Aug. 2004: A24). It is unclear what topics were discussed, and, indeed, no news on this taekwondo 'conference' dialogue can be found. A private conversation might have exchanged, but no official statements were released. In spite of this, the newspaper framed the occasion as 'the taekwondo conference' in order to maximise the likelihood of delivering a preferred meaning based on a discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism.

Interestingly, however, the newspaper mentioned the place where the two senior officials met. It happened not at the official conference venue but at a Korean restaurant. Here, another aspect of cultural politics is at play: food. Food, especially a national staple dish, is no less a significant cultural denominator of the nation in question than any other cultural aspect (Watson, 1997). In the light of the cultural politics, North and South Korea share the same cuisine and taste even if the Korean people are politically and ideologically divided into the two separate states. By mentioning the particular venue, a Korean restaurant, the newspapers seemed to highlight the fact that, as far as national culture is concerned, Koreans belong to a single national group.
So far, the way in which the South Korean newspapers portrayed officials from North and South Korea has been analysed and discussed with reference to the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. All the photographic reports investigated here contained images of officials, shaking hands. In doing so it can be argued that the photographs metonymically represent the positive aspects of these meetings with the implication being an improved relation between the two Koreas and the notion of Koreans as belonging to a single national entity. Although the news items regarding the staff members revealed the fact that the media reflected and reinforced the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism, the most dramatic scene would be the moment the athletes from the two Koreas encountered at the Olympic venue. In the next section, therefore, an attention will be paid to the way in which the media frame inter-Korean communication in the stadium.
6-2-4 Meeting of Athletes

Images of North Korean athletes and the texts attached to them also denote the notion that the separated Korean states should be unified soon. Likewise, a metonymical analysis of the photographs of athletes disclose the way in which a discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism is reinforced via the media. Figure 6-10 is a case in point. The photograph depicts a South Korean judo team’s coach embracing two judo players, one from South Korea (male, left), and the other from North Korea (female, right). The coach’s behaviour in the photograph symbolically indicates peaceful and friendly relations between the two Koreas. Moreover, the fact that the photograph portrayed three members of the North and South Korean judo teams, and that participants from each Korea were expected to win medals, seemed to prefigure the appearance of an integrated judo team. The two athletes concerned were to subsequently win an Olympic gold (in a male event) and a silver (in a female event) respectively. Thus, this photographic report indirectly signified that forging a sporting union of the two Koreas produces a more competitive Olympic team.

The newspaper also underscored the intimate relation of North and South Korea. Below the photograph, it was written that ‘Do-joon Kim, the coach of South Korean female judo team, Won-hee Lee, a South Korean delegate, and Sun-hui Kye, a North Korean delegate stood in a friendly pose in the Olympic village in Athens’ (Chosun Ilbo, 11th Aug. 2006: A25, italics added). In addition to their appearance in the photograph, the text explained that ‘they stood in a friendly pose’. In doing so, a specific value embedded in the texts denotes an amicable relation between North and South Korean athletes that is suggestive of the idea that such behaviour eventually will lead to the notion of a peaceful co-existence and a possible unification of the two
Koreas. Similar to the photographic images investigated earlier, this news item also contributes to forging a discourse of a unitary Korean nationalism.

![Image of table tennis players](image)

**Figure 6-10: Chosun Ilbo (11th Aug. 2004: A25)**  
Won-hee Lee, a Southerner, and Sun-Hui Kye, a Northerner

No event in the Athens Olympics Games, however, symbolised a unitary Korean nationalism better then the joint training session of the two Koreas’ table tennis teams. The incident happened prior to an official commencement the Olympic Games, and was sufficient to form the basis of a unitary Korean nationalism that was exchanged and expressed during the Games. In fact, it was not the first occasion that two table tennis teams had trained together. They forged a unified and winning Korean team for the World Table Tennis Championship in 1991. Since then, table tennis has been projected as the sporting event that best encapsulates the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism (Lee, 2000). In this context, it is not surprising that the South Korean media exploited images and reports on the joint training session in an effort to compose a nationalistic discourse based on the theme of national unification.

Figure 6-11 shows a photograph of the two table tennis teams. In the photograph, the athletes were intermingled with each other, and no distinction was made as if they were a single national team. Conventionally, a group photograph in a sporting context indicates a unity between the team members unless specific
information is given (Fiske and Hartley, 2003). Here, the newspaper published the group photograph of North and South Korean table tennis players. As one can see, all the athletes appeared in the photograph seemed pleased which suggested a close relationship between the two teams. Moreover, the media captured an interesting moment when the North and South Korean players clinch their fists together for determination to win Olympic medals. The athletes’ action the photograph depicted suggested that the South Korean table tennis team allied with the North Korean counterpart the Olympic Games. In so doing, the feeling of the unification in sport can be underscored. Consequently, such photographs contribute to making the notion of the national unification more widely available.

The caption under the photograph also encourages readers to interpret this image in association with a unitary Korean nationalism. Firstly, this photograph was entitled ‘North and South table tennis teams, “we are the one”’ (the Han Kyo Reh, 13th Aug. 2004: 1, italics added). The term, ‘we are the one’, clearly denotes a national unity of North and South Koreans. Elias (1991) explains that shared collective identities are frequently expressed and represented in personal pronoun models, such as ‘we-identity; and ‘we-image’. In this regard, the term ‘we’ used here suggests an emergence of a sporting pan-Korean identity that can be applicable for wider cultural and political domains.

Secondly, this report notes that ‘the table tennis teams which have played a building bridge role in North and South sport exchange programme, displayed their friendship in Athens by training together’ (the Han Kyo Reh, 13th Aug. 2004: 1). Here, we can discover the intended meaning of this report more evidently: the importance of table tennis in inter-Korean relations and co-operation between the two Koreas at the Olympics. As briefly mentioned earlier, there has been a relatively continual, but not
frequent, connection between North and South table tennis teams. This fact was reiterated by the newspaper in order to remind readers the role that table tennis had played in making peaceful relations in the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, the newspaper also described the joint training session as an event that ‘display[s] their friendship’. By describing the training session as a means of demonstrating companionship between the two Koreas in sport, the media were alluding to the possible coalition between North and South Koreans in politics. That is, when the photograph and the accompanied texts were viewed together, the connotation of this photographic image can be seen transparently: table tennis as a sporting symbol of a peaceful North and South Korean relationship.

Figure 6-11: the Han Kyo Reh (13th Aug. 2004: 1)
North and South Table Tennis Teams, ‘We Are the One’

Another newspaper, Chosun Ilbo, also published a photograph of the joint training session. Whereas the image examined earlier (Figure 6-11) featured the official aspects of the session, Figure 6-12 portrayed rather a private dimension: a
intimate greeting of the athletes while training. This can be seen via the two male
players who are depicted as approaching and embracing each other at the centre of the
image. Other players also approached their symbolic siblings in a friendly manner. It
is difficult to discern whether their behaviour was a ‘natural’ response based on a
‘true’ emotion or a pretended and framed action with a political purpose. However,
the fact that the newspaper composed the photograph in connection with a unitary
Korean nationalism demonstrates the active role the media played in producing a
particular discourse on inter-Korean relations.

The text below the image directed readers to a more definitive and narrower
meaning of the photograph. According to Chosun Ilbo, ‘the North and the South
Korean table tennis players were joyfully greeting each other before having a joint
training session’ (Chosun Ilbo, 13th Aug. 2004: A21, italic added). The term ‘joyfully
greeting’ suggests what the circumstance was like when the athletes from the two
Koreas encountered each other. In doing so, the newspaper indicated that the meeting
of North and South Korean athletes should be a delight and an emotional moment.
Both the tone of the texts and the image used here resembles the media representation
of a family reunion in North and South Korea. Therefore, the media seemed to
associate sporting union as symbolic of the unification of the two Koreas.
The two Korean table tennis teams were subsequently to play against each other in the quarter-final stage in the women’s double event. This was the only occasion in which a South Korean team played directly against its northern siblings at the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, and the live commentary of the match will be discussed later. Here, attention is paid to the way in which the media covered the match, and, by doing so, some interesting points with regard to North-South Korean relations is revealed. As the South defeated the North, the *Han Kyo Reh* published an unusual photograph of the players after the match. Figure 6-13 illustrates the two South Korean players showing more or less a strange gesture; rather than expressing delighted emotion as winners, they appeared to be embarrassed. According to the newspaper, no joyful feature can be found as if conquering the North Korean team was not really a glorious achievement. Their behaviour seemed far more than simply restraining their emotion. Rather, it gives the impression that the South Korean players felt shameful.
However, the reason why the *Han Kyo Reh* selected this photograph to be published is more important than the photograph itself. Although other images which captured a jubilant moment could have been appeared in the newspaper, it deliberately chose the shot shown in order to relieve any tension between the two teams and to maintain a neutral position in covering North-South competition. In this way, the newspaper, arguably, sought to contribute to forging a climate in which a harmonious and reconcilable inter-Korean relation could develop.

The text belonged to this report made this argument more evident. The newspaper captioned the image ‘we could hardly hold up our head’ (the *Han Kyo Reh*, 19th Aug. 2004: 30), and added that ‘after winning the match, Suk and Lee from the South reluctantly passed Jung and Kim from the North’ (the *Han Kyo Reh*, 19th Aug. 2004: 30). In addition, the report also included a brief comment by the South Korean team’s coach. She said: ‘one of us must fall out; how unfortunate we are! This kind thing must not happen again’ (the *Han Kyo Reh*, 19th Aug. 2004: 30). This comment was even more significant given that it was spoken by the coach, Jung-hwa Hyun, who was a member of the unified Korean team at the World Table Tennis Championship in 1991 and won the championship in the female doubles in cooperation with a North Korean partner.

