Producing Korean Women Golfers on the LPGA Tour: Representing Gender, Race, Nation and Sport in a Transnational Context

by

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Abstract

This research focuses on the contexts of Korean women professional golfers’ transnational migration, and the ways that US and Korean media represent those athletes. A theoretical framework informed by sociology of sport, postcolonial and transnational feminist studies was employed to illustrate the contexts of the women’s golf migration, and to investigate how transnational Korean women professional golfers are represented in both US and Korean media from 1998 to 2009. Elite discourses—941 media texts from both nations together with government/institutional documents—were collected, Korean texts were translated into English, and document analysis, critical discourse analysis and intersectional analysis were employed.

The results illustrate that globalization and neoliberal capitalism, patriarchy, and colonial and imperial history all help to shape the women golfers’ transnational migration paths. The complex contexts also shape the media representations of the women golfers in the two nation-states. In US media, the Korean women golfers are constructed as a racialized and gendered Other within the context of Orientalism, and selective knowledge production in the media maintains and ensures global White supremacy. In Korean media, the women golfers are portrayed as winners under hypermasculine Western forms of globalization and neoliberal capitalism.
reformation of the world order but, at the same time, as keepers and performers of Korean traditional Confucian values. Further, Korean media explain the women’s transnational success as a result of following traditional Korean values and norms; therefore, the women are represented as proud symbols of Korean nationalism and ideal models of productive female subjects in neoliberal globalization. In sum, the Korean women professional golfers are taken up by media in both nation-states as an effective discursive contact zone for making sense of the changing power dynamics of race, gender, and nation under a period of rapid changes of world order.
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CHAPTER I. Introduction

The Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) celebrated its 60th anniversary in 2008; that 60-year history makes them the longest-running and oldest women's professional sport association (LPGA website). Among the five internationally recognized women’s professional golf tours throughout the world, the LPGA has forged the most transnational connections across its tournament destination sites, its transnational sponsors, and its multinational members (see the details in Chapter four). Through its history, it was a White-dominated US golf institution until the South Korean (Korean, hereafter) women golfers arrived. Since the Korean golf icon, Pak Se Ri, made her debut in 1998 and won two major US tournaments in her rookie year Korean women have come to form the largest international contingent on the LPGA tour. Among 122 active international players representing 27 different countries, Koreans accounted for 47 (39% of the international players) in the 2009 season (LPGA website). That large contingent is also very successful. The Women’s World Golf Ranking System, the so-called Rolex Rankings (see glossary I) lists 35 Koreans among the top 100 players and four out of top 10 players (rolexrankings.com. April 1, 2011), and the Korean women’s earnings (prize money) on major tournaments are ever increasing.

The Korean women golfers’ strong performance and continued presence on the LPGA tour has frequently led to sensational news-items in both US and Korea; therefore, the LPGA tour with the stories and narratives about the Korean women golfers has provided a key discursive contact zone where the global and hemispheric dynamics of race, gender and nation are contested and re/formulated. Contact zones refer to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other…” (Pratt, 1991. p. 34). According to Pratt, contact zones show worlds and open a door to worlds, and through the contact zones, people learn, see, know, and think about worlds. In the US, the arrival of highly skilled Korean women golfers on the
transnational LPGA tour radically challenged North American assumptions and stereotypes about Asia (Korea) and Asian (Korean) women, as well as notions about White global supremacy. Long regarded as exotic and backward, with women in the Orient especially perceived as subservient and non-sporting, the Orient has suddenly become a menacing presence in the midst of a White elite’s sporting terrain. In addition, unlike other Asian (women) immigrants in the US who are often represented as non-elite working class (e.g., Kim & Choi, 1998; Parreñas, 2001), these women athletes have not arrived at the social basement level and worked their way up through the second generation, but rather entered directly into the upper reaches of American society and thus have an unsettling effect on middle class Whites. Further, the contemporary ‘Asia rising’ discourse in North America often perceives Asia as opportunities and/or threats based on cheap female domestic labourers and/or hypermasculine economic capitals (Dirlik, 1999); however, Asian women high-performance athletes’ continued presence in Western professional sport are new and unknown. The obsession with knowing the stranger—the unknown, therefore, has escalated the exercises in storytelling and in identifying with ideas of race/ethnicity (both White Americans and Asians), gender, and nation in the US media, and the discursive production of the contact zone has steadily increased since 1998.

In the Korean context, the women golfers’ rise to transnational sport stardom has also attracted unprecedented interest on the part of Koreans and their media. Throughout contemporary history, Korea has been in an unequal power relation with the US: the US has always been in a hegemonic economic, political, and military relationship with Korea (Olsen, 2002). The LPGA tour, however, has become a site for Koreans where the social and cultural landscapes of US-Korea relations have been challenged, and where the Korean public re-shapes and rearticulates ideas about Korean nation and nationalism, gender, and other social/cultural/economic/political markers that actively reflect rapidly changing globalization
processes and the relationship with the US. The Korean women’s victories on the LPGA tour, therefore, have achieved a position of rhetorical connection to nation-building discourse with an emphasis on Korea’s global pride in media that had previously excluded women. Further, women golfers now receive far more media coverage than male golfers because of their global success. Within the national context, as in North America, women athletes receive far less media attention than their male counterparts even during the Olympics (Kim & Koh, 2004; Lee & Maguire, 2009), although Korean women athletes have shown their athletic prowess in Olympic Games. The LPGA tour in Korea, therefore, has become one of the key story-telling sources that talk about Korea’s relations with the US, Korean gender, and about Korea under the process of globalization.

Although it has been more than a decade since the LPGA tour became a key discursive contact zone, and has produced a great many narratives about the women in both nation-states, it is largely unknown how the two nations’ media represent and make sense of the Korean transnational women athletes’ international success, and how the contact zone functions based on the discourses that are produced by media. While scholars have generally examined how notions of race, gender and nation have been created and enforced at the local and national levels, understanding the transnational dimensions of racial and gender formation are vitally important. This study, therefore, focuses on the ways in which the transnational women athletes are constructed in both nation-states’ media, and the women athletes’ discursive functions in the newly emerged contact zone.

The women’s arrival and their presence on the LPGA tour has also been a rare example of women athlete’s transnational entrepreneurship in the process of globalization;

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1 More media coverage of women golfers is the case only for the transnational women golfers. Domestic women golfers receive far less media attention than male golfers.

2 Through Olympic history in Korea, women won 33% of medals in summer Olympics, and 42% in winter Olympics.
and, at the same time, they have challenged the body of knowledge on globalization and sport talent migration. Many works on globalization reify globalization as a one-sided Westernization. Discussions in globalization and sport also frequently argue that the North and the West, because of their advanced sporting cultures, would universalize and homogenize the global sporting world. In Korea, unlike the US where there is a huge infrastructure supporting golf, there are only 50 public-access golf courses, mostly attached to expensive resorts. The other 120 courses are in private clubs that only the upper classes can afford to join (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Korea, 2006). And, unlike Sweden and Australia, countries that have made a conscious effort over the past 25 years through national federations to produce elite male and female golfers, Korea has no such organized strategy to produce golfing prodigies. In both the US and Korea (and worldwide in general), therefore, it has been unexpected and surprising to see a large number of skilled women golfers from Asia migrate to the North (and start their migration before male golfers), to the White, male dominated sport terrain. It is, therefore, a rather unique case in the sport talent migration literature to see a group of women athletes’ (at the professional level) continuous flow to the North. It is, however, not known how the LPGA has attracted talented golfers globally, and why only Korean women golfers (as opposed to Korean male golfers, and other Asian women golfers such as Japanese, Taiwanese) actively choose the tour as their place of migration. Further, the women golfers’ motivations and the conditions of their transnationality are closely tied to the ways in which media represent the golfers and the tours; therefore, this thesis also concerns the skilled women athletes’ transnational conditions and the historical, political economic and cultural connections to the transnational migrations.

The Research Goals

This study critically analyzes two nation-states’ (US and Korea) media representations of
the transnational Korean women golfers, and illustrates their transnationality within the landscape of globalization and sport talent migration. Further, the study examines the historical, political economic and cultural conditions that shape and lead the women golfers to become transnational. Specifically, this study concerns media constructions of the woman golfer’s race, gender and nation in both nation-states; and the two nation-states’ discursive use of the women in the process of globalization, and in the contexts of the changing dynamics of transnational power relations. Media representations of women athletes in a transnational context differ from media representations of women athletes in national contexts. The discursive productions around the Korean women golfers in both nations, however, cannot be properly understood without understanding the historical, political, and economic relations between Korea and the US, and cultural relations between Asia and the US. It is necessary to engage the two different, yet closely interconnected, discursive productions simultaneously to reveal the all-embracing power relations and their changing dynamics. It is also necessary to understand how these interactions influence the social construction of race, gender and nation within unequal cultural, historical, political, and economic power relations. To accomplish this, therefore, it is essential to account for the Korean women golfers’ transnationality prior to understanding media representations of the women. The goals of the study, therefore, are: 1) to explore the historical, political economic, and cultural logics that shape and lead the women’s transnational golf migration and determine the women migrants’ transnational status; and 2) to interrogate the media representations of Korean women professional golfers on the LPGA tour within important US and Korean media sources from 1998 to 2009 seasons.

**Chapter Outline**

Following *Introduction*, Chapter two, *Situating Asian Women (Athletes) in a*
Transnational Context provides a literature review and theoretical frameworks. In the chapter, I provide an overview of bodies of work that have contributed to understanding the cultural signifying process and production of Asian women in the US and Korean society in general and in sport in particular, and the transnational dimensions of sport talent migration in globalization. The first section introduces key issues and discussions of sport talent migration in the process of globalization, and its transnational dimensions, in order to situate the analysis of popular media representation of Korean women golfers, not within a national but a transnational frame. The next section provides a critical review of literature on the ways in which Asian woman are constructed/represented in US and Korean cultures. The last section analyzes the literature on print media representations of Asian women athletes. I then move on to outline the analytical and interpretive frameworks informed by postcolonial and transnational feminist thinkers, and their methodological implications for the study. This introductory chapter sets out the theoretical and contextual terrain of the study by providing popularly circulated discourses about Asian women (athletes) in both US and Korean contexts. I also use this chapter to situate the transnational dimensions of sport talent migration in globalization literature in order to emphasize the unique discursive contact zone of the LPGA, and the cultural meaning of the women golfers’ presence and success in that space. The chapter is designed to provide a basis from which to investigate the media representations of the Korean women golfers.

Chapter three, Methods, introduces the research design and procedures including data, data collection, and interpretation. My ultimate and challenging goal throughout this study is not only to rigorously complete a sound piece of research, but also to avoid playing a privileged informant role regarding the “third world” to the “first world” by translation and interpretation of Korean cultural productions into English. In order to accomplish the decolonizing goal of the study, I consciously attempt to label my academic training in North America, and actively
challenge the first world readerships who are also trained in certain ways. In the last section of the chapter, I detail the issues of my reflexivity and methodological/interpretive positionalities for the study, and my theoretical and methodological challenges and struggles in the study.

The results of this study are presented in the following three chapters. Chapter four, *Glamorous Sojourners: Korean Women Golfers’ Migration and their Transnational Mobility and Flexibility*, illustrates the history and political economy of the talented golfers’ transnational migration. Chapter five, “*Korean Golf Secrets Exposed*: US Media and Re/Productions of Fluid Orientalism,” analyzes the ways in which US media make sense of the racial minority women golfers’ potent presence on the White dominated US women’s golf tour. And chapter six, *Re/Constructions of Nationalism and Neo-Confucianism: Golf, Gender, Nation and Korean Media*, analyzes Korean male journalism’s story-telling about the women golfers and their rise to transnational stardom as women athletes within conservative Korean cultural norms and values.

Although Chapters five and six have the same structure of analysis and presentation, the two are intentionally separated. My intent in separating the chapters is not to compare the two nation-states’ media representations, and judge who is doing a better job. Rather, it is for structural reasons that I divide the chapters by nations: first, this study is an attempt to understand the media’s cultural sense-making of the transnational phenomenon and the ways in which the contact zone functions within a society, therefore, it is important to divide the chapters by nations; second, the media representations are produced by different languages. One is directly quoted as it is (US media), while the other is filtered (translated and possibly interpreted) through the translation policy within the research design. I wanted to avoid any potential complications that may result from mixing the knowledge produced by different sign systems and signifying practices.

To conclude in Chapter seven, I synthesize the discussions and arguments made in each
of the three results chapters in order to make explicit the golfers’ transnational migrations in ways that challenge traditional economistic and “push-pull” models of migration; and the multiple ways that Korean (Asian) women in national/transnational contexts are utilized in the service of nation building and maintaining the conceptual order of things. I conclude by revisiting the (Asian) women’s presence in discursive “contact zones,” especially their ambivalent presence in public discourse, and the “emergence” of (Asian) women athletes in globalization in sport for their transformative potentials in terms of resistance to the already established global matrix of domination, and for alternative re/constructions of women of colour athletes’ subjectivities in and through sport.
CHAPTER II. Situating Asian Women (Athletes) in a Transnational Context

This chapter is organized into two parts: the first part reviews the literature, and the second part discusses the theoretical frameworks that are drawn upon for the study. The first part, review of literature, is divided into three sections: globalization and transnational sport talent migration; constructions of Asian gender in popular discourses; and sport, Asian gender, and nation in the media. The second part, theoretical frameworks, is presented in parallel with the review of literature. This part briefly outlines the post-colonial and transnational feminist frameworks that I employed for the study, specifically focusing on conceptual and analytic emphases on transnationality in sport migration, discursive constructions of race, gender, nation and its interlocking structure, and the politics of differences in the discursive practices of representations in media.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The first section in this part summarizes literature on globalization and transnational sport talent migration, and addresses key literature that explores its connections with transnationalism. The second section maps out the literature on how Asian gender is constructed in popular discourses in the US and Korea. This section starts by introducing literature on race formations, locations of Asians in the race formations, and Orientalist knowledge production in the US, and how the discourses on Asian women in the US are different from a European view of colonial discourses. I then move on to introduce dominant discourses that represent gender and nation in Korea. It shows key literature on Korean nationalism and Confucianism as major cultural discourses through which Korean politics of gender, nation, and international relations are
operated. The third section discusses major literature on media representations of sport, gender, nation, and other identity markers in both North America and Korea. Throughout the literature review, I attempt to highlight how power and domination are congealed in knowledge production around Asia/n, gender, and nation.

**Globalization and Transnational Sport Talent Migration**

The migration of professional athletes has been closely aligned to the global sports market, and a number of sport studies scholars have examined global labour migration in sports such as baseball, basketball, cricket, ice hockey, interuniversity sports, and most notably, soccer. Major debates on globalization and sport migration have examined the patterns of sport talent migration over time (Andreff, 2011; Elliott & Maguire, 2008; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire, 1996; Poli & Besson, 2011; Sage, 2010), recruitment of sports labour and migrants’ routes (Carter, 2007; Klein, 2008), migrants’ experiences (Grainger, 2011), and issues of migrants’ identity and identity politics (Bruce & Wheaton, 2011; Falcous & Maguire, 2011; Nakamura, 2005; Takahashi & Horne, 2006). Maguire (2008) has suggested raising several issues as “sensitizing questions” for studies on sport and globalization, especially sport labour migration, in line with his critical suggestion that the dominant perception among sociology of sport scholars about globalization is that global sport is a thoroughly progressive and liberating phenomenon that opens up the potential for greater human contact, dialogue and friendship (p. 443). These questions include: a) which sports are most involved, why have they been so affected, and what structural or cultural changes have thus occurred in those sports?; b) what are the patterns of global movement, and how and why have they developed in this manner?; c) what is the impact on ‘host’ and ‘donor’ countries?; d) why do professional athletes become labour migrants, and what do they experience along their journey?; e) in what ways does such migration
reflect the movement of highly skilled workers more generally; and f) what implications are there for sport, domestic and foreign policies of nation-states (p. 445)? These questions indicate the gaps and limitations in the study of globalization and transnationalization in sport studies, and further reflect on the body of knowledge produced so far.