The sympathetic attitude towards the North Korean team by the South Korean media can only be understood with reference to a unitary Korean nationalism. As the current South Korean government maintains an appeasement approach, the so-called ‘Sunshine policy’, towards the northern siblings, the media seemed to show a similar tendency when featuring North Korean athletes. Thus, when the South Korean team defeated the North Korean team the celebration moment was restrained. Instead, a report with a regretful tone was cited in the *Han Kyo Reh*. 
On another occasion, the South Korean newspapers printed a somewhat different aspect of the North and South competition to the one analysed before. While the photograph discussed earlier (Figure 6-13) dealt with a narrative of a defeat, Figure 6-14 represented a triumphal scene that both North and South Korea achieved at the Olympic Games. In the male shooting event, shooters from the two Koreas won Olympic silver and bronze respectively. The South Korean newspapers unanimously celebrated the event, describing the two shooters as ‘shooting brothers’ (*Ilgan Sport*, 18th Aug. 2004: 1). An image of the two shooters showing Olympic medals was published in the front page of the newspaper. Moreover, even though the photograph was taken during the medal ceremony, the image of the gold medal winner was absent in order to emphasise the achievement of the two Koreans. The text accompanying this photograph stated that ‘even though we missed an Olympic gold, *it was very meaningful that both North and South Koreans won the 2nd and the 3rd place together* (*Ilgan Sport*, 18th Aug. 2004: 1, italics added). Therefore, what was highlighted
through this report is the fact that North and South Koreans had succeeded at the Olympic Games together. This, then was depicted as a source for national celebration.

The media text accompanied this image also stressed the familial tie between the two Koreas. As pointed out before, the bold headline, which wrote ‘shooting brothers’, was added to the image. In addition, the newspaper described that ‘at the podium, Jong-oh Jin and Jung-soo Kim who won the Olympic silver and bronze respectively, showed off staunchest brotherhood between them (Ilgan Sport 18th Aug. 2004: 2, italics added).’ The terms ‘brother’ and ‘brotherhood’ suggested a symbolic familial tie between the two Koreas, which is one of the central discourses of a unitary Korean nationalism. In doing so, the media framed how readers should view their northern siblings. Thus, not only did this report hail the success of the two Korean shooters in the Olympic shooting event, it also emphasised a symbolic familial tie between North and South Korea. In this way, a unitary Korean nationalism was being flagged up by the media.

Figure 6-12: Ilgan Sport (18th Aug. 2004: 1) ‘Shooting Brothers’
So far, I have examined the newspaper reports on North-South Korean relations at the Olympics Games. Attention was paid to the way in which the media featured and framed inter-Korean encounters at the Games. Deacon et al (1999, p 197) suggests that, 'the photograph is not only highly graphic but also strongly composed' in the media news coverage.' This was also the case when North Korean people appeared in the South Korean media during the Olympic Games. Metonymical analysis of the news reports shows that all the photographs investigated were presented in association with the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. The media constructed and composed images in an effort to reflect and reinforce a dominant national discourse on inter-Korean relations. Particularly, no photograph conveyed any negative depiction of North Korean athletes.

To summarise, the photographs of North Korean related items suggested reconciliation and a mutual respect between North and South Koreas. This phenomenon can be understood with reference to a unitary Korean nationalism that seeks building an authentic Korean nation by way of national unification. By representing the North and South Korean Olympic teams in such a way, the South Korean newspaper reflected and reinforced a unitary Korean nationalism.

6-3 North Korean Live: Television Coverage of North Korean Athletes

In this section, the research focus is on television coverage. The live broadcasting of the performance of North Korean athletes at the Olympic Games is studied in light of Korean sporting nationalism. Similar to the analysis of South Korean newspapers, the way in which North Korean athletes are introduced and represented by South Korean television is discussed with specific reference to the
notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. This section consists of two parts: a case of a North Korea female judo player and of the table tennis match between North and South Korea. In so doing, this section aims at discovering the way in which the media construct a national discourse in the coverage of the Olympic Games. This section also reveals that the television coverage of the Olympic Games mirrored a dominant discourse of Korean nationalism in the global era.

6-3-1 North Korean Sport Star: Sun-hui Kye

Sun-hui Kye may be the most well-known North Korean athlete in South Korea. She made her debut for the first time in an international competition at the 1996 Atlanta Olympiad in which Kye unexpectedly won Olympic gold. Since then she has achieved a series of remarkable successes at various international judo championships, and won Olympic bronze at the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. The South Korean media has focused on Sun-hui Kye whenever she participated in judo competitions. South Korean television featured her in a way that indicated that she was as significant as South Korean athletes. The fact that South Korean public broadcasting company televised a short documentary film about Sun-hui Kye’s biography during the Olympic Games indicates her status in South Korea. One can argue that the South Korean media are generally interested in all members of the North Korean team. However, due to her celebrity status and popularity among South Korean people, Sun-hui Kye was the focus of particular attention.

Some commentaries on Sun-hui Kye consisted of accounts of her personal characteristics that give her celebrity status. These commentaries appeared to make her public persona as friendly to South Korean people as possible. Before the semi-
final match, announcers from the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) commented that:

Shin: So far, you [audience] have watched Sun-hui Kye’s match highlight, and the moments when she won gold medals in various competitions.
Lee: Yes,
Shin: It was so exciting that you [audience] may be heating up now.
Lee: Yes, from her sharp eye contact to her short hair, nothing has changed. But, her skill and capacity seems better then before (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004. Female Judo under 57kg level, italics added).

A similar narrative is also found in other media extracts. According to the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) commentators:

Jung: Yes, North Korean judo heroine, Sun-hui Kye, has advanced to the semi-final in the female under 57kg event. Although she participated in a weight division that one level higher than four years ago, her capacity still looks great.
Lee: Yes, um, Sun-hui Kye is undoubtedly a star athlete in South Korea.
Jung: Yes, she is.
Lee: She looks like a cute mascot as she is small and has cute eyes. Let’s watch her match highlight (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level, italic added).

Both the KBS and the SBS positively illustrated Kye’s physical characteristics and admired her athletic capacity. Sun-hui Kye was described as a star athlete and a ‘cute mascot’ by the SBS. By pointing out her physical characteristics and athletic capacities in this way, the media seemed to introduce Sun-hui Kye to South Korean audiences as an intimate media sport star whose differences as a North Korean disappeared completely.

While the above commentaries offer some interesting points in featuring a North Korean athlete in the South Korean media, however, a more significant issue, and one which is more relevant to this research project, is a discourse on national identity politics around her performance. On numerous occasions, media commentaries on Kye spoke of her nationality in association with a unitary Korean nationalism. Understandably, the South Korean television broadcasted the judo match
in favour of Sun-hui Kye. When Kye passed the first round, the SBS sport broadcasting team commented that:

**Announcer:** Well, *she is also our national*

**Pundit:** Yes,

**Announcer:** Her condition seems good today.

**Pundit:** Yes,

**Announcer:** Sun-hui Kye’s just passed the first round, *beating the opponent by a magnificent ippon technique* (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level, italic added).

Here, a notion of national identity politics was briefly but strongly mentioned; the SBS announcer perceived Kye as ‘our national’. This commentary implied that he did not distinguish between North and South Korea as if the border that divides the Korean peninsula did not exist in the sport world. These commentaries also involved a more subtle and mundane aspect of national discourse that blurred the North and South distinction. Although the North Korean team is officially a different national team, the South Korean television clearly supported Sun-Hui Kye. In this way, the South Korean media discursively recognised the North Korean athlete as a member of ‘our national’ team, the politics of belonging emerged in an Eliasian (1994) sense.

Likewise, when Kye advanced to the final, Young-il Shin, from the KBS, hailed that ‘we are the proud Korean nation’ (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level) Shortly after this, he also said that ‘in the Sydney Games, the North Korean team failed to win an Olympic gold. Thus, we missed a gold medal at that time. Well, in this moment, here in Athens, *I hopefully expect that she will bring an Olympic gold to our northern siblings* (KBS, 16th Aug 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level, italics added) This comment vividly showed the way in which media personnel perceived North Korean people. Both sympathetic and supportive remarks appeared in his commentary. In addition, a personal pronoun model was discursively used to portray the South Korea and Korean nation as a whole. These commentaries
reveal that in a sporting context, the political division between the two Koreas gives way to a sense of cultural integration.

As Sun-hui Kye defeated a series of opponents, Won-hee Lee, a South Korean male judo player also advanced to the final. Thus, both North and South Korean judo players challenged to win an Olympic gold together at the same night. This specific situation engendered a unitary Korean nationalism that was freely expressed and exchanged. A more intense feeling of national unification was detectable. For example, prior to the two final matches, Ju Huh, a KBS journalist, commented that

Here is the Olympic judo stadium. The stadium is surrounded by a fever of excitement, indeed ... Both Sun-Hui Kye from the North and Won-Hee Lee from the South will challenge an Olympic gold shortly. Both Kye and Lee have secured an Olympic silver already. Today, I hope that the two players accomplish victories. Thereby, *glorious acclamations could be heard in Seoul and Pyongyang* simultaneously (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level, italics added)

Thus heightened feeling of expectation and celebration can also be found in the SBS coverage. Sung-geun Jung, a SBS journalist, expressed his emotion that: ‘Tonight, both North and South Korea are in a state of euphoria. I can feel a sort of mixed emotion that euphoria and anxiety go together as both Won-hee Lee and Sun-hui Kye have advanced to the finals’ (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo match). Both the KBS and the SBS perceived the event in a similar way. The two broadcasters expressed the desire that the North and South Korean players both win their gold medals. The sentence ‘glorious acclamations could be heard in Seoul and Pyongyang simultaneously’ highlights the stance that the South Korean media adopted in relation to Korean sporting nationalism. In these circumstances, therefore, the North and South division was deemed meaningless and an emphasis was placed on the imagined unified Korean team.

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21 These are the names of capitals of South and North Korea
The two final matches were also packaged as a national sport event. In this light, the SBS stated:

**Jung:** Well, who we are? We are the North and South who entered the stadium and marched together at the opening ceremony under the same flag, wearing same uniform.

**Lee:** In judo, the two Koreas also look very harmonious indeed. Both our Won-hee Lee and Sun-hui Kye advanced the finals now (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo Match).

Jung’s commentary not only attempted to link the two judo final matches to the joint march at the opening ceremony, but Jung also discursively used the personal pronoun, ‘we’, to indicate a unified Korean nation. In this connection, the we-identity that includes both North and South Korean people was developed further. In response to Jung’s comment, Lee celebrated the fact that North and South Korean athletes had advanced to the finals, and noted the harmonious relationship that existed between the two Korean teams. Through two Korean teams officially participated in the Olympic Games separately, the media had framed their performances in terms of representing one nation. So, indeed, the media went to so far as to describe the matches as ‘an important historical moment’ According to the SBS sport broadcasting team:

**Announcer:** Today, North and South Korea advanced to the finals together. It is a very wonderful moment. Hope this feeling will be continued until the end of the day.

**Pundit:** It is a very valuable moment, indeed.

**Announcer:** It is, of course.

**Pundit:** In some senses, you [audience] are now watching an important historical moment, indeed (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo Match, italics added).

The fact that both North and South Koreans were challenging for Olympic gold enabled the reporters to frame their commentary in term of an unified national discourse.
While Sun-hui Kye failed in her quest for Olympic gold, Won-hee Lee became an Olympic champion. When the final match was being broadcasted, South Korean sport commentators manifestly supported Sun-hui Kye. In her defeat, both KBS and SBS commentators understandably complained of controversial refereeing decisions.

According to KBS sport pundits:

**Kim:** Penalty must be given to her [the opponent], penalty, um, alas!

**Huh:** The referee seldom penalises her [the opponent] for a false attack! Alas, a dismissal has been declared.

**Kim:** That was the moment when the referee must have penalised her [the opponent] for a false attack!

**Kim:** Again, that was obvious foul, thus, she must have received a penalty.

**Huh:** Yes, you are right, but, alas, the time is over! Sun-hui Kye has failed to become an Olympic champion. ... However, I can't help saying that the referee's judgements was not very correct today (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo Match).

Similar comments also appeared in the SBS coverage. One pundit pointed out that 'Sun-Hui Kye lost the match even though she was far superior to the opponent. The opponent committed a series of fouls but the referee simply ignored them' (SBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo Match). These commentaries reflected the South Korean media bias in favour of Sun-hui Kye. She was depicted as 'one of us', that is a member of a unified Korean Olympic team.

Some post-match commentaries also praised the two Koreans sporting successes. Even if Kye was not able to gain Olympic gold, the portrayal of national celebration did not end there. This was partly due to the fact that Won-hee Lee won a Olympic gold but Sun-Hui Kye's Olympic silver also contributed to this reported jubilation. From a unitary Korean nationalist's perspective, a pan-Korean jubilation is certainly more pleasurable than a divided Korean celebration. The media clearly mirrored this tendency. Therefore, one media commentator claimed that:
Today is the Korean day! Won-hee Lee, a South Korean athlete, won an Olympic gold, and Sun-hui Kye, a North Korean athlete, won a Olympic silver! It could have been better if she had also won a gold medal. Anyway, I would like to call today the Korean day in Athens! (KBS, 16th Aug 2004 Female Judo Match)

As the above commentaries suggests the media framed the matches as a joint achievement and as source of celebration for all Koreans. Similar sentiments are also evident in the following commentary

It would have been much better if the two players [Kye and Lee] had been able to boast the prowess of the Korean nation [by winning the championship together]. Even if she failed to win an Olympic gold, Kye also showed an invincible spirit which required no less considerable effort than that made by Won-hee Lee. Therefore, we must applaud her in that regard (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004. Female Judo under 57kg level).

The media valued Kye and Lee’s achievements equally and their success was seen to reflect the prowess of Korean nation. In this context, the prowess of nation implied that of unified Korea. Given this emphasis, it is not surprising that the South Korean media celebrated North Korean athletes as seriously as that of South Korean athletes. Insofar as a unitary Korean nationalism is concerned, North Korean athletes are not portrayed as foreign athletes. Rather, both North and South Korean athletes are considered as members of a unified Korean national team. Three distinctive points can thus be made. Firstly, the personal pronouns deployed implied an emergence of a pan Korean identity. Secondly, the live commentary of the match was produced in favour of North Korean athlete. Thirdly, Kye’s achievement in combination with Lee’s success offered a fertile ground for the unitary Korean sporting nationalism to be expressed and celebrated. By representing North Korean athletes in this way, it can be argued that South Korean television played a key role in disseminating the idea of a unitary Korean sporting nationalism.
6-3-2 North and South Showdown: the Table Tennis Match between the Two Koreas

In the coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, the South Korean media portrayed North Korean athletes and officials positively, and attempted to make cultural and national linkages between the North and South Korean national teams. Therefore, this section focuses on the way in which the media broadcasted the occasion when North and South Korean teams played against one another.

In terms of a unitary Korean sporting nationalism, the case of the table tennis match is especially interesting in two respects. Firstly, unlike other media reports on North Korean athletes’ performances which barely affected South Korean team’s results, in a direct competition such as the table match between the two Koreas, only one team could advance to the next round. As the inter-Korean match was the quarter-final, the defeated would lose an opportunity to land any medal in the event. Under these circumstances a certain degree of tension is inevitable. How then, would the South Korean media portray their opponents? Secondly, table tennis is itself symbolically significant insofar as North and South Korean relations are concerned. As mentioned earlier, North and South Korea forged a unified Korean team for the 1991 World Table Tennis Championship, and the unified team won the championship in a female doubles event. At the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, North and South female table tennis players met again but not as team mates but as opponents. Coincidently, it was also a female doubles event. Furthermore, the South Korean team’s coach at the Olympics was one of those who had won the championship in a female doubles event in combination with a North Korean partner 13 years ago. This
historical background made the inter-Korean match at the Olympics particularly interesting.

The live broadcast of this inter-Korean table tennis match reflected the desire to promote a harmonious development and co-operation between the two Koreas. Expecting a development of some tensions around the contest, a KBS announcer stated that:

From the joint march to the joint training session, the Athens Olympic Games would be very meaningful to both North and South Korea. The table tennis was particularly significant in this regard. However, even though the two Korean table tennis teams trained together for this Olympics, an unavoidable encounter will start soon’ (KBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match).

The media seemingly did not want to undermine the theme of co-operative inter-Korean relations at the Olympic Games. The media, therefore, sought to avoid reporting the contest in a way that might induce unnecessary conflict. Hence, the media placed the match in the context of the Games: ‘from the joint march to the joint training session, the Athens Olympic Games would be very meaningful to both North and South Korea’. Co-operative relations are highlighted Though noting that ‘the table tennis was particularly significant in this regard’, the media were keen to frame the contest in distinctively friendly terms. The contest was ‘unavoidable’ but also ‘undesirable’. In this way the media sought to defuse what tensions may arise.

Thus, the South Korean television represented the table tennis match as a friendly game between the two Koreas rather than a serious competition. In order to make the competition a more festive event, the media described the event as if it were a family reunion. It was said that: ‘here is the Olympic Galatsi Hall, and North and South Korean teams are now playing Sisters from the North and the South have come across’ (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match, italics added) Moreover, the two North Korean players were introduced as ‘family members’ ‘[Their names are]
Hyang-mi Kim and Hyun-hi Kim, they are all our daughters!’ (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match). With respect to this, the same announcer commented that ‘the sisters are playing the game on good terms’ (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match). In the South Korean television coverage, the inter-Korean match was praised as an event in which North and South Korean athletes, a symbolic family could play together, understood each other more, and develop deeper friendships.

However, even if the media framed the game as an inter-Korean friendly, a mood of reconciliation and co-operation between the two Koreas was less fervent than the feeling generated in 1991 when North and South sporting union was made. Thus, some nostalgic sentiments frequently appeared during the game. According to the KBS broadcasting team

Yu: They are Hyang-mi Kim, and Hyun-hi Kim who are known as the best players in North Korea
Ahn: Yes, they are the best.
Yu: Yes,
Ahn: At the Busan Asian Games in 2002 they became a champion by beating Chinese team, didn’t they?
Yu: Yes, they did. [Their names are] Hyang-mi Kim and Hyun-hi Kim. Well, at the World Table Tennis Championship in Jiba, Japan in 1991 we forged a unified team, and became a world champion in a female event by beating Chinese team
Ahn: Yes,
Yu: But, since then, no sporting union has been made. Alas, if we were able to make union team as we did at the championship in 1991, we would no longer be afraid of Chinese team
Ahn: . when we [North and South] are united, then, we experience a kind of psychological effect that makes our team stronger
Yu: I hope the day will come soon.
(KBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match, italics added)

The conversation between the two media personnel clearly indicated that a unified team would be far better than two separate Korean teams. With a sense of nostalgia for the unified team of 1991, they expressed the hope that the two Korean teams be united as soon as possible. Particularly, the ‘psychological effect’ that the unified
team would generate suggests its importance in terms of the national unity and its beneficial consequence to Korea.