Studies of the patterns of sport talent migration and motivation to migrate have usually employed a broader economic model of the globalization of sport, while others have advanced our understanding by considering broader political, economic and cultural dimensions of globalization and sport. Elliott and Maguire (2008) argued that research on athletic labour migration in elite level sport occurs at three levels: within a nation level, intra-nation yet within continental level, and intracontinental transnational level. Maguire (1996) introduced five overlapping categories and types of athletic labour migration: a) pioneers, b) mercenaries, c) nomadic cosmopolitans, d) settlers and e) returnees. More recently, Magee and Sugden (2002) added categories: f) ambitionist, g) exile, and h) expelled.

Although the categories of sport migration and their motivations vary, studies of migrants’ routes have shown that the routes replicate former colonial patterns of mobility, forming a “push-pull model” of migration: the economic pull of the North and the poverty-stricken push of home. Although these theoretical approaches have explanatory power, they have also been criticized. In particular, debates around the global-local interplay in sport studies have caught scholars’ attention (e.g., Andrews, 1997; Donnelly, 1996; Maguire, 1999; Miller et al., 2001). Scholars have criticized the dyadic relations: local/global; home/away; home/host; sending/receiving; departure/destination; origin/settlement; hometown/advanced (for example, see Andrews & Ritzer, 2007; Donnelly, 1996; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). The binary notion of global-local, or “glocal” in globalization discussions often focuses on capitalist state relations, especially national rather than transnational concerns. This binary and monotonous focus on
sport talent migration fails to capture the dynamic and complex nature of moving/receiving.

Further, in the push-pull model based on the binary distinction of global-local, there are taken-for-granted assumptions about globalization destroying the local (similar to “brain-drain” and “skill-drain” in broader discussions on globalization). Massey (1993) argues that the push-pull model is informed by a top-down model whereby the global is structurally a macro-political economy and the local is situated, culturally creative, and resistant. Andrews and Ritzer (2007) also suggest not treating the falsely polarized global and local as mutually exclusive categories. Rather, they suggest reinscribing the influence of the global in shaping structures, practices, and experiences of the sporting local, because the polarities upon the globalization continuum virtually necessitate the privileging of one pole over the other. Further, Trotz (2006) argues that the push-pull models of labour migration are not adequate to capture mobile cultures. The binary focus on labour migration fails to explain the dynamic and complicated nature of moving/receiving. Further, the push-pull model of migration blinds us to the “messier (complex)” reality that the global North is not always receiving (or pulling) and the local South is not always sending (or pushing) their talented athletes, causing the local tour/league to be at risk. As Maguire and Falcous (2011) point out, the migration of athletes (and others) is a multilayered, shifting set of interdependencies that incorporate not only economic, but also political, historical, geographical, social and cultural factors.

In the following sections, I address how contemporary globalization has been examined in the sociology of sport, and in postcolonial and transnational feminism. Further, these sections review the key issues and debates on globalization in the literatures, and discuss how the term “transnational” has come to be employed in sport studies. These sections also examine the theoretical rationales to date for accepting transnationalism as a conceptual construct to account for new (sport) immigrant/migrant identities and communities in sport.
Transnational Dimensions in Sport Migration and Globalization

Transnationalism and discussions of transnationality provide specific understandings of global social change across multiple levels of analysis (i.e., the individual, the family, the state, the region, and beyond). As Ong (1999) argues, globalization “does not capture the horizontal and relational nature of the contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces. Nor does it express their embeddedness in differently configured regimes of power” (p. 4). As she noted, Trans denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something. Thus, Ong (1999) uses transnationalism to describe “the conditions of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space—which has been intensified under late capitalism” (p. 4), and explores these global processes by placing cultural logics and human practices at the center of analysis. Ong argues that, “while mobility and flexibility have long been part of the repertoire of human behaviour, under transnationality the new links between flexibility and the logics of displacement, on the one hand, and capital accumulation, on the other, have given new valence to such strategies of maneuvering and positioning” (p. 19). Ong’s theoretical notion of ‘flexible citizenship,’ in her discussion of transnationalism, greatly facilitates interpretations of the contemporary emergence and mobility of talented athletes, and their frequent national border crossings. For example, Giardina (2001) utilized Ong’s notion of flexible citizenship with regard to Martina Hingis’ transnational celebrity, and argued that Hingis’ celebrity subjectivity is re/negotiated and re/made in the economic, political, and socio-cultural contexts simultaneously as the global/local dynamics change. Specifically, he discusses economic (transnational mega corporations endorsements and Hingis’ appeal to them), political (pan-European flair as the political climate changes), and socio-cultural (the rise of ‘Girl Power!’ discourse in the mainstream media in the US) dynamics in both global and local contexts that characterized her transnational appeal. Giardina claims that Martina Hingis has a far more
flexible transnational celebrity in the Women’s Tennis Association (WTA) than either Anna Kournikova or the Williams sisters; however, he fails to address why some talented athletes are better able to reach transnational celebrity status than others.

Further, within the sociology of sport literature, a growing number of sport scholars now tend to interweave the theories of globalization and transnationalism, and transnationalism is discussed mainly in the context of: the movement of athletes (Bale & Maguire, 1994; Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001; Takahashi & Horne, 2006); mobile sport celebrities and how they benefit from their transnationality (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Nakamura, 2005; Smart, 2007); the relationships between sport, global economy, and capital in terms of multi-national mega corporations (Andrews, 1997; Jackson & Hokuwhitu, 2002; Silk & Andrews, 2001), transnational marketing and localized advertising strategies (Jackson & Hokuwhitu, 2002; Phillips & Hutchins, 2003; Silk & Andrews, 2001); and global celebrity athletes’ simultaneous presence and success in both transnational business practices and as national icons through their sport labour migrations (Wong & Trumper, 2002). In sport, as Klein (2007) claims, transnationalism: a) allows sport studies to keep pace with global currents; b) counters the second-class citizenship within natal disciplines; and c) enhances efforts at forging progressive relations with corporations and foundations (p. 886). Carter (2007) also highlighted the significance of transnational approaches in sport studies when he examined transnational professional Cuban baseball players and their family migration by focusing on the negative aspects of becoming a transnational sport migrant. He pointed out that push-pull models of Caribbean sport labour migration fail to address the sport celebrities’ families and the negative experiences of migration.

Despite significant attention to transnationalism in conjunction with discussions of globalization in sport, it is a male-migration focused, heavily gendered literature (Stevenson,
2002), and female migration at the professional level is rare or invisible (Giardina’s case study of Hingis being a rare exception). Further, while scholars of globalization and sport migration have dealt with identity and identity politics in terms of legal status, how capitalism and culture also shape flexible subject making tends to be neglected. Also, issues of agency with regard to sport talent migration and flexible border crossing conditions, as well as the analytic and conceptual centrality of mobility and the flexibility of the migrants, are not usually considered. In addition, while there are a great numbers of studies about media representations of global sports at the national level, there is a lack of studies about media representations of sporting migrants at the transnational level. As Rowe (2010) claims in his sport-media-globalization nexus discussion, “sport works, for its legions of enthusiastic spectators (fanatics), by tapping into, encouraging, and amplifying collective identification and emotion” (p. 356). The dynamics of sport contests both unify (a common love of the game, a shared admiration of physical culture) and divide (competitive rivalry, partisan spectatorship). He further argues that sport, compounded by the audience-driven imperatives of media representation, is therefore heavily reliant on an ‘us/them’ dualism that is conducive to positive and benign, as well as negative and malignant, signifying practices. This is typical of media representations of sport within national contexts, predominantly with team sports; however, media representations of sport in transnational contexts are different. Further, a number of scholars offer critical insights on the ideological constructions of gendered, racialized sporting bodies in relation to nation-states. Asians in sport, however, are either invisible or essentialized along with the binary distinction of Black and White race in the sociology of sport literature. The lack of studies of Asian athletes and Asians in race relations, and the dearth of judicious research on Asian athletes (Asian women athletes are even less visible in sport and globalization literature) in the sociology of sport makes this study timely. In the following section, I consider literature addressing the ways in which Asian women
are constructed in popular discourses in the US and Korea, and further highlight key literature on media representations of sport, race, gender, and nation.

**Constructions of (Asian) Gender in Popular Discourses**

Although Edward Said’s seminal work, *Orientalism* (1979), specifically refers to European discourse about its colonial territories in the Middle East and India, the concept of ‘Orientalism’ now often serves as shorthand for negative Western stereotypes about all Asians (Ngai, 2000; Shin, 2006). As a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and “the Occident” (Said, 1979), the terms and characters used to define Others, and colonial imageries and narratives have been recycled and reformulated in contemporary discourses and practices (Yeğenoğlu, 1998). The binary distinctions such as self versus other (Western subject vs. Oriental other), West versus East (First world vs. Third world), male versus female (masculine, sovereign status vs. feminine, veiled status), modernity versus tradition (progress, moral, civil vs. backward, immoral, primitive) are the most common technological tools/discursive practices in the process of Othering (Ahmed, 2000; Yeğenoğlu, 1998).

Although the technologies of representation of racial Others are similar to these adopted by British and French colonizers for their racial knowledge production, the power of Said’s analysis certainly stretches to other areas such as US relations to Asia and Asians; and their knowledge production of Asian, as Yoshihara (2003), Klein (2003), Leong (2005), and others argue, should be understood differently based on the historical, cultural, and political contexts. Further, critics have called for historically and nationally specific analyses of Orientalism by paying attention to the changing, ambivalent nature of American Orientalism along with the changing dynamics of Asia/Asians (i.e., Klein, 2003; Leong, 2005; Ngai, 2000; Yoshihara,
Imperial Race Relations in America and the Supporting Discourses

A group of scholars have identified American Orientalism with reference to US discourse about China and Japan during the period of US empire-building in the Asia-Pacific. Further, scholars in Asian American studies have offered insights into the workings of US imperialism by re-centering the US economic and military projections into Asia and the Pacific throughout the twentieth century as critical sites for constructing both Asian America and America’s self-image as a modern nation. For example, Tchen (1999) suggests that American Orientalism may be understood as three overlapping but possibly distinct cultural formations: “patrician Orientalism” in early America; “commercial Orientalism” in the early 19th century, that conferred social status upon those who possessed Asiatic luxuries; and, by the 1870s, “political Orientalism” “recast desire-imbued and ambiguous representations into an exclusionary and segregationist discourse” (p. xx). Both patrician and commercial Orientalism shifted from emulation, curiosity, and ambivalence to a more disdainful and negative register (Tchen, 1999). Klein (2003), Yoshihara (2003) and Leong (2005) discuss contemporary American Orientalism as a more complicated and more ambivalent racial knowledge production than Tchen’s political Orientalism. Common perspectives that the three scholars share are the following: a) they all propose that American Orientalism has been a result of the constant interaction between US domestic and foreign policies; b) they emphasize how White women have played important roles in constructing American Orientalism, and how Orientalism itself has been gendered; c) they all focus on the positive aspects of American Orientalism—how not only Orientalists but also Orientalized objects could benefit from Orientalism (this differs from Said’s model of Orientalism as destructive to both sides, and therefore offers a new perspective on how to perceive Orientalism.
within Asian American studies); and d) they see popular culture as a research subject (in addition to elite discourses), and engage in analyses of it.

Yoshihara (2003) points out the differences that, unlike Europeans, the US did not engage in direct colonial rule in the form of territorial acquisition and political governance. Instead, the US built other forms of colonization through the Open Door policy, unequal treaties, and the expansion of commerce and cultural exports (p. 7). She further argues that the common expressions of Orientalism are: i) objectifying; ii) exoticizing; iii) homogenizing; and iv) feminizing the “Orient;” and notes the ways in which White American women helped to construct American Orientalism by analyzing the gender politics operating in American discourses about China and Japan in diverse sites of cultural production and consumption in the periods from 1870 to 1940. She argues that White women played key roles in inscribing gendered meanings to Asia, with the dominant Orientalist discourse founded on the notion of West = male versus East = female and, in return, American women benefited from their participation in the culture of American imperialism in Asia.

While Yoshihara examines mostly Japanese cases over a broad time period, Leong’s (2005) work is limited to US interactions with China in the 1930s and 1940s. She argues that the American perception of China was a result of the interplay between American domestic and international politics, and that the perception changed from China being an ancient, alien and distant culture to a romanticized, progressive, modern, and democratic “new China.” (pp. 104-132). According to Leong, such transformation was caused by Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack, and China became the friendly Oriental ally.

Along with Yoshihara and Leong, Klein (2003) considers the more recent historical development of American Orientalism from 1945 to 1961, from the end of Second World War to the Cold War era. While Yoshihara and Leong specifically cover Japan and China, Klein’s work
focuses on broader locations in Asia, including Japan, China, Korea, Thailand, India, Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Hawaii. Klein argues that the Cold War produced a new American Orientalism in which noncommunist Asia was regarded, not as an enemy or object of conquest, but as an ally or subject of integration and partnership. While Leong (2005) argues that such an ideology of integration began in the 1930s, Klein sees it as beginning at the end of the Second World War, following the demise of European colonialism, which became the turning point in American Orientalism. According to Klein, American expansion coincided with the decolonization of Asia. Thus, the US needed new ideologies that reinforced how the American expansion was different from European colonialism. This generated a “narrative of anti-conquest,” and wide-ranging discourses on racial tolerance and inclusion. A supporting narrative, that justifies the anti-conquest expansion to include Asia, was the rubric of a capitalist “free world” order. The three scholars of American Orientalism also depart from Said’s perspective of how “Oriental” subjects suffer under Orientalism to argue how Orientalists or Orientalized objects benefit from Orientalism. Further, similar to Lowe’s (1991, pp. viii-x) claim, literature on American Orientalism shows that Orientalism has been historically heterogeneous and not uniform, singular or consistent.

The stereotypical representations of Asians in the US also are not monotonous as the Orientalist discourse supports heterogeneous and complex sets of racialization. Representations of Asians are changing and gaining more ambivalence with both positive and negative nuances. East Asians, specifically South East Asians in the US are represented as model minorities yet as unassimilable aliens and perpetual foreigners, Asia/n as feminine contrast to masculine West, Asia as rising power with masculine capitals, and Asian women as global servants. The following sections illustrate those heterogeneous and changing forms of American Orientalist discourses from postcolonial feminists’ and Asian American Studies’ literature.
Asian as Model Minority

In the 1960s, North American sociologists coined the term “model minority” to refer to Japanese Americans (Daniels, 1988, p. 319). The Orientalist discourse constructs Asian and Asianness as the model or embodiment of the desired human capital of diligence, docility, self-sufficiency, and productivity, and as a model to be emulated by other minorities. The media quickly popularized the term, which is now generalized to include Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, and other Asian Americans (including South Asians), and celebrated those minorities who “raised themselves up by their bootstraps,” in contrast to “nonachieving” minorities such as African Americans and Hispanics. Noguera (2003) identified the specific images of model minority stereotypes that circulated in many schools in the US: a) Asians are inherently smart (either for genetic or cultural reasons); b) Asians have a strong work ethic; c) Asians are passive and deferential toward authority; and d) unlike other minorities, Asians do not complain about discrimination. Lee (1994) has also reported that Asian-Americans live under the same burden of racial stereotypes that structure their experiences and identities as other people of colour in the United States. Asian-Americans internalize the passive, hardworking, and quiet “model minority,” stereotype and thereby mask, misinterpret, oversimplify and further reinforce discrimination and their own exclusion (Cho, 2003; Eom, 1996; Lee, 2005).

Asian as Unassimilable Alien

Along with model minority stereotypes and the ‘yellow peril’ discourse on Asians, the discourse of the unassimilable alien adds another part to this ambivalence. Many studies argue that Asian racial identities were constructed in America as dangerous and unassimilable foreigners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries (e.g., see Kim, 1999; E. Lee, 2005). By positioning Asian immigrants as superior to Blacks, yet permanently foreign and
unassimilable with Whites, the racial hierarchy and power dynamics are permanently maintained (see Figure 2-1 for this model of racial triangulation). This American Orientalist ideology, that homogenized Asia as one indistinguishable entity, positioned and defined the West and the East in diametrically opposite terms, and used those distinctions to claim American and Anglo American superiority (E. Lee, 2005. p. 239).

As K.W. Lee (1999) and Leong (2005) state, although Koreans/Korean Americans rarely have been demonized by African Americans, the LA Riots “signalled a radical departure from the nations’ historical black-white paradigm, exposing the widening ethnic, cultural and class chasms” Leong (pp, viii-ix). Ong (1993) rationalizes the racialization with neoliberalism and the constructions of American nationalism. She states that American neoliberalism, as heir to laissez-faire capitalism and its late twentieth-century elaboration, participates in the construction of civil society and the management of racially defined categories of citizens who are assumed to embody different kinds of economic value and political risks.

Some scholars, however, criticize the racial triangulation approach. Although much of Asian American studies is built on inserting Asians into a predominantly Black/White dichotomy...
of race relations in the US, these approaches have reproduced a simplistic Yellow/White binary (Okihiro, 1994. p. xv). Further, Eng and Hom (1998) argue that, throughout its thirty year history, the unspoken but assumed subject of Asian American studies was male, heterosexual, working class, US born and English speaking (p. 3). This simplicity reinforces dichotomies of the foreign, backward East and the civilized West (Campomanes, 1997, pp. 524-525). Informed by theoretical and conceptual tools from Asian American studies, I argue that we cannot begin to understand discrimination directed at people of Asian origin without historicizing the circulation of Orientalist narratives, and imperial historical relations between Korea and the US.

_Asia/n as Feminine_

To a lesser degree, the ambivalent construction of Asian gender/sexuality is also common. There are widely cited images and visual representations of Asian/American women in the West, which Tajima (1989) classed into two basic types: the Lotus Blossom baby (a.k.a. China Doll, Geisha Girl, shy Polynesian beauty), and the Dragon Lady (Fu Manchu’s various female relations, prostitutes, devious madams). While the Dragon Lady represents a special Asian mix of sexual perversity, moral depravity, and drive for domination, the submissive Lotus Blossom projects a more welcoming image of exotic difference and erotic possibilities. Their appealing bodies are often complemented by what Tajima calls their “non-language” or “uninterpretable chattering, pidgin English, giggling or silence” (p. 310). Similarly and more critically, Yamamoto (1996) argues that Western constructions of Japanese women in positions of servitude served to pacify United States’ fears that the Japanese nation and economy posed a threat to Western hegemony (p. 338). The paradoxical conflicts between the images of stereotypical Asian women are the result of the ambivalent representations of Asian femininity that is produced by Orientalism (Chang, 2004).
In a discussion of the effeminization of Asian women and the refeminization of the Asians, Okihiro (1994) argues that Europe’s feminization of Asia in history, its taking possession, working over, and penetration of Asia, was preceded and paralleled by Asian men’s subjugation of Asian women (p, 68). Similarly, Yoshihara (2003) argues that Ruth Benedict’s work, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (1946), is significant in the way that it invented US discourse about Japan and constructed a Japanese national character based on the theoretical framework she shared with fellow anthropologists. The text reinforced the dominant Western notion of Japan as emasculated and feminized through a process much different from earlier approaches to Japan. Yoshihara critiques Benedict as having “feminized” Japanese culture, not by looking at Japanese women’s lives, but by looking at the masculine. The anthropologists’ replacement of racial determinism with a cultural paradigm brought about the familiar result of gendering the Other.

Chang (2004) also contends that “the ‘Orient’ was produced discursively and epistemologically as a feminized location. The metaphorical feminization of the Orient resulted in the metonymic hyperfeminization of ‘oriental women’” (p. 239). This practice of feminizing the East is what Krishnaswammy (1998) calls effeminization, “processes in which colonizing men use women/womanhood to delegitimize, discredit, and disempower colonized men” (p. 3). The process of effeminization is evident and ongoing. Ang (2001) theorizes that the use of an image of an Asian woman, and not a man, in the Australian government poster aimed at encouraging immigrants, is in keeping with Orientalist histories of feminizing Asia (p. 148). Extending beyond a general feminizing of the East, Ang asks:

Are we accepted, or tolerated, only when we display our girly smile—the stereotypical submissive smile of the exotic oriental woman traditionally so enchanting and pleasing to westerners? To put it more abstractly, must ‘Asianness’ be feminized in order to be
welcomed into Australian culture? (p.149)

Though Ang identifies the feminized location of Asians within Australian context, he points out how the discourse of gendered race around Asians locates them within a hierarchical power dynamics between colonizers and colonized, and shows how women are used within the construction of the discourse.

**Asia as Rising Power**

The ambivalence of Asians in race relation, that is, Asian as simultaneously desired and feared, is pervasive in the construction of Asia/n in North America. As Ong (1999) states, foreigners (i.e., Asians) in the US are depicted as cheap labourers, enemies, threats, and economic opportunities. Asians as desired and feared are often expressed through what has been termed the model minority stereotypes (Chin & Chan [1972] call it ‘racist love’) on the one hand, and the perceptions of ‘yellow peril’ (Marchetti, 1993) and perpetual foreigners on the other. More recently, the stereotypical definition of Asians by and for the West as both desired and feared has been altered by perceptions of the economic rise of Asia in the West. Contemporary Western discourses of ‘Asia rising’ (Dirlik, 1999) contribute to the ambivalence of Asians in the West. The Asia rising discourse predominantly refers the rising economic power of ‘tiger economies’ or ‘emerging markets,’ and the discourse further promotes ambivalent representations of Asians as the desire for Asian male and female labour and capital, and the fear of Asian male domination (i.e., Oikawa, 1999; Yamamoto, 1996).

**Asian Women as Global Servants**

Emblematic images of Asian women in the US are as faceless Asian woman “garment worker or “factory girl” in the global assembly line, or “military prostitute” (Kang, 1997). As the
popular socioeconomic representations frame Asian women as working class in the local-global nexus, Asian women are rarely conceptualized as being part of the mobile elite, and they are viewed primarily as being exploited by the processes of global capitalism (Parreñas, 2001).

Some of the contemporary stereotypical images of Asian/Korean women in the West are women on the assembly-line, working like machines (Ong, 1999), or migrant/immigrant domestic workers for the White North (Ng, 1998), the feminized labour force that is disposable (Chang, 2000), or the servants of globalization (Parreñas, 2001). Ong (2006) reflects those images and women’s realities as entering the social basement level: women enter at the social basement level and work their way up through the second generation. These psychically structured images of Asian women are re-produced in various discursive cultural productions. Lowe (1991, 1996) notes that the description of Oriental woman as machine is paradigmatic of the intersections and collusions between several nineteenth-century French discourses, not only of Orientalism and romanticism but also of race and industrial capitalism (see Lowe, 1991, p. 76, and 1996).

In the above, I mapped out the literature on how Asian women are constructed in popular discourses in the US by illustrating the literature on race formations, the locations of Asians in the race formations, and Orientalist knowledge production in the US. I now move on to how Korean women (athletes) are represented within Korean cultural, economic, political discourses, and within the discourse on international relations.

**Patriarchal Gender Relations in Korea and the Supporting Discourses**

In Korea, historical, political economic, and cultural contexts also shape the ways in which gender, especially women are constructed in various discursive terrains. In this section, I introduce studies that show the ways in which Korean gender is constructed and represented in popular discourse in general, and women’s location in the discourse of racial relationships,
especially with the US, within colonial and imperial relations.

**Gendered Nationalism under Colonial and Imperial Discourse**

Scholars such as Moon (1998) points out the gendered nature of Korean nationalism, and identifies the official Korean nationalism as androcentric, militaristic, and anti-democratic traditional. The discursive constructions of the nation mainly emphasizes two aspects: “ch’ung,” loyalty to the state which is equated with the nation, and “hyo,” filial piety to the parents which emphasizes the obligation of subordinates to pertinent authorities. The two aspects have strong connections with male-centric, militaristic, and anti-democratic nature from its historical origin. Moon finds the origin of androcentric militarism in the nationalist discourse from *hwarang-do*, the secular injunctions of a band of elite warriors that originated in the *Tan’gun* myth. Korean history started with the legendary founder, *Tan’gun*, of the Korean nation. Moon argues that the Korean nationalist discourses, those originated in and are conveyed through *hwarang-do* discourse and *Tan’gun* myth, constructed women not as human but as wombs to deliver potential warriors who can defend the nation. Women were excluded from the military and that delegitimized women as citizens. These myth and discursive constructions about Korean women produced women’s particular subject positions in Korean nationalism and these are often called “Korean values:” women as mothers (Kim & Choi, 1998); as morally pure (Choi, 1998); and as self-sacrificing and dutiful (Y. Park, 1998).

During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), enlightened male intellectuals in Korea advocated the importance of women’s liberation and education to strengthening the nation.

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3 The injunctions, *sesok ogye*—the five secular injunctions of *hwarang*, are 1) loyalty to one’s king; 2) filial piety to one’s parents; 3) no retreat in battle; 4) fraternity with fellow *hwarang*; 5) mercy in taking lives.

4 The myth states that *Hwanung*, an illegitimate son of God married the bear-woman and begat *Tan’gun*. The representation of gender is that the woman is depicted merely as the bearer of the heir, thereby suggesting that woman’s only contribution to the creation of the Korean nation was the provision of a proto-nationalist womb. It implies that the Korean nation is ultimately a community of men, created by an extraordinary man.
Korean women, therefore, were not excluded from nation and nation-building discourse; the male elite, however, emphasized enlightenment for women only as mothers (Kim & Choi, 1998). After World War I, US missionaries and educators had contacts with Koreans and, after World War II, the US proposed the division of North and South Korea. As Olsen (2002) puts it, the US was “throwing a Korean bone in the geopolitical path of a Soviet dog to distract it from Japan” (p. 13). Ironically, US protection made democratization in South Korea possible; by contrast, unification of the two Koreas has been delayed.

In postcolonial Korea, yet under US-military sponsored military dictatorship, women’s subject position in discursive constructions of the nation were as certain and monotonous as before. Choi (1998) advances our understanding that nationalism in postcolonial Korea continuously represses ambivalence in women’s subjectivity, since the unifying impulse of nationalism demands women’s moral purity. Men’s desire for the recognition of multiple male subjectivities, however, is valorized as nationalist (p. 28). Choi offers critical insights for understanding Korean nationalism within the historical and political relations between Korea and the US. She argues that the US-sponsored military dictatorship and continued neo-colonial domination over Korea reproduced already gendered and sexualized relationships between the two countries. Therefore, she suggests that Korean women’s bodies are held up to the metropolitan male gaze through hypermasculinity and careful scrutiny. Hyun Ok Park (1998) further illustrates how anti-colonial Korean nationalism idealizes the self-sacrificing woman to their husbands and sons who is devoted to the national liberation struggle. Similarly bur further extended, You-me Park (1998) points out that the representations of female subjectivities in modern Korean novels portray neither anti-colonial revolutionary agency nor autonomous subjectivity to women. She argues that the boundaries between men and women are drawn and the terms set by a male elite, so that women were always voiceless in political struggle,
therefore, they were not vital participants.

The inclusion of women as labour power, and as the subject of social agency, is only a very recent and partial endeavour. In Korea, the absence and exclusion of women in a national(ist) project, and the exclusion of women from national discourse, is common and evident even in modern history. For example, the *hyeondaewha* (modernization) project was initiated in the 1960s under the military administration that governed from 1963 to 1978\(^5\).

Modernization in Korea was essentially Western in its orientation (Choi, 1998; E.S. Kim, 2004; S.K. Kim, 1997). The images of modernization have become a chaotic mixture of the various ideological systems of western-oriented industrialization, militarism, recurring tradition, nationalism and patriarchal gender relations. In the Korean modernization project, there were contradictory and competing images of past and present, material and spiritual, and the roles of men and women. The project sought to pursue simultaneously the material wealth of the west and the spiritual and cultural values of Korea. In this scheme, the characteristics of material/modern/west/men and spiritual/past/east/women were separated (E.S. Kim, 2004).

Further, as Seung-kyung Kim (1997) argues, nationalism and patriarchy were significant cultural components of the modernization project. Young, unmarried women’s labour was defined in terms of cultural norms, and the ethical meanings of social and national collective identity. Instead of being treated as rational and individual workers, young women were working for their nation, their parents, and the firm. Gender relations in the Korean modernization discourse were constrained to identify women with the category of female, which is homogenous and ahistorical. As Hyunmee Kim (2000) notes, at a social level women were recognized as industrial warriors fighting for the growth and welfare of the nation, and as dutiful daughters supporting their male family members.

\(^5\) Although the military government in South Korea stayed and governed further, the dates refer to the particular regime of Park, Jeong-hee, who initiated the modernization project.
During the 1980s and early 1990s, a women’s movement started in Korea, promoting women’s equality. The Asian financial crisis (1997-2001), however, had a greater impact in Korean society, and brought conservative ideologies back into public discourse, especially discourse about gender relations. Kim and Finch’s (2002) fieldwork in Korea during the crisis examined changes in gender roles in public discourse that were apparently caused by the crisis. They found that conservative actions during the financial crisis included laying off women workers first, and the conservative rhetoric repeatedly reasserted Confucian patriarchal values and male-centered messages. Song (2006a) also pointed out that the neoliberal restructuring in Korea initiated during the IMF crisis, had significant impacts on Korean patriarchy and the gender system, including family breakdown and the emergence of new/different gender roles, especially men/fathers as caring figures. Similarly, Koo (2007) analyzes how the IMF changed three major areas of social life (work, consumption, education), and how Korea’s middle class is being transformed in this process.