The memory of the World Championship in 1991 continually appeared during the table tennis match. The KBS broadcasting team reiterated a nostalgic comment once more and noted that:

Yu: At the World Tennis Table Tennis Championship in 1999 in Jiba, Japan, we, North and South Korea, forged a unified team, and defeated Chinese team, didn’t we?
Ahn: Yes, we did. I still remember the emotional moment. Many people said it was really a historical moment.
Yu: Yes, it is shameful, however, to see that the North and South Korean teams are fighting each other as I still lively remember the emotional victory at the World Championship in Jiba 13 years ago.
Ahn: Yes, you are right. I was also wondering what Mrs Hyun’s, a South Korean team coach, feel like, as she was a member of the unified team at that time.
(KBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match)

The media personnel compared the separated Korean teams in Athens with the unified Korean team in Jiba, lamenting the inter-Korean match that the two Koreas had to compete each other, and that it made them feel a little depressed. In saying so, the media seemed to urge that the two Korean teams should forge sporting union as soon as possible. Beom-soo Sohn, a SBS journalist, expressed similar sentiments that ‘North Korean Hyang-mi Kim and Hyun-hi Kim are playing very well. How wonderful it would be when all these players were playing in the same team (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match). In highlighting the importance of North and South Korean sporting union, the media seemed to support the notion that the two Koreas should combine its resources in international sport competition so that the most effective sporting strategy could be produced.

Some sporting tension arose as the table tennis match progressed. Yet, while accepting the importance of the match and competitiveness around the game, the
media seemed to seek to minimise a strain generated by the competition. Take the following media extract:

**Yu**: In the past, there existed an intense tension in inter-Korean matches. But, nowadays, that kind of tension no longer exists. It is a very good phenomenon.

**Ahn**: Yes, nowadays, the match between the two Koreas does not differ from matches between any other countries. It is now just a sport competition.

**Yu**: In sport competition, a political tension or other conflicts between the two Koreas have gone completely. *It is a process towards a national unification, isn't it?*

**Ahn**: That is certainly true. Outside of stadium, the two Korean teams get on with each other very well.

**Yu**: They do, indeed.

**Ahn**: They also behave like brothers and sisters in the Olympic village. (KBS 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match, italics added)

The above conversation clearly indicated that the table tennis match between the two Koreas is no more then just sport competition. The commentators mention the friendly and even family-like relation between the two Korean Olympic teams in the Olympic village in an effort to reduce the tension derived from the contest. In other words, even though there existed a sporting struggle, the tension is not real, it is only artificial emotions that will be gone as soon as the contest is over. What is more important, according to the media, is the actual relation that North and South Korean athletes have outside of the stadium.

According to the media, no political tension and conflict should be attached to the table tennis match. However, one should be aware that it does not mean that the event is not political at all. As pointed out, the commentator saw the disappearance of political conflict in sport as a process towards ‘national unification’ which is, itself, a highly political statement.

In contradiction to a structure of contested sports which distinguishes two or more sides, the media coverage of the inter Korean table tennis match offers a fertile ground for the idea that a shared identity or a sense of belongingness can be generated...
Again, a symbolic familial tie based on ethnic nationalism and Elias' personal pronoun model (1994) are especially useful in this respect. When the two teams met, a media commentator remarked that 'North and South Korean teams are now playing in the Olympic Galatsi hall. *Sisters from the North and the South have encountered* (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004. a table tennis match, italics added) This comment clearly showed that the two Korean teams shared a communal symbolic familial identity by depicting the players as 'sisters'. The commentator also added that 'Hyang-mi Kim and Hyun-hi Kim [names of the North Korean players], are all *our daughters!*' (SBS, 18th Aug. 2004: a table tennis match, italics added). Here, a more inclusive term 'our daughters' then 'sisters' was used; personal pronouns was used in connection with a symbolic familial tie. All the players were called 'our daughters'. In this context, the personal pronoun 'our' indicated Korean nation that encompasses both North and South Koreas. Thus, not only does the term 'our daughters' indicate they belong to a single family, it also denotes that all the Korean peoples share a symbolic familial identity with the 'daughters' as the term 'our' includes the audiences.

Here is another example Sohn, a SBS journalist stated that 'I am very proud of *our nation* when I see the female table tennis match. [Amongst eight teams that are playing at the quarter-final], three of them are from *our national team*. While *our national teams* are contesting each other in front of me, the other Korean team are fighting at the next table' (SBS, 18th Aug 2004: a table tennis match, italics added). According to the above commentaries, the commentator seemed to frame Korea discursively as a single national community No distinction between the two Korean team was indicated. In fact, among the three Korean teams, two groups were from the South, and the other is from the North. However, the journalist perceived all three teams as 'our national team', and felt proud of the appearance of 'our national teams'.
at the quarter-final. By representing North and South Korean teams as 'our national team', the media seemed to disseminate discursively the notion of a unitary Korean identity.

In this section, the media representation of the inter-Korean table tennis match has been examined. To summarise, firstly, the media featured the match as inter-Korean friendly. As it was the quarter-final match, the game was highly competitive. In such a competitive game, the spectator can easily be overtly excited, and it is likely to incite unnecessary tensions amongst audiences. If it happened, it would have a negative effect on the inter-Korean relation, however ephemeral. In order to prevent this undesirable result, the media packaged the match as an inter-Korean friendly so that the live event could be framed as an inter-Korean sport festival.

Secondly, a narrative of nostalgia in 1991 was frequently used. In his research into English identity and sport, Maguire (1993a) suggests that the British media often feature a discourse on English 'wilful nostalgia' when nation's political power and sporting prowess deem to be in decline. Likewise, the South Korean media also mentioned a nostalgic comment. As North and South Korea forged sporting union in 1991, and won the championship at that competition, the media lamented the current situation in which North and South Korean teams had to fight against to each other. In doing so, the media seemed to stress that the two Korean teams must be unified as soon as possible.

Thirdly, a new political discourse based on a unitary Korean nationalism emerged during inter-Korean match. The media explained that a political tension and conflict between the two Koreas which prevailed over the sport competition in the past, no longer existed. The media defined the current inter-Korean sporting relation as a co-operative and friendly partnership. Thus, in the media coverage of the inter-
Korean match, the political dimension of sport was transformed from an ideological conflict during the Cold War to an idealistic co-operation in the global era.

Finally, various usages of personal pronouns indicated an emergence of a communal and shared 'we' identity between North and South Korea. In the media coverage of the inter-Korean table tennis match, the term such as 'our nation', 'our daughter' and 'our team' were frequently used in representing the entire Korean people and team. No distinction was made between North and South Korea when these personal pronouns appeared in the media coverage. Therefore, a unitary Korean 'we' identity began to develop in this sporting context.

6-4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at the representation of North Korean athletes and officials in the South Korean media during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Particular attention was paid to the way in which the South Korean media perceived its northern sibling. To do this, both newspaper and television coverage of the Olympic Games have been investigated. The research outcome suggests that the South Korean media appeared to see North Korean athletes and officials positively. A negative depiction of North Korean was scarce. All the North Korean related reports investigated here represented them with reference to the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. Without recognition of this overall framework, such positive depictions of the North Korean team cannot be understood properly.

Broadly speaking, there have existed two main discourses on Korean nationalism in South Korean society since the division of Korean peninsula in 1948 (Shin, 1998). The first discourse refers to South Korean state nationalism, and the
second discourse is based on a unitary Korean nationalism. The South Korean state nationalism was focused on the development of South Korea. Modernisation and economic development were the key agendas in this form of nationalism. Thus, South Korean state nationalism is more or less similar to the so called the modernist nationalism suggested by Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983), and Hobsbawm (1992). It was the dominant national discourse from 1960 to early 1990s. As the South Korean military regime underpinned this nationalism, other types of national discourses such as a unitary Korean nationalism was severely repressed during this period. Insofar as inter-Korean relations is concerned, South Korean state nationalism sees North Korea as an object to overcome in order to unify the divided peninsula. In other words, North Korea was regarded as the enemy.

In terms of a unitary Korean nationalism, this values national unification. Unlike South Korean state nationalism which was a political doctrine imposed from above, a unitary Korean nationalism was developed from below. Thus, a unitary Korean nationalism was mainly discussed by progressive intellectual groups, student activists and members of trade unions in the industrial and agricultural sectors. These groups of people were also severely repressed under the military regime. Yet, they form a basis of Korean nationalism in the long-term historical development of Korean nation. This is somewhat similar to Smith’s (1986) and Elias’ (1994, 1996) conceptualisation of nation which stresses a long-term development of national consciousness. In this view, the current divided situation is regarded as an ‘abnormal’ state. In addition, a unitary Korean nationalists see North Korea as an object of and for dialogue. Thus, co-operation and reconciliation is essential in order to achieve national unification. In other words, to a unitary Korean nationalist, North Koreans

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22 Of course, this distinction is ideal typical in a Weberian sense. There exist other forms of Korean nationalism in between the two broad national discourses. In addition, there has been an Eliasian sense of a power game between various nationalist views in Korea.
are potentially co-operative partners. This unitary Korean nationalism has become more dominant since the ending of the military dictatorship in early 1990s.

It is in terms of this background, we can better understand the media portrayal of North Korean athletes at the Olympic Games. In the newspaper analysis, the images of North Korean Olympic teams denoted reconciliation, co-operation, and friendship between the two Koreas. The newspapers published a number of positive images of North Korean athletes which included the meeting of North and South Koreans. According to the media, North and South Korean athletes and officials looked always joyful and pleased when they came across each other, both inside and outside of stadium. Discourse of 'we are the one' and of 'brothers and sisters' frequently appeared. Thus, in the sporting field, a symbolic unification was achieved. In the television analysis, the discourse of a unitary nationalism can also be found. In the case of Soon-hui Kye, South Korean television used personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'our' in describing her. In addition, the media broadcast the judo match in a manner clearly in favour of Sun-hui Kye. Moreover, her achievement was praised in a way comparable with any other South Korean athletes' triumph. In a case of the inter-Korean table tennis match, the media packaged the match as an inter-Korean friendly. The importance of sporting union was also stressed by referring to the union made at the World Table Tennis Championship in 1991. Furthermore, like Kye's case, a personal pronoun form of expression was frequently used with its emphasis on a unitary Korean identity in the Korean peninsula.

The research findings suggests that, in the Olympic coverage, the central theme that grounded North Korean related reports in South Korean media is the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. Thus, given the recent development of a
unitary Korean nationalism in South Korea, the media seems to reflect and reinforce a unitary Korean nationalism.

However, one should bear in mind that, in Korea, there exists a gap between sporting nationalisms and political nationalism insofar as the inter-Korean nationalism is concerned. In a political sense, at least at the governmental and security level, the two Koreas still oppose each other. The fact that the two Koreas are technically at war implies a possible political and military opposition between North and South Korea. Moreover, there are still disagreements and conflicts that need to be resolved. The issue around the nuclear test is a typical example. Thus, while a unitary Korean nationalism is freely discussed and widely accepted at a cultural level, the mood of reconciliation and co-operation between the two Koreas is less developed at a political level.

Sports, particularly international contests, have political implications that should not be underestimated (Jarvie, 2006). Thus, sporting nationalism can influence political nationalism and vice versa. However, a unitary Korean nationalism as expressed at the Olympic Games through the media was so exaggerated that a careful evaluation of a unitary nationalism in sport is required. In so doing, a more proper assessment of sporting nationalism can be made in the context of South Korean cultural politics. In this sense, while recognising the importance of sporting nationalism in South Korean society, as long as a unitary Korean nationalism is concerned, nationalism expressed through the Korean national sport team seems to be more manifest and radical than nationalism discussed in the Korean National Assembly.
CONCLUSION:

KOREAN SPORTING NATIONALISM IN THE GLOBAL ERA

1. Introduction

This research project has attempted to investigate the connection between mega sport events, the mass media and Korean national identity in the context of globalisation. To do so, the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games has been explored. The way in which the media promotes the notion of globalisation and reinforce nationalism has been addressed. Broadly speaking, the research findings show that the contents of the mediated Olympic Games consisted of both globalising and nationalistic discourse. This tendency seems resonant with Maguire’s figurational approach (1999, 2005) to global sport that highlights the processes of ‘diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties’ and the ‘global-national nexus’ in global sport culture. The findings also suggest that nationalism still maintains a crucial meaning in a global sport arena, but it may be strengthened, weakened or pluralized in the face of globalisation processes.

In this concluding chapter, a brief summary of the research findings will be provided. Next, a sociological discussion of the empirical outcomes will be made with specific reference to figurational sociological theory. Then, the overall research process will be evaluated. In this evaluation, both the strengths and weaknesses in the research methods adopted will be discussed together with a consideration of whether the study accomplished its aim of obtaining a sociological understanding of nationalism and national identity in the global era, and of the role of media sport in reflecting and reinforcing such notions. The limitation of this study will be also
critically examined. Finally, future research projects will be suggested in view of the outcomes, the accomplishments and the limitations of the research.

2. Summary of the findings

The principal aims of this study were to investigate the way in which the Olympic Games as a global media sporting event facilitates the processes of globalisation. In addition, attention was also paid to nationalism in the media coverage of the event. In this context, the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Games was examined. While this study mainly focused upon the global-national nexus in the media, it was found that other notions such as 'Olympic ideals', 'war on terror' and capitalist ideology also accounted for a significant amount of coverage. Furthermore, the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism, which emphasised the necessity of re-unification of North and South Korea, emerged as a major nationalistic discourse in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. The topics and issues identified as being most evident in the South Korean media coverage were discussed in depth in Chapters Four, Five and Six. In the following section, a brief summary of these research findings will be provided.

2-1 An Analysis of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies

In relation to the global-national nexus in the Olympic Games, the media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies was investigated as such ceremonies are often viewed as the most spectacular events at the Games that consist of both global and national rituals (Real, 1989; Tomlinson, 1996) Through the investigation,
four distinctive themes in the South Korean media coverage of the Olympic ceremonies were identified: globalism, nationalism, Olympism and Hellenism.

The media tended to depict the Games as a global festival highlighting global unity. It was found that the media coverage of the two ceremonies and the related reports were replete with expressions that celebrated global harmony and integration. For example, a commentator of the KBS claimed that 'Yes, there exists a unified globe and an integrated humanity' (KBS. 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony) in the live broadcasting of the event. Thus, according to the media, the Olympic ceremonies represent a 'supreme globaliser' that promoted harmony and unity in the global village at its best.

In addition, a number of nationalistic and patriotic discourses were also expressed in the coverage of the ceremonies. A brief Korean sports history, highlighting Korean athletes' achievements at the Games in spite of the difficulties the country experienced in the past, was introduced. Discourse on Japanese colonial domination, the Korean War and the division of the nation were also articulated in conjunction with the history of the modern Olympics. In this way, 'sleeping memories' of the nation were awakened, and the South Korean public was reminded by the media of the country's traumatic past.

Linked to the nationalist flavour of the event, the media also celebrated the joint march of the North and South Korean Olympic teams at the opening ceremonies, viewing it as a significantly progressive step towards national reunification. When the teams marched into the stadium, a KBS presenter exclaimed: 'Our Korean teams are brothers and sisters in North and South Korea' (KBS, Aug. 13th 2004: the opening ceremony). Such a statement reflects the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism that has been emerging as one of the dominant forms of national discourses within South
Korea. This type of nationalism is particularly evident in sporting contexts and therefore was discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

As well as ideas of globalism and nationalism, the South Korean media coverage of the ceremonies also significantly featured Olympism. The values of political ideals such as international cooperation and global fraternity were introduced in close association with an ideal of the Olympic Movement. This tendency is substantiated by comments such as: 'the Games' basic principle.. is to unify the world in peace' (KBS, 13th Aug. 2004: the opening ceremony). Furthermore, the media attempted to articulate an idealistic view of an international sporting competition that claims to enhance mutual understanding and maintains peaceful relationships via sport. The following comment made by Sung-gun Jung, an SBS presenter, demonstrates this trend. 'While ethnic, territorial and political competitions easily lead to war, sporting contests contribute to goodwill and fraternity' (SBS, 13th Aug. 2004, the opening ceremony) With a positive evaluation of the principal motto of the Olympic Games, therefore, the media appeared to present a cultural and political meaning of the Games which transcended its the sporting competitive aspect.

As the 2004 Summer Games took place in Athens, the South Korean media devoted a large portion of its content to introducing the culture and history of the host country, particularly the ancient Hellenic civilisation. The media tended to highlight a positive aspect of Hellenic civilisation with the declaration 'Athens is indeed the origin of European civilisation. (Ilgan Sport, 12th Aug. 2004: 14)’ While the South Korean public is familiar with the ancient Greek culture, the media account of Hellenism may, to some degree, have enhanced understanding of the history of western civilisation amongst Korean people. In that sense, it can be said that the
media contributed to ‘increasing varieties’ of foreign cultures in South Korean society by covering the Olympic Games.

The media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Athens Games, consisted of a number of positive and idealistic contents that promoted global unity and fraternity. However, it should be noted that the media also framed the ceremonies in a nationalistic fashion. Thus, a careful evaluation is required in order to identify the dominant characteristics of the Olympic ceremonies. Based on the research findings, it can be said that the ceremonies employed both global and national ritual. These seemingly contradictory features will be discussed in due course.

2-2 An Analysis of Multiple Discourses in the Media Olympics

A thorough investigation of the South Korean newspaper coverage of the Olympics reveals two different discourses. These were: the Games as tourist, and as terrorist, attractions. The evidence suggests that, firstly, the press portrayed the Games as a global peace festival. In this type of discourse, no negative element can be found; the Games were totally eulogised as a ‘magnificent festival’. In an attempt to highlight a festive circumstance in the host country, the media introduced a variety of cultural events and natural attractions in Greece with reference to Olympic tourism. Furthermore, a number of narratives fostering a carnival atmosphere also frequently appeared in the media. For instance, expressions such as ‘spectacular fireworks are beautifully embellishing the midsummer night’ (Sport Seoul, 9th Aug. 2004: 2), which is considered to embroider the Olympic-related accounts in the South Korean newspapers, could be found in the media without difficulty.
In addition, values based on an ideal of the Olympic Games, such as international understanding, were articulated through the media portrayals of the event. Particularly, the notion of an Olympic truce was continually highlighted, as if Olympic athletes were messengers of a global peacemaker. A boxing match that involved an American-coached Iraqi boxer demonstrated this approach. When he won his first round bout, the media focused on the boxer and his American coach, and eulogised the sporting alliance between the US and Iraq as an incident that transcended the current military conflict. Regarding this, a South Korean paper published an interview with them, including their comment: ‘We are diplomats who are symbolising reconciliation between Iraq and the U.S.’ (Chosun Ilbo, 20th Aug 2004. A28) Hence, according to the media, the Olympic Games were a truly global peace festival.

In contradiction to the media discourse on the Olympics as an occasion in which a global fraternity is promoted, the media also featured terrifying images of the Games. The 2004 Olympics were criticised for the intensive anti-terror campaign in Athens which conjured up a picture of the city under a pseudo-martial regime. So restrictive was the anti-terror programme that one newspaper associated life in the city with the living conditions in George Orwell’s novel, Nineteen Eighty-Four. In addition, the media focused on massive military forces made ready in preparation for a terror-free Olympics, noting that it was ‘the largest peacetime military action in European history’, clamoring that a ‘peace festival has become [a] military festival’ (the Han Kyo Reh, 12th Aug. 2004: 35). These media discourses appear to be in stark contrast with the Games as a global peace festival. The two different views suggest that there exists a manifest gap between ‘ideal and reality’ of the Olympic Movement.
As well as the welfare and warfare discourses of the Games, an advertising discourse in the media also showed some interesting features. It was found that both patriotic and capitalist ideologies were embedded in the Olympic-related commercial and non-commercial advertisements. Several Samsung Electronics’ advertisements exemplifies this tendency. As an official Olympic sponsor Samsung had an exclusive right to use the five-ring symbol of the Olympic movement, and its full-page advertisements containing the ideological messages mentioned above appeared in the newspapers almost every day during the Games. The advertising message implied that Samsung’s role in the Olympic Movement was so crucial and prestigious that its activity enhanced the status of South Korea in the global community. For instance, it wrote: ‘Samsung runs in the name of Korea at the Athens Olympic Games attracting the attentions of 6 billion global citizens. Both in the Olympic Games and in wireless technology, Korea will do its best!’ (Chosun, 9th Aug. 2004· D8) The advertisement appears to stress the fact that the company has its roots in Korean soil and, thereby its interests do not differ from the national interest. In this way, the company underpinned the importance of its role both inside and outside Korea in developing the nation’s economy and status.