**Neo-Confucian Ideology and Hegemonic Womanhood**

Confucianism was supported in the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) as an important part of Chinese learning and as an institutional means of maintaining its aristocratic power and its socio-political order along with Taoism and Buddhism (Chung, 1995). When the Koryŏ dynasty was falling apart, scholars supported neo-Confucianism as a new moral and socio-political order out of the old society dominated by the Buddhist tradition. In the early Joseon dynasty (1392-1897), neo-Confucianism began to exert a profound impact “as a new philosophy of life with emphasis on the self, family, society, and government; as an educational system focused on rational learning and moral cultivation; and as a practical religion whose spiritual teachings support a concrete set of ethical and political guidelines for governing the people” (Chung, 1995. p. 9).
Unlike Confucianism, neo-Confucianism began to develop into an institutionalized state ideology from the middle of the eleventh century. Then, from around fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Korea, neo-Confucianism became an ideology with hegemonic influence (Chang, 1997). Korean—then Joseon—scholars in this era exceeded Chinese scholars in revitalizing and refining old Confucian philosophy into a comprehensive set of norms, laws and customs for prescribing political rule and social relationships that rests on personal initiative, responsibility, and self-cultivation as a form of self-discipline (De Bary, 1988). In the historical context, neo-Confucianism was enthusiastically considered as “the new intellectual, ethical and spiritual guide for scholar-officials to sustain a centralized, conservative bureaucratic Confucian state” (p. 13). Neo-Confucian ethics emphasize the essential link between learning, self-cultivation, family regulation, social harmony, political order, and cultural prosperity. The state saw no separation between the church and the state, and assumed for itself ethico-religious significance.

Under- and post-colonization in Korea, the neo-patriarchy idealized the patriarchal middle-class family as the site of cultural and biological production, and any power that may threaten male authority is suspected of undermining the national struggle (Chang, 1997). The neo-patriarchy compounded by the Confucian patriarchal ideology of chastity demands self-censorship from women not only because of the danger of real rape but because of the suspicion of conspiracy against the already disempowered Korean men (Kim & Choi, 1998. see p. 25). It often set forth the rule of a woman’s subservience and obedience to parents, husband and, when widowed, to a son, also reflected and reinforced the lower social position held by women.

In contemporary Korea, under rapid industrialization and urbanization, as Chang (1997) argues, the neo-Confucian ideology has been kept alive through public education and political discourse as a legitimate cultural heritage. The hegemonic womanhood that is idealized based on Confucian virtues discouraged women’s participation in the workplace, and it structurally
positions women’s political and economic class status as lower than men (Abelmann, 1997; Chang, 1997). Under neo-Confucianism, home-making and material and emotional care for major domestic groups such as the elderly and children are expected as women’s responsibilities. Despite women’s increasing participation in outside employment, the domestic gendered division of labour has not been altered in any significant way. A 1989 survey (Kong et al., 1990) shows that employed wives’ share of household work (81.6%) was slightly higher than that of non-employed wives (80%). Recent surveys show similar results. A similar survey in 2009 (The Lifestyle Survey) reported that both employed family’s home-making hours by man are 42 minutes per day while women spend 3 hours 27 minutes. In families where both husband and wife are employed, men are doing only one fifth of housework. This is two minutes longer than husband-only employed families (Statistics Korea, 2009).

Confucian patriarchy, and the patrilineal social organization and cultural orientation are key to understanding Korean women’s class status and their material conditions. Studies show that younger women’s educational levels come closer to reflecting the class status of their natal families; their work experiences and aspirations, however, typically do not represent these educational levels because women’s high-level education has seldom translated into high-level participation in the labor force (Pak K., 1993; Sŏl, 1994). Although educational resources are variously signified across the generations, we can see that patriarchy operates in both cases, either to withhold education or to withhold job opportunities commensurate with educational levels. Interestingly, however, women’s education has become increasingly important to family social class reproduction. A woman’s educational resources contribute to the maintenance of her family’s class distinction and ensure and enhance quality education for her children (M.H. Kim, 1993, p. 80; Moon, 1990).
Women under the Rhetoric of Globalization and the Neoliberal ethos

Ling (1999) argues that under the rhetoric of globalization (internationalization) and modernization in East Asia, local (and global) media naturalize hypermasculinity as part of economic development. According to her, this rhetoric confirms the globalist bias by opposing capital-intensive, upwardly mobile hypermasculinity and implicitly closed, localized, service-based, and socially regressive hyperfemininity (p. 277). In this rhetoric, she argues, hypermasculinity contains “the Other” within. She further argues that media re/construct gender identity for women (the Other within) with classical Confucian paternalism: women have a role involving subordination, self-sacrifice, discipline, and deference. The hyper-masculine/feminine identity constructions explicitly support an implicit sexual division of labour, not only under Confucian ideology but also under rapid globalization processes. Huntington’s (2003) discussion supports Ling’s point. He sees Asia, under globalization, as culturally intransigent, weapons happy, and irremediably opposed to the West. It is contrary to the idea that globalization, especially Americanization, and McDonaldized (or McWorldian) consumerist lifestyles universalize and homogenize the global world. This is also a popular discussion in studies of globalization and sport. In the following section, I introduce key literature on media representations of gender, nation, and other identity markers in sport in both North American and Korean mainstream media.

Sport, (Asian) Gender, and Nation in the Media

A number of sport studies scholars call for the need to read sport critically (e.g., McDonald & Birrell, 1999). They argue that sporting narratives work within a larger matrix of historical, political, cultural, and economic realms; therefore, reading sporting discourses critically would serve to produce counter stories and dissenting views. Further, media studies
scholars in the sociology of sport have criticized the usual treatment of gender, race, and nation as separate sets of social relations within sport, and have emphasized the importance of recognizing their related nature in sport. Furthermore, some scholars have argued for the treatment of social categories as related/intersecting/interlocking categories in society, and especially in relation to sport. In this section, I briefly map some key issues and debates on gender, race and nation in sport media studies, and introduce essential studies that analyze race, gender and/or nation as intersectional categories or interlocking oppressive systems in sporting discourses.

**Race, Gender, and Sport in North American Media**

Media studies on sport and race in North America have focused predominantly on the relations between African Americans and Whites. Sport media have become essential sites where racist ideologies about African Americans are constructed (Wilson, 1997). These ideologies articulate commonsense beliefs about the ‘genetic’ nature of athletic superiority of African Americans (Davis, 1990; Wonsek, 1992); constructing subtle images of ‘enlightened racism’ (McKay, 1995); demonizing male African-American athletes (Kellner, 1996; Lule, 1995); and disseminating stereotypes about ‘dumb jocks’ (Sailes, 1993) and ‘good blacks’ and ‘bad blacks’ (Wenner, 1995). Smith (2007) also notes that discussions of race in dominant sport and sociology of sport literature are centred only on Black and White as if there were no other races in the sport world.

Several strands of feminist scholarship in the sociology of sport have advanced our understandings of the various meanings of femininity in media coverage. Socialist feminism provides an understanding of how gendered portrayals of athletes are driven by profit-making in the capitalist system, and how profit is an important driving force of the patriarchal system. From
a postfeminist perspective, the use of feminine traits and heterosexuality to earn status, and the financial incentives and payoffs, are empowering women. Radical feminists, however, criticize postfeminist perspectives on the sexualization and commodification of their bodies. They argue that using sex-appeal provides some material benefits, but male-defined femininity is not challenged, and gender equality is undermined.

Although social identity markers are often treated as singular or separate, sport scholars in media studies recently started to pay attention to their connected and intersectional nature. Further, a number of sociology of sport scholars theorize the intersections of social identity in local and global surroundings, and offer useful conceptual frames of sport as a site of maintaining/resisting dominant power relations. For example, scholars in sport media studies have long criticized not only the lack of coverage of women’s sport in media, but more importantly the lack of respectful, serious coverage, particularly for women athletes of colour (Douglas, 2005; Douglas & Jamieson, 2006; McKay & Johnson, 2008; Schultz, 2005). One example of an analysis of the intersecting social categories of gender, race, class and nation is Jamieson’s (1998) study of Nancy Lopez. Jamieson analyzed the textual constructions (both Hispanic and US texts) of the Mexican golfing prodigy on the LPGA tour in the historical, social, and politically unequal context of US-Mexican relations, and showed how Lopez was conceptualized as “outsider-within,” and how her golf skills, race/ethnicity, class, and heterosexuality were mobilized for ideological constructions. She discovered how dominant cultural ideologies constructed gendered, racialized, heterosexualized, and classed discourses around Lopez, and how the gendered identities fit within cultural and historical contexts that shape all women’s lives, yet have different consequences for different categories of women. Also, Chan (1994) and Schultz (2005) argue that the masculinization of female athletes historically has operated to “Other” women of colour, and according to Douglas and Jamieson
(2006), this technology of representation provides room for maintaining white privilege. They argue that the racialized gender often mobilized for the “construction of whiteness relied upon discourses of sexuality and gender by maintaining cultural norms and values that were constitutive of dominant discourses of social power” (p. 128). Further, Cooky, Wachs, Messner and Dworkin (2010) analyzed US media representations of Don Imus’s comments on the 2007 NCAA women’s basketball championship game, and concluded that African-American women athletes are silenced, trivialized, and sexualized, and the media reproduced the intersecting oppressive understanding of the women’s sport participation as working-class African-American women’s assimilation and acceptance of (White) middle-class norms and values. The results echo Douglas and Jamieson’s arguments about how media narratives are linked to dominant ideas and ideologies of race, class and gender relations that circulate in wider society.

In the US, stereotypically, Asian women or Asians in general are portrayed as non-sporting or non athletic (Hanson, 2005). Asian athletes, and more specifically Asian women athletes, are inaccurately portrayed or invisible in the social sciences of sport literature in general. Although there has been a recent influx of successful Asians/Asian American women athletes into North America, the portrayals seem not to have changed. Nonetheless, the little social science literature there is offers simplistic stereotypes of Asian cultures or it does not mention them at all; the majority of research focuses instead on the differences between African Americans and Whites in regard to race, sport and gender (Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Hanson, 2005) as if there were only the single racial issue of Black and White in sport fields. Among the few studies of Asian athletes, Joo (2000) analyzes media portrayals of Korean-born Major League Baseball player Chan Ho Park, and shows how the sport icon is reproduced as a signifier of American and Korean nationalisms by the hegemonic forms of representation, including sexual, classed, gendered, religious, and generational images. Similarly, Wang (2004) focuses on the
discourses of China rising and of global capitalism around Yao Ming, the NBA basketball player from China. Wang analyzes and critiques how Yao Ming is taken up as a national-capitalist fantasy who ideally serves as an icon of the American dream. Nakamura (2005) focuses on both US and Japanese media representations of Suzuki Ichiro, a Major League Baseball player. In her analysis of US media, she showed Ichiro’s representation as traditional Asian Other, and how the US media scrutinized the Otherized body. Similarly, in the European context, Jiwani (2008) analyzed press coverage, across North America and Europe, of Zinedine Zidane’s head-butt incident in the final match of the World Cup in 2006. She showed how the mechanisms and technologies of the Orientalist discourse around Zidane are similar to those used in most White colonial settler societies (see pp. 13-14). Further, many studies in the sociology of sport suggest that gender and nation, and gender and sport contribute to nation building, but little work has been done in a transnational context, particularly (with)in ambivalent race relations and complicated power dynamics. Wong and Trumper (2002) illustrate the dual role of global sports celebrities, occupying and informing both national and transnational spaces, by examining two superstar and global celebrity athletes: Ivan Zamorano in soccer and Wayne Gretzky in hockey.

The Asian presence in golf, particularly at the professional level, is a recent phenomenon. Cole (2002) discusses the location of golf in US imperialism by addressing popular narratives about Tiger Woods. She argues that the media developed narratives about America’s progressive racial transformations through golf, especially through Wood’s lifetime golf accomplishments. She further argues that the constructions and (therefore) public perceptions of Woods in the US were: both the literal and the figural embodiment of the utopic global, a genealogical product marked by interracial and cross-national romances. Gender dynamics in women’s golf are often portrayed differently than in other sporting arenas. For example, in Outsiders in the Clubhouse: The World of Women’s Professional Golf, Crosset (1995) introduces one of the motivations for
his study of the LPGA world. With the eyes of a well-trained critical sociologist, he became aware of an anomaly in the gender order on the surface of the LPGA, “a place where women hired men to follow them around and perform menial tasks (caddies not only carry a player’s clubs but also her name across his back). A place where women moved to the head of the line and wealthy men obliged” (p. 4). Although Crosset discusses the ways in which LPGA members remained outsiders in relation to PGA members, and had more limited access to the golf world than their male counterparts, the women golfers’ public relations had different dynamics than the conventional gender order in North American society.

Although the world of women’s professional golf seems to operate in a different gender order, in the bigger picture of sport it does not cross the borderline of the conventional gender order. The body and hegemonic notions of femininity and masculinity are central to the discourses and representation of both men’s and women’s sport. Sport, especially at the elite level, plays an integral role in the assemblage and projection of engendered and sexualized postmodern bodies (Birrell, 2000; Hargreaves, 1994; Miller, McKay, & Rowe, 2001). For men, sport provides opportunities where, as spectators and/or players, they can affirm their identity and status as heterosexual males and their physical, symbolic, and economic dominance over women. As has been repeatedly demonstrated, the media have considerable difficulty dealing with sporting women who challenge hegemonic ideas about femininity (Hargreaves, 1994). The presence of physically powerful female bodies poses a threat to hegemonic masculinity. Female golfers in the LPGA are forced to conform to hegemonic notions of ideal, nonthreatening femininity (Crosset, 1995).

Women and Sport in Korean Media

In Korea, nation-state sponsored sport policies and support for high-performance sport
development took place in the 1960s and the 1970s under the Park Chung Hee presidency (1961-1979), a military government in Korea. The period of the military regime is characterized by national reconstruction, economic development and modernization (Chang, 1999). The nation introduced an Eastern European sport system into its elite sport development policy. During this period, Korean media often used sport (particularly professional wrestling, professional boxing, and international sport championships and the Olympics) as a vehicle to reinforce Korean nationalism, and as a weapon against communism, thus legitimizing the ruling government, and restoring/providing national superiority (Ha & Mangan, 2003; Lee & Maguire, 2009). Two other military regimes, Chun Doo Hwan (1981-1988) and Rho Tae Woo (1988-1993), continued their strong support for elite sport, and further elaborated sport as their political tool (Kim, D.K., 2003). Hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games marked a watershed in Korean sport history (Ha & Mangan, 2003; Koh, 2009). It triggered a sharp growth in the mass leisure sport industry, participation, spectatorship, and professional leagues such as the Korean professional soccer league and professional baseball league. For example, in 1989, The National Sports Promotion Foundation was inaugurated in April, and Life Sports Departments were established in local autonomous government administrative organizations. Further, the National Sports Council of Sports for All was founded in February 1991.