It should be noted that Samsung was not alone in showing such a tendency. A number of other commercial and non-commercial organisations followed Samsung’s example. When South Korean Olympians won a medal, sponsors of the respective athletes exploited their patriotic achievements as a means of promoting their marketing activities. For instance, in relation to a successful performance of a South Korean athlete an advertisement of Korea Racing Association (KRA) included a statement that: ‘When tae-guk-ki [the South Korean national flag] was raised and Ae-guk-ga [the South Korean national Anthem] was played in Athens, we become united...
again ... the KRA will forcefully support the Republic of Korea'. On this basis, it is suggested that consumerism, nationalism and capitalism were intricately mixed in the Olympic-related advertising discourse. Hence, the process of commodification of nationalism and national identity was at work.

2-3 An Analysis of the North Korean Olympic team in the South Korean Media

The relationship between North and South Korea in the Olympic Games was arguably the most distinctive topic of this study. Given that Korea is the only nation in the world which is ideologically divided, reunification of the Korean peninsula has always been a central theme in both Koreas since its division. Once bitter enemies, the two Koreas are currently making an effort to ameliorate their relations. A national movement for reunification that has recently developed rapidly within South Korea engenders a situation in which a unitary Korean nationalism is fostered. Research findings indicate that sport, as a cultural means, evidently reflects such a mood of reconciliation. In fact, it was through sport that one of the most radical forms of a unitary Korean nationalism is expressed. The way in which the South Korean media portrayed the North Korean Olympic teams palpably demonstrated this tendency.

The study investigated photographs that featured the North Korean Olympic teams and the related issues. It was found that no negative description of the North Koreans appeared in the South Korean press. Most of the images emphasised the reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas. In addition, texts attached to some of those photographs strongly implied a possible reunification of the divided Korean peninsula. For instance, a headline: 'Let's smile together, heroes and heroines in this land', appeared with the photograph that captured the athletes from North and
South Korea. Furthermore, the South Korean media paid as much attention to its northern sibling as to the domestic Olympians. When a North Korean won a medal, therefore, the South Korean media celebrated the occasion, and praised the medallist’s achievement. The media also attempted to represent athletes from both Koreas as a symbolic family. Terms such as ‘northern cousins’, ‘shooting brothers’ and ‘ping pong sisters’ were frequently used by the media to describe the inter-Korean sport relationship in Athens.

Similar tendencies were also found in the live broadcasting of the Olympic events in which the North Korean athletes participated. South Korean television showed a clear bias towards the North Korean athletes when they competed against non-Korean opponents. For instance, when a North Korean judo team member, Sun-hui Kye, advanced to the final, a KBS presenter commented: ‘I hopefully expect that she will bring an Olympic gold to our northern siblings’ (KBS, 16th Aug. 2004: Female Judo under 57kg level). Furthermore, another KBS commentator criticised the referee for not giving a penalty to Kye’s opponent for a false attack during the match. Both commentators gave words of consolation to Kye and expressed their unease with the referee’s decision when the North Korean competitor was defeated by her opponent. This broadcasting behaviour demonstrated that the KBS was notably in favour of the North Korean team when they covered the Games.

The live commentary on an inter-Korean match also suggested an interesting aspect of inter-Korean relations. The two Koreas met in the quarter finals of the table tennis where it was anticipated that a competitive atmosphere would inevitably exist between the two teams. However, the media attempted to reduce such a competitive circumstance by featuring the match as an inter-Korean friendly. In addition, the media commentators lamented the situation in which North and South Korean teams
had to compete against each other, remembering the sporting union in 1991 when the unified Korean team won the world table tennis championship. Moreover, when the South defeated the North, the media made an effort to refrain from celebrating the victory lest overt acclamation may offend the North Korean Olympic team. Interestingly, a newspaper published a report that showed a sympathetic attitude towards the defeated North Koreans instead of praising the winners.

Regarding a unitary Korean nationalism, the evidence shows that sport is one of the key fields in which the current reconciliation between North and South Korea was reflected and most reinforced. Hence, it may be said that a unitary Korean nationalism was a principle form of national discourses in the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Olympic Games.

3. Theoretical Discussion

This research project set out to investigate the global-national nexus in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. Particular attention was paid to the way in which the media articulated globalism and nationalism in representing the global media event. A variety of research has been conducted regarding this (Butler, 2005; Garland and Rowe, 1999, Maguire, 2004a; Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Poulton 2004, Rowe, 2003; Tuck, 2003). However, whilst most of the previous research represented Western experiences, this study focused on the South Korean media portrayals of the Olympic Games, enabling the processes of globalisation at work in the Far-East to be explored.

The Olympic Games may be one of the most globalised mega-events in the world (Silk et al., 2004). In his five-phased developmental model of globalisation,
Robertson (1992) suggests that an emergence of global competitions such as the Olympics indicates 'increasingly manifest globalising tendencies' (p.59). In his model of the phases of global sportisation, Maguire (1999) also identifies the Olympic movement as a significant factor in the processes of developing a global sport culture. However, while it is widely acknowledged that the movement facilitated systemic integration of the world by standardising regulations and processes of the event, the way in which the Olympics contributed to societal integration of the world, which involves cultural assimilation, was questionable. By focusing on the latter aspect, Rowe (2003) claims that the mega sport event repudiates the present wave of globalisation by the fact that each participant prefers national interests over global collectivism. However, it can be problematic to see national or local characteristics at a global event as opposing the processes of globalisation. In response to a more or less deterministic thesis by Rowe, this, Maguire and Falcous (2005, p 29) suggest that 'there is need for conceptual clarifications and dialogue in coming to term with the place of sport at the local-global nexus'. Bairner (2001) also indicates that development of nationalism and globalism must be viewed as part of the wider globalisation processes. In fact, the global-national nexus accounts for a principal element in the processes of globalisation (Maguire, 2005; Robertson, 1992)

The findings suggest that the global-national nexus was evident in the media coverage of the Olympics. In other words, not only did the media celebrate a unified world under the banner of the Olympic Movement but also highlighted a unique characteristic of Korea in covering the sporting occasion. This seemingly paradoxical situation can be explained if the specific characteristics of globalisation are properly understood. Chapter Two discussed various perspectives on globalisation, and clarified that a simple one-dimensional theory on the phenomenon needs to be
avoided. Regarding this, Robertson (1992) stresses that while the power balance within the processes is uneven, globalisation is by no means an unidirectional and homogeneous development. Similarly, Featherstone (1990, p. 1) also argues that 'it would be impossible to identify an integrated global culture without the formation of a world state – a highly unlikely prospect'. Taking account of this proposition, the Eliasian perception of globalisation offers a useful conceptual tool in understanding the unfolding of global culture. This theoretical perspective highlights the long-term processes of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties of culture and the unbalanced but unfixed power relations between the globally established cultural zones and the relative outsider’s areas (Maguire 1999, 2005).

In view of this, a standardised sporting practice at the Olympic Games, and the ideology the Games convey, diminish a cultural contrast between the participants of the event, the differences that each participant of the Games brings to the global sport arena increase cultural varieties surrounding the Olympics within the framework of globalisation. However, this process is not always harmonious (Maguire, 2005) Due to the unbalanced power relations, a particular style of sport culture tends to dominate global sporting field, and this dominant form becomes a globally established sporting culture. In relation to the Olympic Games, the notion of Olympism and the sporting events at the Olympic Games are largely western European origins, and, therefore, these areas are considered as the established cultural zones within the global sporting networks. Nevertheless, it by no means implies that the non-established or the outsiders are subordinated to these established groups, passively adopting western European sporting cultural products. In fact, not only are the relatively outsiders able to emulate the established culture to challenge the hegemonic positions, they also can resist the non-indigenous cultural elements in order not to lose their own traditions. In
so doing, the relative outsider's power can have an impact on the established culture, and, in some areas, power reversal can occur. In relation to sport, many non-occidental countries practise and emulate the western style sport in order both to challenge the western sport hegemony and to assert their unique national and cultural identities to the wider global communities. This tendency seems to be particularly evident at the Olympic Games.

The evidence shows that the South Korean media coverage of the event reflected such a tendency by representing the standardised sporting practice, the universalised notion of humanity, the multifarious cultural aspects and the indigenised interpretation of the Olympic movement. Moreover, the media paid significant attention to Korean national identity. Thus, it can be argued that the South Korean media was actively involved in globalisation processes.

With regard to the media and globalisation, it is generally acknowledged that the mass media played a significant role in cultural globalisation. The media offer both a wide range of cultural practices to particular regions and make a specific event, such as the Olympic Games, available to the broader audience at a global level (Appadurai, 1990; Curran, 2002; Dayan and Katz, 1992; Rantanen, 2002). However, it should be noted that a number of complicated factors and processes were involved in the production and consumption of such media contents.

In terms of media sport, Maguire (2004a), from a figurational sociological view, conceptualises the intricate power relations in the media production and consumption practice as a 'global media sport complex' which was reviewed thoroughly in Chapter Two. To recap briefly, Maguire (2004a) addresses an issue of the media sport that a number of factors such as media corporations, sport organisations, sponsors and audience opinions, to name but a few, are closely
interrelated in the processes of the production and consumption of the media contents. The factors involved in the global media complex engender a figuration in which every constituent in the complex is interdependent. However, it should be noted that neither is the power ratio between the elements in the complex equal, nor are such relationships fixed. Rather, the interdependency chains between the constituents are constantly in flux (Elias, 1978; Maguire, 2004a) Thus, while the currently more powerful and established cultural practices such as andocentric view and a Western achievement sport form were frequently represented through the global media sport products, this tendency is not permanent but is subject to change.