Although high-performance sporting systems are well developed in Korea, and women athletes have shown strong athletic prowess, women’s sport and women athletes have not been considered as seriously as their male counterparts, and sport has not been considered as a profitable profession in Korean society. Historically, as in the West, women athletes in Korean media have been less visible than their male counterparts. For example, Kim and Koh (2004) analyzed Korean daily newspapers from 1948, when the Korean government was established, to 2003, and compared gender differences in the number of pictures in the newspapers. The results
showed that until the 1950s, there were almost no pictures of women athletes. The number of women athletes’ pictures, however, increased to 10.13% (male athletes’ pictures were 61.29%) in the 1960s and to 22.9% (68.49% were male athletes’ pictures) in the 2000s. There is an exception especially during the Olympics, both summer and winter, when sporting women in Korean media are often used as proud symbols of the nation. Many sociology of sport studies discuss the nation as a significant basis of identity politics, and sports (especially mega sport events) become a vehicle to deliver national identity successfully without displaying the hidden politics (e.g., Allison, 2000; Sugden & Bairner, 1993). The articulations of sport and national identity are evident internationally, especially with global sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular. In his chapter on The Sports Media in a Nation-Making Role, Cashman (2004) analyzed Australian cases to examine how sport media elevate sporting stars and create local, state and national heroes. A number of scholars in sociology of sport have investigated sporting nationalism in relation to globalization (Bairner, 2001; Hargreaves, 2002; Maguire, 1993, 1999, 2005; Maguire & Poulton, 1999; Rowe, 2003). Many scholars agree that globalization does not reduce the degree of sporting nationalism. In the Korean context, there are many studies of sport and nationalism, especially in sociology of sport literature. World Cup soccer, taekwondo, and other Olympic sports (e.g., archery, judo, badminton, table tennis) during the Olympics are actively engaged in discourses of Korean nationalism.

In the case of professional golf, however, because of the success of Korean women golfers in LPGA tournaments, the sport is now considered as a serious sporting profession. The KLPGA earned more tournaments and sponsorships than previously and received widespread TV coverage of their tournaments, and many women players have also been sought out by major sport/golf corporations to endorse their products, which is/was not common in women’s professional sports. Although golf has not been a representative sport, Korea is one of the major
golfinf countries. Of 50 million Koreans, 2.5 million play golf, and it is fifth behind the US, Japan, the UK, and Canada in the total number of active golfers (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Korea, 2006). The Korean women golfers’ socialization into golf and their career development patterns are quite similar to what Theberge (1977) and Crosset (1995) found among the LPGA members (Kim, 2006). Theberge (1977) analyzed American women’s socialization into professional golf using a social learning framework, that is, (i) the influence of significant others (mostly from their father or other male member of her family), (ii) the importance of opportunity sets, and (iii) perceptions of possible conflict between the roles of women and athletes. More recent research conducted by Crosset (1995) found similar results. Despite the high degree of golf participation, public reactions in Korea to golf as a sport are not favourable. As An and Sage (1992) pointed out, golf had (and still has) negative connotations as being the way that Chaebol’s developed their relations with, and received concessions from, the Korean government (both elite, male-dominated institutions), and as being a sport only for upper-middle-class males and their families. Therefore, the conjunction of the sport of (women’s) golf with the discourse of Korean nation-building is unusual and uncommon (Kwon, 2006). Kwon argues that the relatively exclusive, upper middle class sport of golf, and especially women’s golf, is not a natural basis for the expression of Korean nationalism. He describes the articulations of Korean women’s golf in the discourse of nationalism as a production of an active, artificial connection between the historical context of IMF stewardship and a transnational corporation’s (Samsung) corporate nationalism project. According to Kwon, Se Ri Pak was successfully used by Samsung to create the image of “nation’s corporate” in late capitalism. The ways in which women golfers are represented in both nation-building discourse by a nation-state or by corporate-nationalist discourse are, however, unknown.

6 Korean business conglomerates.
Given these related studies, and the research design for this study, I now explore the theoretical and interpretive frameworks, and explain analytical concepts that I use to understand the Korean women golfers’ transnationality and both nation-states’ media representations.

THEORETICAL AND INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS

This study employs postcolonial and transnational feminist works, Asian Studies, Asian American studies, and sociology of sport research for studying the women athletes’ migration, and the two nations’ media representations of the women athletes. Using the theoretical frames drawn from these literatures, I argue that an analysis of skilled Korean women golfers’ migration to North America is incomplete unless framed in historical processes related to European and Japanese colonialism, and US imperialism, which have resulted in transnational migrations in contemporary globalization process, and further have supplied discourses for media representations of the women golfers. Transnational and postcolonial feminist theorizing on the positioning of race, gender, nation in discourses of nationalism, colonialism and imperialism, along with special emphasis on US-Asia relations under neoliberalization, therefore, are pivotal to this research. Incorporation of these theoretical approaches is also significant, because colonial and imperial relations in sport are not fully discovered or studied, and other categories of race beside the relationship between Black and White are rendered invisible.

In this section I discuss theoretical positions and their analytical potential that will support an understanding of the women golfers’ global flows and their conditions, and will help to understand the cultural sense making of Asian women athletes in Korea and in the US. In particular, this section discusses and defines the key concepts and analytical units for this study: postcoloniality; neoliberalism; transnationality; discourse and representation; and intersectionality.
Postcoloniality/Postcolonialism

Postcolonial feminism theorizes the relationship between women and nation in the context of nation and globalization, and recognizes the diversity of women’s experiences. Postcolonial approaches to gender, race and the sport of golf, therefore, provide explanatory frameworks regarding discursive knowledge production and cultural representations of difference based on race and gender. Although postcolonialism is a useful concept with which to theorize women of colour and Third World women’s experiences, the theoretical and political ambiguities of the term ‘postcolonial’ need to be redressed. Shoart (1992; 2002) pointed out that the term postcolonial does not capture the historical, cultural, and political complexities of the non-West since the theories are a Western monopoly. The term does not capture multiple colonial/imperial histories, particularly in Asian countries.

It is, therefore, relevant to include Asian Studies and Asian American Studies as part of the interpretive frameworks considering the particular nature of this study’s research design. These promote discussions of the historical/political/cultural particularities of US-Japan-Korea relations. Asian American studies theorize Asian American population as a group that are identified in the US, in terms of gendered and racialized bodies, differently from other racialized groups such as Blacks or Hispanics. Asian American studies analyze the specific ways in which Asians in North America, particularly the US, have been racialized. Asian American studies, however, has not been able to address adequately the vast disparities that exist within the category of Asian American. Therefore, Asian American studies tends to erase differences between groups that are identified under the category of ‘Asian American’ while highlighting differences between Asian Americans and other racialized groups and Whites. Including Asian Studies with special emphasis on Korean Studies, therefore, is essential for this study. Postcolonial scholars in Asian Studies argue that ‘post-colonial’ Korea was pushed to another
colony-dominant discourse of international relations (i.e., Choi, 1998; Kim & Choi, 1998). Within the discourse, the place of ‘Korea’ within international relations was located in a discourse of threat by communism (North Korea, China, the USSR), and economic threat from Japan; this discourse legitimized the US military stay and Korea’s modernization (Americanization) project (Choi, 1998). From this perspective, Choi questions the substantive reality of postcolonial Korea, and argues that ‘postcolonial’ is an empty signifier in Korea. The physical removal of Japanese colonial rule after 1945 defines Korea as postcolonial ‘officially’; however, the substantive specificity of Korean histories demands our sensitivity to political, social, economic realities.

My understanding of ‘postcolonial’ Korea for the purpose of this study resonates with Choi’s ‘empty signifier’ discussion. Choi’s discussion of Korea’s postcoloniality as an empty signifier echoes Shoart’s assertion that postcoloniality/postcolonialism often mislead us to a point that colonialism is relegated to a matter of the past while, in reality, formal independence has rarely meant the end of former colonizer’s hegemony. Shoart, therefore, suggests the term ‘neocoloniality’. My use of the term ‘postcolonial Korea’, thus refers to a ‘neocolonial Korea’, especially when I discuss Korean media representations of the women golfers. For the study in general, however, I use the term postcolonial to advocate the political stance of postcolonial feminists and their body of knowledge.

**Neoliberal/Neoliberalism**

Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade…It holds that the social good will be maximized by
maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market” (pp. 2-3). While Harvey’s definition emphasizes the importance of the free market and opening up to financial capital, some scholars argue that the concept of neoliberalism should not be used as a universalized concept. For example, Song (2011) problematizes the European and North American notion of neoliberalism. She argues that the definition does not respond to the case of other nation-states insisting that neoliberalism has to be reconceptualized because the notion itself includes different combinations of politico-economic and socio-cultural modalities. She particularly reconceptualizes South Korean neoliberalism as having:

…emerged in the historical context of struggles between dominant “illiberal” and marginal but forceful “liberal” socio-political components: between the military developmental state and an anti-state social body as well as between conservative gender/sexuality/family norms (a mixture of neo-Confucian and orthodox Protestant heritages) and liberalistic women’s movements. (p. 3)

Although Song emphasizes the nation-state specific definition of neoliberalism, she also points out the commonalities of neoliberalism as a global phenomenon that Harvey (2005) discussed: financial capital as a hegemonic mode of capitalist production and accumulation. Neoliberalism and neoliberal flow in Korea, therefore, has to be understood as historical/ socio-political struggles between illiberal and liberal along with the process of financial capital marketization of the economy.

Accounting for the nation-state specific context of neoliberalization is essential for the purpose of this study, especially since half of the this study analyzes Korean media narratives of the women golfers, and the transnational presence of Korean women golfers coincided with a rapid neoliberalization in Korea. Further, the political-economic and cultural accounts of
neoliberalization in Korean society in general, and women’s professional golf in particular, are crucial to a comprehensive understandings of the women golfers’ migration, and the ways in which Korean media portray the women golfers who started their global presence at the same time as neoliberal reform in Korea.

**Transnationality/Transnationalism**

Transnational feminist research is relevant for this study because it addresses issues of the politics of representation and is engaged in broader political debates surrounding globalization, citizenship and migration; the questions raised about differential power relations between women, and the ways in which the questions are conceptualized are of interest. Transnational feminism analyzes how the differences between the two groups, broadly, women in the West and the Rest, can be as significant as the similarities (Razack, 2000, p. 39; Shohat, 1998, pp. 37-38).

In the study, I use the “transnationality” as a smaller, yet closely connected concept to an umbrella term, globalization. Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) bring our attention to how the concept of “transnationality” can be helpful for recovering socio-historical dis/connectivity in sports’ globalization. In rejecting the binary oppositions associated with globalization and a perceived one-sided homogenization of the sporting world, I understand transnationality and transnational processes as they reflect on the particular historical, and political economic aspects of the globalization of sport between the nations. The emphasis on recovering multiple dis/connectivities and declining the hegemonic binary distinction makes transnationalism an apt concept, preferable to others such as international or multinational. The latter concepts are ahistorical and do not capture the complex dis/connectivities.

Further, drawing on a body of transnational feminist scholarship, this study attempts to
understand the skilled golfers’ migration in relation to transnational mobility and flexibility: specifically, the flow of talented golfers and the cultural logics of that flow; and transnational rationalities and relationalities (including political, economic, and cultural) that shape the athletes’ migration and relocation that are apprehended through and directed by cultural meanings. For this, I actively engage with Ong’s (1999) conceptual positions on globalization and her analytical emphasis on transnationality. Ong’s (1999) notion of transnational flexibility allows me to characterize Korean women golfers’ privilege of mobility, rather than view them as an example of transnational capital’s exploitation of feminized labour in the global North. The women’s transnational flexibility, as Ong puts it, creates new discursive spaces, and alters the relations between nation states and elite (Asian) women’s labour that produces transnational capital. The discursive spaces are new terrain to both the US and Korea, since the women’s material conditions are new and different from other Asian women who are transnationally visible. Ong’s approach to transnationality and transnationalism has five implications for theorizing Korean women golfers’ transnationality. First, Ong is opposed to the top-down model of globalization (a totalizing view of globalization as economic rationality, and binary distinctions of the global as political economic and the local as culturally creative and resistant). She argues that this model fails to account for human agency. She interprets globalization in the narrow sense of new corporate strategies, but analytically she finds transnationality more useful. She uses transnationality to refer to the cultural specificities of global processes, tracing the multiplicity of the uses and conceptions of “culture” (see p. 4). Second, Ong sees transnationalism not as unstructured flow, but as the tensions between movements and social orders. She, therefore, relates strategies of flow to systems of governmentality (cf., Foucault). Third, in the era of globalization, she argues that individuals, as well as governments, deploy a flexible notion of citizenship and sovereignty as strategies to accumulate capital and power.
Under the globalization process, therefore, individuals are regulated by practices favouring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes. Fourth, Ong (1999) problematizes the popular view that globalization has weakened state power. Instead, she argues that the subjects of governmentality zones and disciplinary regimes have shifted: not in terms of political borders, but often ethnically marked class groupings that are different from those other zones. Therefore, it is essential to consider transnational space in a counter-homogenizing and anti-universalizing manner. Fifth, she suggests that global capitalism in Asia should be linked to new cultural representations of “Chineseness” (rather than “Japaneseness”) in relation to the transnational (rise of) Asian capitalism. Nevertheless, despite her suggestion for new cultural representations and a shift in how transnational Asian capitalism is linked to China (or Japan), the cultural representations continue to imply the idea of Asia as “capital.”

Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) also offer useful insights for the study of transnationalism. In their discussion of the pitfalls and promise of transnationalism, they limit the concept, for analytical purposes, to occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders (p. 219). Similarly, Carter (2011) defines transnational sport migrants generally as “those individuals who cross borders to engage in sport-related activity to earn a living” (pp. 5-6). Adopting these notions, I redefine the transnational nature of women’s professional golf as: 1) the high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis (professional golf is an occupation, and it is a regular activity); 2) multiple circuits of travel. I also draw on Trotz’s (2006) definition of transnationality to define the critical mass characterizing the Korean women golfers’ transnationality as: a growing number of professional women golfers who live dual lives, speak two (or more) languages, have homes in
two (or more) countries, make a living through continuous regular contact across national borders, and link geographically distinct places into a single transnational social field (i.e., the professional golf circuit).

Based on this conceptual starting point, I include the following as analysis units: a) government golf policy documents from the initial history of Korean golf to the present. Specifically, I track down the different regimes—states, women’s professional golf institutions (i.e., K/J/LPGA), family, economic enterprises, cultural discourses around the sport of golf—that shape and direct border crossings and transnational relations. According to Ong (1999), these regimes condition the border crossings and transnational relations’ dynamics and scope, but also give structure to their patterning; b) formal and informal supplementary interviews with key agents who have played a role in the golfers migration to the US. The analytical units, therefore, are individual movements and the individuals’ transnational practices, institutional practices (i.e., KLPGA and LPGA) around the golfers and the associated workers (i.e., caddies, coaches), state policies and documents, cultural discourses around the women’s movement and the sport of golf through interviews with some key agents in Korean women professional golf. These analytical units informed the data resources. The first data source was interviews with six women golfers, seven interviews with the women golfers’ parents, caddies, and managers, and two interviews with former national golf team coaches. Both coaches also run a Korea-based training camp for top-ranked transnational golfers. The second source was the LPGA and KLPGA’s website documents about their membership policies throughout their history, and the institutions’ documents published for their (domestic and international) members. Further, I reviewed the US-Korea visa treaty, “Short-term Work permit P-visa for Entertainers/ (High Performance Sport)

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7 It is the history that has shaped the current flow of Korean women golfers into the LPGA Tour. Unlike other Western sports in Korea that were introduced by European and American missionaries, golf was introduced and expanded in Korea by Japan in 1917 and in the period of Japanese colonization (1920-1945) (Korea Golf Association, 2000).
Discourse and Representation

The Orient was viewed as if framed by the classroom, the criminal court, the prison, the illustrated manual. Orientalism, then, is knowledge of the Orient that places things Oriental in class, court, prison, or manual for scrutiny, study, judgment, discipline, or governing. -- Said (1979. p. 41)


Hall (1992) defines a discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—i.e., a way of representing—a particular kind of knowledge about a topic” (p. 291). By discourse, in this study, I mean a particular way of representing ‘the West’, ‘the Rest’ (in chapter five) and ‘us’, and ‘them’ (in chapter six) and the relations between them. As Hall further argues, discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. And since discursive practice is the practice of meaning, discourse enters into and influences all social practices (p. 291). Discourse provides ‘certain attitudes’ about self and others (Foucault, 1988). It defines how people are classified, disciplined, and normalized and reminds us of the (socially constructed) division between the abnormal and normal. Foucault referred to these social processes as “technologies of power,” and defines them as specific social practices that “determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination” (p. 18). Foucault (1983) defines “knowledge of humans” as a form of power that “categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him” (p. 212).

The knowledge of humans is delivered through representation. Hall (1997) recognizes that representation connects meaning and language to culture; therefore, it occupies an important
place in the study of culture. According to Hall, there are three distinctive accounts or theories of representation based on the questions, ‘where do meanings come from?’ or ‘how can we tell the “true” meaning of a word or image?’ The first account is the *reflective* approach which asserts that language simply reflects a meaning which already exists out there in the world of objects, people and events. The second account is the *intentional* approach that sees language express only what the speaker or writer or painter wants to say, her/his personally intended meaning. Third, *constructionist* approaches to representation sees meaning constructed in and through language (p. 15). For the purpose of this study, I employ the constructionist approach to representation, which focuses on the relationship between discourse, knowledge and power. Foucault’s concern with the production of knowledge and meaning through discourse not only links to power and assumes the authority of ‘the truth,’ but also has the power to make itself true (1980, p. 131). The approach is divided into two major variants—the *semiotic approach*, and the *discursive approach* which is associated with Foucault and his three major ideas: his concept of discourse; the issue of power and knowledge; and the question of the subject.

There are numerous debates about how to analyze discourse. Hook (2001) argues that Foucault’s concept of discourse is situated far more closely to *knowledge, materiality* and *power* than it is to language (p, 36). These three dimensions of analysis provide the epistemological strength, the explanatory power and the political abilities. Based on those three dimensions, Hook suggests that a sound discursive analytic methodology should entail: 1) Foucault’s conceptualization of discourse, which indispensably requires the role of historical contextualization. Discourse analysis only finds its real usefulness within the agenda of a ‘history of systems of thought’ (Foucault, 1977); 2) for Foucault, a study of discourse must necessarily entail a focus on discourse-as-knowledge, that is to say, on discourse as a matter of the social, historical and political conditions under which statements come to count as true or false (McHoul
& Grace, 1997); 3) without reference to materiality (as evidenced in the methods of Parker (1992) and Potter and Wetherell (1987)) discourse analysis remains largely condemned to ‘the markings of a textuality,’ a play of semantics, a decontextualized set of hermeneutic interpretations that can all too easily be dismissed (Hook, 2001, pp.36-39).

**Politics of Difference as Mode of Representation**

What does need to be questioned, however, is the mode of representation of otherness. (Bhabha, 1994).

As Bhabha emphasized, the mode of representation as discursive strategies of showing/proving (social) differences should be questioned in critical discourse analysis. The notion of difference often used for explanation of social relations and the ways in which difference is explained is by employing various forms of dichotomies. Peterson and Runyan (2010) argue that the dichotomized thinking is not inherently pernicious, it is inescapably political. Because the binary logic underpinning dichotomies results in either/or thinking, an essentializing of terms, therefore, the terms are not independently separate concepts (A and B) but defined in oppositional relation to each other (A and not-A). In this logic, the meaning of one determines the meaning of the other, and more of one is less of the other. The structure of dichotomies is frequently employed in stereotypes and ideologies that depoliticize inequalities by naturalizing and essentializing negative images of subordinated groups as inferior, undesirable, or threatening. A regular practice is ‘stereotypical dualism,’ or ‘splitting’: The world is first divided, symbolically, into good-bad, us-them, attractive-disgusting, civilized-uncivilized, the West-the Rest. By this strategy, the Rest become becomes defined as everything that the West is not. It is represented as essentially, different, other: the Other. This Other is then itself split into two ‘camps’: friendly-hostile, innocent-depraved, noble-ignoble.
Explaining racial difference, along with gender difference, is not always the same. Gilroy (1991) observes that race is reconstructed and manipulated in the contemporary contexts of a global and transnational era. He argues that politics of racial difference have made a major shift in terms of the notions of superiority and inferiority; the order of racial power relations has become more subtle and elusive. Similar to Gilroy, Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) argue that, in the postcolonial juncture, an ahistorical concept of culture is the ideological device for essentializing difference and reconfiguring race; public discourses on Otherness in many European settings do not concern biological heredity, but rather the insurmountability of cultural differences (p. 21). The discursive shifts from biodeterminism to biologizations of culture (e.g., Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Gilory, 1991; Harrison, 1995) in the politics of racial difference are evident in transnationalism literature. Transnationality provides insights into how a race is understood as culture, and how this culture becomes an unconscious sign system of a nation. It is difficult to ascribe as racialized those narratives that distinguish between people, especially when the language used does not directly refer to “biology,” “nature” or “types of bodies” but utilizes terms such as “culture,” “indigenous,” “tradition,” and “ethnicity” (Kothari, 2006; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Thus, it is important, when speaking of “race,” to consider whether all comparisons or references to, for example, “culture” is inevitably and always also racialized (see also Burdsey, 2007).

Honour (1976) suggested four discursive strategies that are underpinned by the process of stereotyping: i) idealization; ii) the projection of fantasies of desire and respect for difference; iii) the failure to recognize and respect difference; iv) the tendency to impose European categories and norms, to see difference through the modes of perception and representation of the West (p. 3). Hall (1992) argues that different characteristics of stereotyping are run together or condensed into one, and its characteristics become the signs, the ‘evidence.’ Further, Hulme (1986) noted
that ‘stereotypical dualism’ means that the stereotype is split into two opposing elements. These are two key features of the discourse of ‘the Other’: i) several characteristics are collapsed into one simplified figure which stands for or represents the essence of the people; this is stereotyping; ii) the stereotype is split into two halves—its ‘good’ and ‘bad’ sides; this is ‘splitting,’ or dualism.

Along with the discursive strategies, for analyzing discursive representations, I adopted Fairclough’s (2003) analysis check list. He developed 12 categorical items that demonstrate what a sound discursive analytic methodology should entail: 1) media agenda; 2) genre; 3) difference; 4) intertextuality; 5) assumptions; 6) semantic/grammatical relations; 7) exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood; 8) discourses; 9) representation of media agenda; 10) style; 11) modality; 12) evaluation (see the modified checklist for the study in Chapter 3). Adopting Fairclough, the analytical focus for the study is to discover if there is: any evidence for the discursive shifts of difference; an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms and/or power; an attempt to resolve or overcome difference; a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity; consensus, a normalization; and, acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and over norms. In the following section, Intersectionality, I employ the analytical concepts as discursive tools for maintaining a matrix of domination.

**Intersectionality**

Derived from antiracist and postcolonial feminist thought, intersectionality is considered as a necessary analytic, which is also further illuminated through poststructuralist lenses. Some feminist scholars (see, e.g., Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005) proclaim that intersectionality is one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship. Originally coined by Kimberle
Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality was a concept intended to address the experiences and struggles of women of colour. Crenshaw argued that theorists need to take both gender and race on board and show how they interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women’s experiences. Since then, the discussion of intersectionality has expanded widely among feminist scholars. Crenshaw (2001) later introduced “the imagery of crossroads and traffic” as a metaphor of intersectionality that gives us a deeper understanding of intersectionality:

Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group…tries to navigate the main crossing in the city. … The main highway is ‘racism road.’ One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street. … She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, a many layered blanket of oppression. (pp. 122-3)

Since Crenshaw introduced the term, feminist scholars seem to agree that gender, race, class, sexuality, and other social categories should be integral to any feminist analysis of power and domination. Controversies, however, have emerged about how intersectionality should be conceptualized. Within feminist scholarship, the question of whether to interpret the intersectionality of social divisions as an additive or a constitutive process is still central. On the one hand, the additive/multiplicative model conceptualizes intersectionality as a crossroad (cf., Crenshaw, 1991) to understand individual experiences that are defined by one’s identity markers in which the identity markers are additive; therefore the markers can be multiple oppressors (e.g., double, triple, etc.). The constitutive model, on the other hand, conceptualizes intersectionality as ‘axes’ of difference (Yuval-Davis, 2006) to theorize identity. Specifically, the dynamic process model within the constitutive model treats intersectionality as a property of social structures and cultural discourses (i.e., Staunaes, 2003; Razack, 2004).

Another point that is essential to bear in mind is intersectional analysis as a rigorous research practice. Knapp (2005) sees intersectionality as a fast traveling theory, and argues for the understudied political economy of intersectionality. She integrates Derrida’s discussion on
theories that travel to show that there are clear difference between mentioning and using intersectionality. According to both Derrida and Knapp, mentioning intersectionality functions as a moral mantra. Mentioning it signals two meanings: first, I’m well informed; and second, I’m politically correct. It is a major impression of intersectionality that it does not have rich methodological implications, and using intersectionality rather than mentioning it, and how to “use” it properly, still remain as central questions.

In spite of its theoretical complexities and methodological ambiguities, however, intersectionality has now become a more important theoretical and analytical concept in feminist scholarship, mainly for two reasons related to the issue of difference. First, it acknowledges the differences among/between/within women and their experiences, and addresses the effects of race, class, and gender on (particularly marginalized) women’s lives. Second, the focus gradually shifted to address how race, class and gender interact in the social and material realities of women’s lives to produce and transform relations of power (Anthias, 1998; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1993; Collins, 2000; Davis, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Further, in the study, I conceptualize intersectionality not as the issue of multiple and shifting identities, but more as a deconstructive project of poststructuralist feminist theory, and as a post-colonial feminist analytical category in which all forms of subordination are interlocking and mutually reinforcing (i.e., as an interlocking system of oppression, see, e.g., Razack, 2004). In addition, considering the controversies within the intersectionality debates, I take a more active interpretation of intersectionality, and I am advocating the dynamic process model as part of a constitutive model; specifically, intersectionality as a property of social structures and cultural discourses. According to Davis (2008), intersectionality refers to:

Interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power. (p. 68)
Further, for analytical purposes, it is important to recall the premises of intersectional analysis. Peterson and Rynyan (2010) argue that feminist scholars who advocate the dynamic process model seem to share these premises of intersectional analysis: 1) it means that individuals have multiple identities simultaneously; 2) the identity markers are not additive, descriptive or politically/socially neutral; 3) different parts of identities become politically salient at different times; and 4) some parts of identities rest on the meanings given to one’s other identity markers (pp. 24-26).

Practical methods of conducting intersectional analysis are informed by several postcolonial and transnational feminist scholars. Yuval-Davis (2006) precisely discusses doing intersectional analysis as an attempt to produce situated knowledge and imagination (it does not mean that the location automatically dictates identity). Another way of doing intersectional analysis is to give centrality to questions such as how race is gendered and how gender is racialized, and how both are linked to the continuities and transformations of social class (see Davis, 2008. p, 71). It also provides differential analytical levels of belonging/s in identity debates. Therefore, intersectional research/analysis has an effect on the deconstruction of essentialized knowledge. Also, as many feminist scholars, including Matsuda (1990) recognize, all forms of subordination are interlocking and mutually reinforcing. Therefore “asking the other questions” regarding the interconnection of all forms of subordination can be a practical method. I adopted the process of “asking the other question” that Matsuda suggested for doing intersectionality:

The way I try to understand the interconnection of all forms of subordination is through a method I call “ask the other question.” When I see something that looks racist, I ask, “Where is the patriarchy in this?” When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, “Where is the heterosexism in this?” When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, “Where are the class interests in this?” (Matsuda, 1990, p, 1189).
In sum, these theoretical frameworks and analytical concepts are central to completing this research in a way that examines the talented Korean women golfers’ transnational migration under sport’s globalization process, and their multinational connections; and investigates the complex power relations involved in producing the various discourses and cultural productions relating to Korean women professional golfers. Further, they allow me to discuss the nature of the relations between representation, knowledge production, and power dynamics within that production. The following chapter outlines the methods and procedures for the study.
CHAPTER III. Methods

This chapter outlines the research methods and its process used to account for and understand the influx of Korean women golfers into the US, and the ways in which the women are represented in popular print media in both Korea and the US. The first section outlines the contexts of data, including data resources, time periods of the data and their collection, and data transition. The second section illustrates data analysis and interpretation with special attention to critical discourse analysis and intersectional analysis. In the end of first and second section I discuss issues related to practicing rigorous and ethical research, especially conducting transnational research in the course of interpreting elite discourses and interview data that are produced in different languages. Further, it discusses research processes, methods, and interpretation processes as part of the rigorous qualitative research standpoints and techniques that are informed by poststructural and postcolonial feminist thinkers. A qualitative sense of procedural objectivity, according to Burawoy (1998), “requires recognition of one’s biases, one’s paradigm commitments, not to separate them from science but to constitute them as the premise of science” (p. 14). Burawy argues that, “dwelling in” theory provides the foundation for intersubjectivity, process, and structuration as well as its own reconstruction. In the third section, I discuss my research practices from the perspective of rigour within the boundaries of the theoretical frames in which I am ‘dwelling’ for the study.

Data/Data Collection

The data for the study consist of two main parts from three sources: so called elite discourse\(^8\) including media texts from both nation-states from 1998 to 2009; governmental and

\(^8\) Van Dijk (1993) collectively refers to government and media text as elite discourse.
institutional (both K/LPGA) documents; and supplementary interviews with key agencies of the Korean women golfers’ transnational migration such as the women golfers, their parent/s, sponsorship agents, and caddies. Examination of the three sources of data, with a particular emphasis on elite discourse, is informed by postcolonial and transnational feminist theories which emphasize the broader socio-historical context in which subjects are produced and recognized, and that focus on a macrostructural analysis of language, knowledge and power. Supplementary interview data and institutional documents mainly inform the discussion in chapter four; discourse analysis of the media narratives informs discussions in chapters five to six.

**Elite Discourse: Media Texts from US and Korea**

The first set of data for the study is derived from media texts, and supplementary data from both K/LPGA’s annual/special documentation. The texts (including images) from US media are written in English, and texts from Korean media are written in Korean (translated as necessary). In order to obtain comparable data, I limit the time frame from 1998 to 2009. The time frame for data collection starts in 1998 since that was the year that Pak Se Ri won her first LPGA major championship, and also was the year when US (sport) media started to devote space to Korean women golfers. It was also the year that media coverage of women golfers in Korea dramatically escalated. Although there were two other Korean women golfers who earned LPGA membership and won LPGA tournament before 1998, the year was a turning point for Korean women golfers’ influx into US golf tournaments. Pak’s success motivated many top-ranked KLPGA members’ to migrate from Korea to the LPGA tour.