In conjunction with the global media complex, Appadurai's (1990) five dimensions of global cultural flows suggest a relevant notion in understanding the role that the media play in the processes of globalisation. Appadurai (1990) proposes a model of the global cultural flows which consists of what he calls five 'scapes'. These are: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes. The Olympic Games and media coverage of the sport event are closely related to these flows. Amongst the five dimensions, mediascapes and ideoscapes of the global cultural flows are particularly relevant to the current research project. Mediascapes, according to Appadurai (1990, p. 299), refer to 'images-centred, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality' and their impact upon those who face such accounts. He argues that those who encounter the media accounts can imagine and transform their life in accordance with the media accounts they experience. In terms of ideoscapes, Appadurai (1999, p. 299) suggests that 'the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements are explicitly oriented to capturing state power'. In consideration of the fact that the role that the media play in articulating and circulating ideologies is crucial, ideoscapes cannot be separated from mediascapes.
In relation to the development of a global sport culture, Maguire (2004b) suggests that a diffusion of Western achievement sports and their sporting values such as Olympism is one of the key elements of the structured processes that permeate global sport. Likewise, the research shows that the media portrayals of the Olympics consisted of a number of images and narratives which celebrate a global village and global family. In addition, the research also suggests that discourses on specific ideologies such as Olympism, political idealism, and a Western value system based on Hellenism and capitalism, accounted for a significant portion of the South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games.

However, it should be remembered that the inflow of foreign ideologies is not always accepted without criticism. As noted earlier, globalisation involves multidirectional processes in spite of unequal hegemonic relations between the 'players'. Hence, the local has the ability, however limited, to interpret the ideological inflow from the outside according to its socio-cultural context and its interests. As a result, the local can indigenise the imported alien cultures. Nonetheless, as a power ratio between the parties within a global network differs, some groups tend to wield more influence upon others. Regarding this, with specific reference to sport, Maguire (2004b, p. 16) points out that 'the global diffusion of sport reflected the ongoing balance of power within and between nations'. He also argues that using the Eliasian concept of the established and the outsider relations, the current established western cultural practice still maintain its superior position over the semi-established and the relative outsider's cultural realms. Thus, a number of non-western players generally have a tendency to accept, with some criticism, the established western cultural norm (Maguire, 2005). The ideologies embedded in the South Korean media representation of the Olympic Games mirror this propensity (see Chapter 4 and 5 regarding this).
although this does not mean that Korean society is a passive receiver of Western norms.

The future of nation and nationalism is one of the most controversial topics regarding globalisation. However, it should be noted that while the height of national borders has been much lowered, if not demolished, in a global market place, the notion of nation still plays a crucial role in a global cultural field. It is especially so in the global-sport arena. The fact that nationalistic discourses were frequently discovered in the South Korean media coverage of the Olympics highlights this. The contradictory relation between nationalism and globalisation can be understandable if globalisation is appreciated as multidirectional processes in which the local preserves its ability to resist and reinterpret the processes in accordance with culture and taste of a specific region (Maguire and Falcois, 2005) In this light, Bairner (2001, p.xi) notes that ‘although the process known as globalization has clearly had an impact on them, the relationship between sport, national identity and nationalism remains as strong as ever’ Figurational sociological perspective also underpins an importance of national identity in the ‘sport worlds’ Particularly, Eliasian notions of ‘national habitus’, ‘group charisma’ and ‘sleeping memories’ were especially relevant to view national identity politics in the global sport arena.

Elias (1991) notes that national habitus has a special prominence over other socio-cultural characteristics as a means of integrating individuals as a particular social survival unit. In addition, he also points out that while the national character is ‘both hard and tough, but also flexible and far form immutable It is, in fact, always in flux’ (Elias, 1991, p. 209) In consideration of this stubborn but transformable characteristic of national habitus, it is suggested that national identity can be weakened, strengthened or pluralised within wider globalisation processes (Maguire
and Poulton, 1999; Tuck, 2004). When a nation experiences social changes which both intentionally and unintentionally cause transformation of national character however, a nation tends to linger on its past memories which consequently build an imagined group charisma (Elias, 1996). The past experiences which include both glorious and humiliated past become sleeping memories that build an emotional bond between nation and individuals (Elias, 1996). In relation to this, Maguire and Poulton (1999, p. 18) suggest that ‘international sport contests involve ‘patriot games’ in which ‘special charisma’ embodied in the view which nations have of themselves can be nurtured, refined and further developed’ In addition, also argue that the sleeping memories ‘tend to crystallise and become organised around common symbols - national sport team being one example’ (Maguire and Poulton, 1999, p. 19). Therefore, sport is one of the key indicators that a particular nation’s special group charisma is expressed, and media play a significant role in flagging up this charismatic national consciousness (Billig, 1995; Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Tuck, 2003). In this view, the case of South Korean nationalism at the 2004 Athens Olympic Games can be understood.

The most distinctive form of Korean nationalism at the Olympic Games was a unitary Korean nationalism. Although the Korean peninsular has been ideologically divided for a half a century, North and South Koreans share a large part of their history and culture. Sixty years of division is a relatively short period compared with 500 years as a unified Kingdom before the division, and several thousand years of history of homogeneous ethnic Kingdoms before that. It is not surprising therefore that the movement towards reunification of the nation constitutes a main element of Korean nationalism. The research suggests that such a unitary Korean nationalism can evidently seen in sport. However, as the two Koreas maintain politically different
state systems, there still exist, to a degree, tensions and conflicts. Hence, at a governmental level only a limited sense of a unitary Korean nationalism is expressed. By contrast, the movement towards national unification is articulated in a more palpable manner at a civic and cultural level within South Korea. While not every South Korean citizen would agree with the more or less friendly attitude towards North Korea embedded in a unitary Korean nationalism, according to a survey conducted by the Korea Institution for National Unification (2005), more than four-fifths (83.9%) of the Republic considered national unification as an important task to be achieved.

The inter-Korean relationship at the Olympic Games, and a positive attitude towards the North Korean Olympic team by the South Korean media evidently reflects such a strong sentiment towards the unification which I would tentatively call a Korean national habitus. The media also indicate that the sporting ‘group charisma’ would be increased if the two Koreas were united, at least in a sporting context, by showing a nostalgic memory of sporting union in the past. Therefore, the emphasis on a unitary Korean nationalism at the Olympic Games in the South Korean media shows that a discourse of the nation and national identity still accounts for a significant portion in the global media-sporting event.

4. Evaluation of Research

In this section, the overall research process is evaluated. Firstly, methodological approach will be reviewed. Regarding this, the epistemological and ontological principles that underpin the methods used will be briefly reviewed introduced. Attention will also be paid to the actual research processes conducted.
Secondly consideration will be also given as to whether the research project accomplished the aims of broadening our sociological understanding of the relationship between media sport and national identity in the global era. Finally, the weaknesses and limitations of the research will be pointed out.

4.1 Evaluation of Research Processes

The research project attempted to clarify a cultural practice of media sport in raising a sense of global and national consciousness in the public’s mind. In this area, the study also made an effort to combine theoretical explanations with empirical data in order to produce a more adequate sociological theory regarding the global-national nexus in the media. As the media texts were explored inductively, a number of themes, which were unexpected but not unrelated to the principle goal of the study, were also discovered, along with global and national aspects of the Olympic Games.

The data was mainly analysed in a qualitative manner, but a few descriptive statistic analyses were also carried out. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods have their own weaknesses and strengths. On the one hand, while quantitative research is useful to investigate a broad trend of social phenomena which, therefore, can produce an outcome that is relatively easily generalised, it is difficult to see the subtle ideology and hidden meanings contained within the data by applying a quantitative method alone (Deacon et al, 1999). Qualitative methods, on the other hand, can help a researcher conduct an in-depth observation of a social situation, and reveal any concealed elements of the issue in question. Thus, a deeper understanding of social phenomena can be made although a subjective interpretation could devalue
the research outcomes if the researcher was too involved in the research topic (Silverman, 2001).

Both research methods are widely used in media content analysis; however, a number of researchers implies that a qualitative analysis is preferable as it can reveal a deep structured meaning conveyed by the media text (Berg, 1995; Gruneau et al., 1988). In view of this, the study, which aimed at an in-depth examination of the media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, adopted a qualitative method to conduct media content and cultural analyses of the event. More specifically, three particular methods, namely thematic, discourse and visual analyses were carried out. Let me discuss this a little more.

Firstly, the media data were thoroughly explored using Mayring's (2000) model of an inductive category development. Several themes regarding the global-local nexus and the Olympic Games were able to be systemically categorised. In so doing, preliminary research agenda could be discerned. Then, a discourse analysis was carried out on the themes identified according to Fairclough's (1995) framework for a critical discourse analysis of a communicative event. Here, attention was paid to the media texts and socio-cultural climate in which the media texts are circulated in relation to the South Korean media coverage of the Athens Olympic Games. By doing this, a more adequate sociological account of the global-Korean nexus within wider globalisation processes could be made. Finally, the visual analysis was conducted with specific reference to the contexts of the images, narratives that images generated and the subject positions of the photographs. In addition, semiotic analysis was also carried out in order to reveal any latent meaning of the photographic images in the media. Through such intensive and extensive analysis of the media contents, the richness of the texts was able to be appreciated.
Being a Korean can be both an advantage and a disadvantage in investigating Korean society. On the one hand, as an insider of the society, the social, cultural, historical and political contexts of a particular issue can be read relatively easily. On the other hand, to maintain a balanced and unbiased view on Korean society requires a more serious level of sociological imagination lest some elements that non-Korean researchers might be able to detect without difficulty were not to be missed. Likewise, subjective reading of the data was also a possible danger. Therefore, in order to maximise the advantages and to minimise the disadvantages, an attempt was made to follow the principle of involvement and detachment by Elias (1987) with the help of properly balanced sociological theories (Goudsblom, 1977). In so doing, it is hoped that a more 'reality congruent knowledge' of South Korean sporting culture was produced through this research project.