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9 For the KLPGA, a photo-essay titled, *The Film of KLPGA: 1978-2008*, is included.
**Media Data Sources from the US and Korea**

For the study, I chose seven newspaper and magazines to represent US media. They were chosen because they actively produce texts regarding LPGA tournaments and Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour: *ESPN Golf* magazine, *Golf Digest*, *Golf Magazine*, *Golf for Women* magazine, *Sports Illustrated*, *The New York Times* magazine (including several articles from *The New York Times* because their ‘sport writers’ contribute for both), and *World Golf*. They were also chosen for four additional reasons. First, these are widely read golf (and sport in general) media in North America. Second, these media have assigned ‘golf-specialist’ journalist/s (for *The New York Times*, ‘sport-writers’) and they are active and serious golf-narrative producers. Third, all these newspaper and magazines have on-line sites, therefore, I had open-access to those articles from 1998 to the present. Finally, these media are often considered to be North American media authorities in Korea, particularly around (women’s) golf; therefore, they are frequently cited and referred to by Korean sport media. The selection criteria for articles from these media follow at the end of this section.

To represent Korean media, media narratives were collected mainly from three mainstream daily newspapers, with two sport newspapers as follow-up sources. From the daily media side, I included dominant Korean daily newspapers: *Chosun Ilbo*, *JoongAng Ilbo*, and *DongA Ilbo*. These three daily newspapers are known as the “Cho-Joong-Dong” among Koreans; they are the top three longest-running media throughout Korean history, and are the dominant and most widely read newspapers. These three newspapers are well-known, even notorious, as right-wing conservative newspapers. Other non-conservative and left-wing newspapers such as *The Hankyoreh* or *The KyungHyang Shinmun*\(^\text{10}\) could not be included because the three conservative newspapers were the only newspapers that continuously produced narratives about

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\(^{10}\) Unlike the other three conservative newspapers, *The Hankyoreh* and *The KyungHyang Shinmun* did not have a regular sport (golf) section.
the women golfers in their sport sections from the start of the Korean golfers’ influx into the LPGA tour in 1998. In addition to the mainstream media, I included Il-gan Sport (sister newspaper of Joongang Ilbo) and Sport Chosun (sister newspaper of Chosun Ilbo). These are the two main sport media in Korea and both publish daily newspapers simultaneously in on-line and traditional paper versions. The three major newspapers have their golf specialist journalist/s, and all golf narratives were produced by male golf specialists until 2009, when Sport Chosun hired a female golf specialist. As in Korea, the US golf specialists are predominantly male writers.

**Media Data Selection Criteria and Selection Process**

Selected media articles met the following criteria: they provided accounts of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour; they focused on more than Korean women’s career statistics; and they were more substantive than mere reprints of Associated Press articles. The criteria for media narrative inclusion and exclusion were: i) articles that fell within the time frame, 1998-2009; ii) articles that made Korean women golfers their major news story (to consider Korean women golfers as major news events, the content had to be substantially related to the Korean golfers’ gender and race and/or nation); iii) articles that focused on relations (i.e., international business relations, tensions, conflicts, etc.) within the LPGA around the Korean golfers; iv) articles about Korean-American players, such as Michelle Wie, Christina Kim, Pearl Shin, and others, were excluded as data for the study. Among the sparse literature on media representations of Asian professional athletes in the US, studies reported that the media portrayals of Asian American athletes differed from Asian nationals (see Kim, Walkosz, & Iverson, 2006; also Mayeda, 1999). Further the media portrayals of Asian nationals in the US differ among Asian nationalities (Mayeda, 1999). Similarly, Korean media treat the American-born Korean players differently. It is worth considering the media representations of Korean-American diaspora and
the women athletes in another project. In this study, therefore, I specifically call the Korean-born women golfers on the LPGA tour “transnational Korean women golfers,” first because it indicates that the women are perceived as occupying different subject positions in geopolitical space than American-born Korean women golfers. Second, the term marks the differences in the Korean context that differentiate domestic players from international players.

As for the selection process for the US media data, I first obtained access to the US media websites separately, searched all media articles from the newspapers and magazines that included the following keywords: “Korea/Korean/Asian + women + LPGA,” within the 12 year time period. Then I briefly skimmed through and discarded articles that did not meet the four selection criteria noted above (including, for example, straightforward reporting of tournament results, profiles of non-Korean golfers, and so on). In the second round selection, I discarded articles that were apparently derivative, delivering the same narratives around an event with a similar tone, retaining only what was evidently the original article. In a third round of filtering I paid close attention to the selection criteria ii) and iii). Through the selection process, I systematically collected 347 articles about Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour from the following US newspaper and magazines since 1998: ESPN Golf magazine (61 articles), Golf Digest (75 articles and editor’s specials), Golf Magazine (46 articles), Golf For Women magazine (53 articles), Sports Illustrated (41 articles), The New York Times and The New York Times magazine (34 articles), and World Golf (37 articles).

As for the selection process for Korean media data, I obtained access to the media websites, and searched articles with the following keywords: “LPGA+ Mi-gook (US) + Hang-gook yeo-ja (Korean Woman) + Nang-ja (a group of damsel or unmarried young girl) + Tae-

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11 In Korean keyword search, I searched words in singular form, since the Korean language does not have obvious distinctions between singular and plural, and also the search results show both singular/plural forms. See the following section in translation, especially translating with ‘abusive fidelity’.
geuk (shape of the entity of cosmos that is used in Korean national flag) + Ja-mae (blood-tied sister) + Pak Se Ri,” within the 12 year time period. The selection criteria for Korean media inclusion were: i) articles that fell within the 12 year time frames; ii) articles that made Korean women golfers their major news story (to consider Korean women golfers as major news events, the contents had to be substantially related to the Korean golfers’ gender, culture, race and/or nation); iii) articles that focused on relations between US/Japan and Korea, between LPGA and KLPGA, and relations on the individual level among the women athletes. Some 594 articles were systematically collected from the following: Chosun Ilbo (162 articles), JoongAng Ilbo (133 articles), DongA Ilbo (127 articles), Il-gan Sport (74 articles) and Sport Chosun (98 articles).

**Elite Discourse: Government/Institutional Documents**

The second set of data, which is also part of the elite discourse, is Korean and American governmental and institutional documents that concern the regulation and monitoring of the women golfers’ transnational movements and performance. These include state and institutional policy documents that regulate the flow of (sport-) skilled labour, such as citizenship /visa treaties between Korea and the US, membership policies between LPGA and KLPGA, and the golfers’ corporate endorsements as part of their sponsorship contract. I reviewed the visa treaty, the “Short-term Work permit P-visa for Entertainers/ (High Performance Sport) Athletes.” In addition to the state policy documents, cultural productions by the government are also included as part of data. There are number of open access (either on-line or paper publications) documents in which the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour appear. At a governmental level, for example, there are documentary films produced by the Korean government.12 These are produced by the Public Diplomacy Institute, an institute whose goal is to enhance the nation’s

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12 In the data collection and analysis section, the historical and political moment that made the production of the documentary possible is contextualized.
brand name throughout the world. The institute’s main project is *Dynamic Korea*, initiated in 1989, and their public relations clips actively use those athletes who have earned international status. Pak Se Ri was the first female athlete used in these clips.

For the institutional documents, both K/LPGA official documentation are analyzed. Both institutions run official websites (www.klpga.com and www.lpga.com), provide various information on their history, tournaments, both seasonal and retrospective (historical) statistics, and so on. A final set of cultural productions includes the women athletes’ golf endorsement deals/contracts, as well as blog texts that are apparently written by women golfers but are actually written by sponsorship companies (i.e., Kim Mi Hyun, Han Hee Won, Lee Gee Young, etc.). For this data set, I carried out content analyses of textual portrayals of female athletes (and portrayals of the athletes themselves) to reveal what cultural themes are evident. Collecting and analyzing these Korean cultural productions provides a rich cultural terrain that shows how issues of gender and sexuality and their representational modalities in sport and other cultural domains are negotiated and delivered to the general public in Korea.

**Supplementary Data: Interviews with Key Agents for the Korean Golf Migration**

The third, supplementary data set involves interviews. It is collected to gain insights on the women golfers’ motivations for migration and the transnational migratory experiences, though it plays minor part for the study. Although the previous data sets complement each other, this third form of data is derived from agents who have played a primary role in the talented golfers’ transnational flow—the golfers, their parent/s, sponsorship agents, and golf caddies. These individuals are in the best position to comment on the golfers’ transnational flow—from personal, institutional, societal, national and international levels—within the historical, economic, cultural and political contexts that pushed/pulled the women golfers to the US tour.
One set of supplementary interviews was conducted during the 2006 season\textsuperscript{13}, and more interviews were conducted in person during the 2009 LPGA tournament season. The two K/LPGA tournaments I observed, and at which I conducted interviews in person, are: the 2009 KLPGA Hi-one Cup SBS Charity Women’s Open (total prize money: $8,000,000) from August 12 to 14 in Kangwon-do, Korea; and the 2006 CN Canadian Women’s Open (total prize money: $1,700,000) held at the London Hunt & Country Club in London Ontario, Canada from August 7\textsuperscript{th} to 13\textsuperscript{th}. The CN Open was selected not only because of the saving to travel budgets for the study, but more importantly because of the relatively high participation rates of Korean golfers on the LPGA tour. Although the total prize money is not high compared to other tournaments, many Korean players tend to participate in the CN Canadian Open because they may easily renew their temporary US-visa just by participating in the tournament.\textsuperscript{14} The tour event in Korea is almost mandatory for all Korean players on the LPGA tour. It was the largest prize money event in the KLPGA 2009 season; therefore, almost all the Korean players who have sponsorship endorsements from Korea are strongly encouraged to participate. In addition, the tournament is a rare event in which KLPGA members who also holds membership on the LPGA tour travel to their homeland to play. Thus, this is the best event at which to examine the power dynamics of women’s professional golf and the impact of the globalization of women’s golf.

At both sites, Korea and North America, I conducted interviews with the golfer’s family member/s, caddies, spectators, and sponsorship agents (a total of 25 interviews). Each interviewee was given a research information letter (see Appendix D) and two consent forms (see Appendix E), either in person or through email, once they read the introductory letter and/or

\textsuperscript{13} Interview questions mainly explored socialization and professionalization into golf, motivation regarding their migration to the LPGA tour, and their career experiences on the LPGA tournament circuit, as well as daily experiences in the US and Korea.

\textsuperscript{14} The majority of Korean golfers hold a six-month work permit visa. Every six month, they have to renew their visa, and in order to renew it, it is mandatory that they have to cross the US border. See detailed discussion in Chapter four.
e-mail (see Appendix C), and agreed to participate in the study. The interviewee was asked to read the letter and sign both consent forms, one of which they kept for their records. A signed consent form was then returned to me in person or via email. The interviewees were: six Korean players; six people around the women golfers such as parents, managers, and personal coaches; two former national golf team coaches (one men’s and one women’s); one LPGA Korean staff, a Korean American board member of the LPGA; two Korean sport journalists, four caddies of a Korean player on the tournament sites; and four sponsorship managers and professional management staff. The interview questions mainly focused on why and how the Korean women golfers chose to come to the LPGA tour. Based on the rapport I developed with some of the Korean women golfers based on personal acquaintance from my work experience as a caddy and a family connection, telephone and email interviews were possible according to the preference and availability of those agreeing to participate.

Interviews with people around the women golfers were, therefore, inevitable and necessary, not only to learn the historical, cultural, economic and political contexts of the women golfers’ transnational migrations, and their (not only the women golfers, but also her family, and other golf related agents) transnational practices and conditions, but also their thoughts about media representations. All of the interviews were recorded. After each interview, I reviewed my field notes and voice recordings that were taken during the interviews and recorded observations. These notes were used for the follow-up and subsequent interviews. I then transcribed the tapes in their entirety. Field notes were also included in the transcripts, either at the end of the transcript, or incorporated into the comments section where appropriate.

The multiple data sources serve not only for collecting rich, “whole picture” data (Berg, 2007) from both nation-states in order to better understand complex social phenomena, but also to trace the transformation of the discursive production from elite discourse to popular cultural
practices, and thus, as crystallization of data that are critical in establishing trustworthiness. In addition to reading the multiple data from different states/nations’ media representation texts and other cultural productions around the women, hearing the Korean women golfers’ voices about their experiences and about the media texts/images represents an effort to increase the polyphonic aspects of this research. Giulianotti (2005) noted that we need to deploy qualitative research that reveals the cultural values, meanings and motives of specific social actors and groups; moreover, we need to relate those findings to particular frameworks of power (p. 59). Further, he calls for a theory-method research process that is a critical engagement with theory, selectively amending, introducing and discarding theories as context necessitate (p. 60). In addition, he emphasizes “structured polyphonic” research. According to Giulianotti, the structured elements concern the social actors’ circumstances, in particular their historical, structural and geographical location; their life-chances; and their material and symbolic resources, including the sources of, and dominant meanings attached to, these resources. The polyphonic aspects of research should capture the open-endedness of social action, cultural relations within this context, and the reflective, dialogical manner in which these actors make sense of their immediate and structural circumstances. Further, the historical contextualization of Korea and US relations, and probing into colonial and imperial relations in the sport of golf that are deeply psychically intertwined with other forms of cultural productions, adds quality and depth to the analysis. These different sight lines in terms of data sources also show how the local and the global are connected, and how (one) local event can de-, re-formulate inter-, trans-national power dynamics. These multiple aspects of data that are nonetheless ultimately closely connected, I believe, provide a plurality of interpretations/perspectives, and therefore, they can contribute to increasingly systematized reflexivity (Lather, 1986, 1991) at the raw data level.
Data Analysis

Prior to considering data analysis, this section addresses data transition. For the study, narratives from Korean media and interview texts were translated into English. Then data were analyzed with three different analytical foci: document analysis; critical discourse analysis including text analysis; and intersectional analysis. Advocating Fairclough’s (2003) approaches to text analysis and critical discourse analysis, the focus of my analysis is on analyzing texts, with a view to their social effects. Further, inspired by Boyle, Millington and Vertinsky’s (2006) method of analysis, textual analysis of the portrayal of the transnational women golfers, as well as a discourse analysis of the same texts, allowed me to analyze the meaning of the texts and its potential effects in a society. Further, this permitted an examination of the representational politics of race, class, gender, and nation in the depiction of the female professional golfer and her (male) family members and caddie, with attention paid to the specific socio-cultural and historical contexts in which they are located—both within the media narrative and in relation to women’s trespasses into a male- and a White West-dominated sporting arena more generally.

Data Transition: Translation and the Politics of Interpretation

In this section, I discuss my politics of data transition—an attempt to establish culturally sensitive and decolonizing research practices. Regarding the current research, there are three issues and concerns related to language translation and cultural interpretation: anticolonial; shifts from interlingual to cultural; and golf-context specific translation.

Anticolonial Translations

First, my translation policy for the study aims to develop on anticolonial-oriented transition. Bhabha (1994) notes that the colonization of Asia and Africa could not have occurred
without interpreters, nor without the translation of effective texts. He notes that it is a process of displacement that, paradoxically, makes the presence of the book wondrous to the extent to which it is repeated, translated, misread, and displaced. He reveals the inherent ambivalence of colonial discourse by analyzing an example of Hindi translations of the Bible. Bhabha further argues that the stress on discourse in colonialism research does not include any attention to the discursive strategies employed in translations. Also, Venuti (2003) argues that translation has increasingly become a discussion topic in cultural studies with the emergence of colonialism research. Since US economic and political dominance sustains the global hegemony of English it is the most translated language worldwide, and it is no surprise that there are high volumes of translation from English into Korean, and large pools of certified professional translators from English to Korean. However, there are relatively small amounts of translation from Korean into English; therefore, not many registered professional translators. The marginality of translation in the US inevitably produces unequal patterns of cultural exchange in translation, especially when the original language involves heavily nuanced cultural texts such as media narratives.