4-2 Research Accomplishment

From a process-sociological perspective, the current study set out to investigate the global-national nexus in the global media sporting event. Through the research it was found that the South Korean media featured the Olympic Games as both a global and national event with a positive evaluation of the Western cultural system. The outcomes also shows that both an idealistic and a more realistic representation of Olympic Games - which is inconsistent in character - co-existed. Moreover, a national discourse in commercial advertisements was also discussed with reference to the commodification of national identity in this research. Finally, the findings suggests that an issue of North and South Korean relations characterised the most
distinctive form of Korean national identity politics in sport, namely a unitary Korean sporting nationalism.

While Durkheimean sociology and cultural studies were occasionally used, the research was conducted largely from the perspective of Eliasian figurational sociology. The structured processes of global sportisation and the established and outsider relations within the processes by Maguire (1999, 2004) were particularly useful. While large volumes of research into the media and global sport have focused upon the experience of western countries (Butler, 2005; Garland and Rowe, 1999; Maguire, 2004a, Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Poulton 2004, Rowe, 2003; Tuck, 2003), this project is one of the few studies that focuses on a Far East Asian country’s case. In order to paint a more accurate picture of globalisation, and thereby a more adequate theory of globalisation to be generated, one must take into account both western and non-western experiences together. In this sense, the study which concentrated on a South Korean view of globalisation and nationalism can contribute towards the expansion of our knowledge of ‘power and global sport’ It is especially so when specific characteristics of South Korean society are taken into account.

Firstly, Korea is one of the few ethnically homogeneous nations in the world (Hobsbawm, 1992). Thus, the South Korean society maintains, to some degree, exclusive and conservative nationalism. Secondly, Korea was subject to harsh colonial domination by Japan, and it experienced the civil war which resulted in the division of the nation. These historical experiences generate a various national discourses in South Korea such as anti-colonial nationalism and a unitary Korean nationalism. Thirdly, despite the conservative characteristics, South Korea is one of the most westernised countries. Sport culture plays no less a significant role in western style modernisation processes. In consideration of this, it can be argue that
the most intense global-national nexus is at work in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. Therefore, a case of South Korea offers useful insight in understanding global-national dynamics in sport culture from a non-western perspective.

With regard to application of figurational sociological theory to the South Korean society, I would like to stress that the research project is one of the very few studies to examine South Korean sport culture by exploiting an Elisian sociology. Given the situation of sociology of sport in South Korea in which theoretical discussion is relatively limited, and whose character is still largely empiricist, the study hopefully help accelerating theoretical debate within the South Korean sociologist of sport forum. In so doing, it is also hoped that the study will contribute to diversifying theoretical spectra in sociological research into sport culture in South Korea.

4-3 Limitation of the Research

Despite its accomplishments the study also has some notable limitations, the major one being that it only focused on media content. Wenner (1998) noted that in order to comprehensively understand the sociological value of the media sport, the production practices in media organisations and audience perception of the text must be scrutinised along with analysis of media content. Although this is beyond the remit at a doctoral thesis, I cannot help but regret not being able to combine the content analysis with either an audience survey or research into the production practices. Clearly, this is a task that can be done in future research.

23 Han (2001) investigates the development of taekwondo as a civilising process
In addition, while the study offers an interesting insight in understanding the global-national nexus from a non-westerner’s view, the results should not be considered as representation of entire non-westerners experience. In fact, that the term non-western indicates a variety of different cultures and civilisations. Moreover, an experience of other Far East Asian countries of the global-national nexus can differ. For instance, Japan and China may respond differently to the influx of global culture. Therefore, while the Korean case offers some interesting points and, thereby can contribute to the expansion of our knowledge of the globalisation of sport culture, the study must be combined with cases of many other countries so that a more reliable conceptualisation of global sports can be made.

5. Suggestion for Further Research

In making recommendations and suggestions for future research projects. In this respect, three potential research areas can be suggested. Firstly, it is recommended that audience research is carried out in combination with the media content analysis conducted in this research. While it is important to reveal the characteristics and hidden ideologies of messages circulated in the mass media, it is equally significant in which way the audience interprets the messages (Deacon et al, 1995; Fiske, 1982, Gunter, 2000) Likewise, Maguire’s (2004a) model of the global sport complex also hints that audiences are not passive receivers but active interpreters. In this regard, it would be interesting to discover in what way the South Korean public perceive the notion of globalisation and of a unitary Korean nationalism. When the relationship between the media content and the audiences is
clarified, a more sociologically adequate account of the media, globalisation and nationalism can be gained.

Secondly, in order to understand Korean sporting nationalism in the global era, it appears to be necessary to investigate the media coverage of other sporting occasions such as both the men’s and women’s FIFA World Cup. The findings suggest that a notion of a unitary Korean nationalism was the most significant form of national discourse in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. However, relatively little evidence was given regarding Japan-Korea relations. Taking account of the harsh colonial domination over the Korean peninsula by Japan during the first half of the 20th century, a post colonial anti-Japanese discourse also characterises the nature of Korean nationalism. Although a limited account of anti-Japanese sentiment appeared in the coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies, such discourse on Korea-Japan relations was scarcely articulated during the Games. The two countries barely encountered each at the 2004 Olympic Games and thus provides less anti-Japanese sentiment was expressed. Therefore, it would be advisable to examine the media portrayals of a sporting match specifically between Japan and Korea so that a more comprehensive investigation into Korean national identity politics in sport can be made.

Third, research into the British media representation of the next Summer Olympic Games, which will take place in China, will provide an instructive insight in understanding globalisation with specific reference to a civilisational encounter. In the 110 years of the modern Olympic history, only two Olympic Games have been held outside western cultural zones prior to the Beijing Olympic Games, and it will be the first time in 20 years, since the Seoul Games in 1988, that the Games have been hosted in a non-western cultural realm. Reflecting this, large sections of the western
media presented sceptical views when the Games were awarded to China in 2001 and such a negative attitude towards China was seen as a symbolic representation of Sino-Western civilisation struggles (Huntington, 1996; Maguire, 2005). In consideration of the massive scale and importance of the Olympic Games as a global cultural event, the host country is likely to introduce and circulate its culture and heritage during the 2008 Olympic Games. In this context, the way in which the British media perceive and represent Chinese culture during the Olympic Games will contribute to understanding global cultural relations in the early 21st century.

6. Conclusion

Globalisation and nationalism are arguably two of the most importance concepts in understanding contemporary society. Moreover, the two notions need to be considered simultaneously (Maguire and Falcous, 2005). Without reference to globalisation, for instance, the recently emergent national movements in various parts of the world cannot be understood properly, and vice versa. In fact, a society can become highly globalised without losing its local and national identity. Sport as a cultural practice vividly demonstrates this tendency (Bairner, 2001; Maguire et al 2002). While it is a highly universalised activity at a global level, it is at a sport contest, especially at an international sporting competition, that a country’s identity is most palpably expressed.

In consideration of the rules and structures of sporting activities, which are practised at a global level, sport is a global lingua franca par excellence. In addition, ‘official’ raison d’être of international sporting competitions appears to emphasise global understanding through sports. In other words, promoting international
friendship and global fraternity seems to be sporting contests’ principal purposes. Despite this aim, however, it is not difficult to see that an international friendly often degenerates into an international hostility. While nationalism and national identity politics in sport do not necessarily engender a negative connotation, it is evident that the global sporting arena is full of national symbolism. Therefore, the most globalised culture seems to inhere highly nationalised nature.

The study set out to investigate the global-national nexus in the Olympics with specific reference to the media representation of the event. The Olympic Games are arguably the largest global sporting event with the aim of enhancing global fraternity through sporting competition. As most people experience such a global mega event via the media, research into the media coverage of the Games can reveal the way in which the people encounter the Olympics. In this respect, the South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games was investigated.

Taking account of the huge amount of time and space that the South Korean media devoted to reporting the Olympic Games, this global media event has sociological significance. The South Korean media represented the Olympic Games as a global festival in which athletes from all over the world intermingled in friendship. The media also praised the Olympic Games as an occasion that linked people from the entire globe together, offering globally shared identities. In the opening ceremony, the media frequently called the people global citizens and the term ‘global village’ often replaced words such as ‘the world’ or ‘the earth’. At particular moments during the ceremonies national distinctions seemed to disappear, and the variety of cultural traditions was featured as something to be celebrated. A global, multi-cultural and utopian society was constructed at the Olympic stadium by the media.
However, a national discourse emerged along with a global discourse when the sporting event started. A history of Korea which entails nationalistic scenes at the Olympic Games was introduced. The television frequently showed the Tae-guk-ki [South Korean national flag] being raised in Athens, and also the moment when the Ae-guk-ka [South Korean national anthem] was played. In addition, the media called the South Korean Olympic team the Tae-guk [South Korean traditional symbol] warriors. The media also featured the North Korean Olympic team with a positive connotation and stressed that both North and South Koreans belong to a single nation. Thereby, the media articulated the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. Hence, by covering the Olympic Games, the media highlighted the national identity of Korea.

In summary, the South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games both celebrated global unity and emphasised Korean national identity. It seems to suggest that a meaning of nation is still important in a highly globalised world. According to this research then, the Olympic Games, and its media coverage, clearly indicate the global-national nexus at work. In conclusion, on the basis of the findings presented here, it can be said that a mediated version of the Olympic Games is both a supreme facilitator of globalisation and an ultimate identifier of the nation.
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