I, therefore, chose to translate the Korean narratives by aiming to establish a relevance to cultural thought. Specifically, I sought to implement what Philip Lewis (1985) has called translating with “abusive fidelity,” a translation practice that “values experimentation, tampers with usage, seeks to match the polyvalencies and plurivocities or expressive stress of the original by producing its own” (p. 241). Advocating and adopting Lewis’s abusive fidelity in his research, Venuti (2003) further argues that this kind of translating is abusive in two senses: it resists the structures and discourses of the receiving language and culture, especially the pressure toward the univocal, the idiomatic, the transparent; yet in so doing it also interrogates the structures and discourses of the foreign text, exposing its often unacknowledged conditions. For this particular study, translating with abusive fidelity meant adhering as closely as possible to
Korean language, especially Korean golf language, trying to reproduce his (dominantly male’s sport, and exclusively male journalists’ golf narratives) syntax and lexicon by inventing comparable textual effects, if necessary—even when they threatened to twist English into strange forms. That means not simply an untroubled transfer of meaning, but also an act of interpretation of the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text. For example, Shin Ji Yai calls Pak, “Se Ri sister,” and media frequently use the term “sister,” although they are not referring to a blood-tied family relation. This is typically Korean, and English does not have relevant translation words. As part of abusive fidelity translation practices, the following section discusses my politics of naming Korean names and cultural interpretations.

Naming practice is an essential part of culture. Following the culturally signified sign system is an important starting point for my analysis and interpretation of the media representations. This study strictly follows the context specific naming practices. The Korean order of naming is different than English naming. In fact, the order of naming is opposite: Koreans place their family name first, and their given name follows. Because of the two nation-states’ involvement in general, and the transnational nature of golf circuits in particular, naming practices in media representations are different based on geopolitical contexts. For Chapter five, analyzing US media, I followed the American practice of calling the Korean women’s names: given name comes first, and family name follows. If the family name comes first, there is a comma right after the family name and first name follows. The two syllables of a first name are often connected with a hyphen: for example, Kim, Kyoung-yim and Kyoung-yim Kim. For Chapter six, analyzing Korean media, I followed the Korean practice of naming: family name comes first without comma and given name follows, with no hyphen between the two syllables in her first name. For example, Kim Kyoung Yim. In the US media, if the Korean woman golfer has an English name, the media prefer it over her Korean name, such as Grace Park, instead of
Gee-eun Park or Park, Gee-eun. When it comes to American-born Koreans such as Kristina Kim, Michelle Wie, Pearl Shin, etc., the US media follow American naming order, and Korean media also follow the same order in Korean (not Shin Pearl, but Pearl Shin. Those Korean-American players, however have their Korean name, and actively promote their Korean heritage through their names when they play in Korea. Kristina Kim (Kim Cho Rong), Michelle Wie (Wie Sung Mi); the only exception is Pearl Shin, who uses her name as it is. In a transnational context, the golfers play with their names. For example, Michelle Wie actively uses her Korean name when she is visiting Korea. Korean media also use her Korean name rather than calling her Michelle Wie. I also follow the name-play as the media play the game.

Since this doctoral thesis is written in English, the Korean naming practices, and translating with abusive fidelity, may trouble or unsettle English readers. However my key point is to establish the cultural discomfort at the very beginning of my analysis since it is natural to feel uncomfortable or strange because it is not your (reader’s) familiar everyday practice. I hope that this feeling of unease might obscure some objective stance for reading chapter six so that the reader may ‘read and recognize the difference’ without it being ‘read and judged at the same time.’

**From Interlingual to Cultural Interpretation**

Second, my translation policy aims to make shifts from interlingual to “cultural” translation. The term “translation” often appeals to a generalized mode of transposition in relations across the social field. The multiplicity of translational practices and representations should be noted however, particularly for multi-sited cross-cultural ethnographic research. It is also important to note here again the lack of translation traffic in other languages into English in the US. Kramsch (2006) points out that the lack of traffic in meaning resulted in the lack of
semiodiversity and glossodiversity in the US; therefore, it is inevitable to use cultural interpretation rather than interlingual translation.

The golf-specific context is also an issue when the translator/interpreter does not know much about golf. Translations of the golf-narratives require that one be a specialist in a certain sense, possessing a knowledge not only of the sport of golf (i.e., its specialized terminologies, the game’s rules, histories, etc.), but also of the discursive strategies that have been used to deliver particular nuances among golf specialists and their readers. In keeping with these concerns, I agree with Sakai and Soloman (2006) who identify three instances in which a multiplicity of translational practices and representations are mentioned: the metaphorical; the spatio-communicational; and the practico-addressive (pp. 6-16). They argue that translation becomes a metaphor of metaphor, therefore it inevitably extends across different fields of both knowledge and social formation. They also refer to the spatio-communicational and the practico-addressive as the idea that “addressing does not guarantee the message’s arrival at the destination,” (p. 15) therefore the aim of the translation should be ‘communicating’ the same information rather than ‘addressing’ it by positing a specific geographically defined community.

Back-translation techniques and a committee approach to translation are employed in this research as an attempt to minimize a source of data contamination, and to maintain translation quality and equivalence between source and target version. Cross-cultural research, through various disciplines, often uses back-translation techniques in order to improve the quality of the translation and translation accuracy. Back-translation, as Brislin (1970) suggested, first translates the input language into the target language (outward), and then translates the target language into the input language (homeward). This translation technique, combined with a committee approach, allows the users to confirm the accuracy of the translation by themselves, and to cross-check the quality of their translation. Committee approaches prefer that a group of bilinguals
translate from the source to the target language. The mistakes of one member may be caught by others on the committee. I had one monolingual (English), and two bilingual translation committee members (including myself). By employing these two translation techniques, I aimed to keep a similar structure between source and target language, and evaluation of translation quality and equivalence amongst us. I am a trained and certified Cultural Interpreter for Korean-English (since 2006), approved and issued by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration since 2006. Within the certified Korean-English cultural interpreter community in the Greater Toronto Area, I contacted another registered cultural interpreter and employed her as a committee member for cultural interpretation for the study. She is a skilled, certified, and experienced interpreter in both languages, but specialized in English into Korean cultural interpretation as with the majority of the interpreters. The interpreter, however, is not familiar with golf terms/rules/expressions/jokes, etc. I, therefore invited her to watch golf tournaments (both men’s and women’s), held trial reading sessions for golf narratives, and discussed cultural meanings ‘between the lines’ before we started translating the narratives.

Document Analysis

Mainly for chapter four on Korean women golfers’ transnational mobility and flexibility, document analysis was used for analyzing elite discourses, and the analytical units involved micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. Micro-level analytic units are individual movements and their transnational practices (data sources are interviews, the women golfers’ individual blog texts). Meso-level analytic units are the multiple nation-states’ (women’s) golf institutions and their institutional practices (i.e., K/J/LPGA) and corporate involvement in and around transnational women’s golf. Macro-level analytic units are state policy documents around citizenship/visa, and cultural discourses around the women’s movement, and the sport of golf.
Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis explicitly focuses on power relations and inequities, and this distinguishes it from various approaches for analyzing discourse. Further, critical discourse analysis investigates how dominance is enacted, constructed, legitimated and challenged through text and talk (Slembrouck, 2001. pp. 34-37). Although there are no agreed upon criteria for what distinguishes the distinctions within the field, I follow Graham (2005) and Carroll (2004) who identify two bodies of work: those that draw on poststructuralist theory and focus on a macrostructural analysis of language, knowledge and power; and work that offers a microstructural analysis of linguistic characteristics in specific texts (Graham, 2005. p. 3; Carroll, 2004. p. 226). In keeping with a transnational feminist analytic that emphasizes structural relations, this research is concerned only with the first approach. This includes texts that draw on the work of postcolonial discourse analysis, and work that emphasizes the broader socio-historical context in which subjects are produced and recognized.

In addition, my analytical and interpretive foci are on representational and signifying practices around the women, rather than quantitative aspects of media coverage of the women golfers both in Korean and US media. For the study, a straightforward thematic analysis of the media narratives, by adopting text analysis, is employed as a first-round overview analysis. Since this study involved a decade long longitudinal data set, thematic analysis maps the flows, if there are any, of the media representations. Thematic analysis of the media representations, however, would not yield a meaningful understanding of the transnational women golfers who shift away from one locale to other and who live different time-space simultaneously in the media. The multi-sited narratives require in-depth discourse analysis. For the discourse analysis, this study does not focus on approving whether or not the claim made is true (truth), but more on how one claim gains the status of truth/ful knowledge. Paying attention to discursive strategies in the
Table 3-1. Modified Analysis Check List for the Analyzing Discursive Representations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>analysis check list</th>
<th>main issues in textual/discourse analysis in the form of question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Media agenda and Representational Genre</td>
<td>What are the most popular/frequent media accounts of the Korean golfers on the LPGA tour (pro-am game; Sponsor-related events; main tournament; institution-related (K/LPGA); contract events)? How are the texts characterized (genre)? How are social actor/s represented (activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style, Modality, &amp; Evaluation</td>
<td>What styles are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured? What do authors commit themselves to in terms of truth? How are values realized, as evaluative statements?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>What kind of difference is recognized? How is the orientation to difference in the text characterized (accentuated; negotiated; bracketed; suppressed)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intertextuality and its’ Assumptions</td>
<td>Which (authorial) texts/voices are included, and which are significantly excluded, and are there value assumptions made?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourses</td>
<td>What discourses are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured together (metaphors; assumptions; grammatical features—synonymy, hyponymy (a word of more specific meaning than a general or superordinate term applicable to it. For example, spoon is a hyponym of cutlery))?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The checklist is modified based on Fairclough’s (2003) 12 categorical items

Media representations is important in order to understand what types of strategies are employed to make the narratives truthful.

The analysis of the two nation-states’ representations of the women professional golfers and their events rely heavily on Fairclough’s (2003) guideline. The guideline provides an essential checklist for analyzing strategies of representations. Among the 12 categorical items for textual/discourse analysis of representation, I modified the check list into five categories (see Table 3-1). Two items are excluded from my analysis because they focus on linguistic and semantic issues which are not a concern of this study. I also excluded “semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses” and “exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood.” Further, three items are combined into one. For the textual and discourse analysis for the study, I combined “Media Agenda “ (originally Fairclough named it Social Events)” and “genre,” into one category of analytic group (agenda and representational genre) since the two
are closely connected. In a similar vein, I grouped “Intertextuality and assumptions,” and “style, modality and evaluation” into one category.

Employing macrostructural critical discourse analysis, the results for the discourse analysis takes three narrowing-down steps: first, it offers the systematic characteristics of the media representation; then it shows the analysis of discursive representations that are followed by the modified five analysis items; and third, it offers in-depth discourse analysis. Chapter five and six, examining media representations in both nation-states’ analysis follows the three steps, and this helps the synthesizing process of the two chapters. Figure 3-1 below shows, one dimensionally, the three steps in terms of decreasing sizes, placing one step inside the other. Further, for the critical discourse analysis, special attention is paid to the simultaneity of the interconnectedness of formations of race, class, gender, nation, sexuality, and other identity markers. The simultaneity, however, requires an analytical point of entry. The following section on intersectionality considers the intersecting nature of the social identity markers and the resulting complexities for analyzing the intersections.

**Figure 3-1. Three Narrowing-down Steps for the Critical Discourse Analysis**
**Intersectional Analysis**

In keeping with postcolonial and transnational feminist inquiry, special attention is given to intersectionality in the media representations. Feminist scholarship’s acknowledgement of differences among women should be given further attention within a racial/ethnic group. The Korean women golfers’ particular social positions are not as typical Asian women who are introduced, categorized, judged, and reimagined by the West. Inspired by Razack’s (2004) analysis of “interlocking systems of oppression,” I also explored these contexts: what kind of woman, what was the meaning of gender in the specific context under consideration, and what other identity marker/s have been mobilized simultaneously/separately? Therefore, the intersectional questions that I asked myself while analyzing the media narratives were: where is the gender, where is the women’s nation, where is the women’s class, and where is the Korean culture? In addition, it is not possible to understand discrimination/oppression directed at people without historicizing the circulation of discourses around the people, and imperial historical relations between Korea and the US. Therefore historical, political, and cultural contexts also should be considered in the same manner as “interlocking systems of oppression,” although relating one category to another does not clearly demonstrate the way in which one system relies on another to give it content.

By adopting an intersectional analysis in this study, I attempt to reveal the ways in which the interlocking systems of oppression work. While adopting both intersectional/interlocking concepts in my analysis, I consider how one system requires another system, thereby positioning the women in highly complicated hierarchies. For example, a young Korean woman who is trained to play golf like a machine, by her father, has to leave her country because of the financial crisis, and comes to the First World to become a breadwinner for her family and nation. A patriarchal system is sustained in this example by a colonial/imperial system and its
accompanying unequal neoliberal economic system where Third World women are obliged to leave their nation to work in the First World. Therefore, as an essential analytical axis along with critical discourse analysis, these are the intersectional questions that are animating this study: how the Korean women golfers’ social positions intersect in the US media representations?; how do the interlocking oppressive systems work together in media representations?; which categories interlock/intermesh more often and why do some categories interlock more often than others?; when some categories interlock, what happens to other categories?

**Practicing Rigorous and Reflexive Research**

The recent scientifically based research (SBR) movement encourages researchers implying “rigorous, systematic, and objective methodology to obtain reliable and valid knowledge” (Ryan & Hood, 2004, p. 60). Lather (2004), however, criticize SBR as only emphasizing one form of scientific rigour, and ignoring the value of using complex historical, contextual, and political criteria to evaluate inquiry (Bloch, 2004). Stemming from the epistemological debates, feminist and postcolonial theories have greatly extended the debate on rigorous research, the criteria of rigour, with critical and constructivist paradigms. Since the postcolonial theorists, especially Third World, Critical Race Theorists have criticized Western “scientific” knowledge production, the rigour debate has been moving from a) Evaluation of the research product, more specifically, an attempt to construct and perfect scientific instruments for “observing” and “explaining” human behaviour and the human condition; b) to the wider aims and role of research (Smith, 1999) especially among feminist and colonial thinkers. Although the distinction between *rigour as evaluation of research* and *rigour as debate on the role of research* is not clear, the movement and transformation is varied based on each theory/paradigm’s degree/output of dialogue with the traditional positivist paradigm. In a similar passion, Burawoy
(1998) discusses the qualitative sense of *procedural objectivity*. According to him, procedural objectivity “requires recognition of one’s biases, one’s paradigm commitments, not to separate them from science but to constitute them as the premise of science” (p. 14). He believes that “dwelling in” theory provides the foundation for intersubjectivity, process, and structuration as well as its own reconstruction. In this section, I discuss my research practices around the issue of performing rigorous, and ethically sound research.

The primary theoretical standpoint for the study, and the one that informs my paradigmatic commitment, is postcolonial feminist work with poststructuralist lenses. Poststructuralist lenses in general reject essentialized categories, unitary meanings, sovereign claims, universalizing solutions, and presumptions of foundational objectivity associated with positivist and modernist commitments. Moreover, feminist poststructuralists criticize the residual essentialism that haunts references to “women” and other “identity-based” groups, rendering them homogeneous, undifferentiated wholes and erasing hierarchies within as well as across all groups (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pp. 82-83). Postcolonial feminists, further criticize the presumption and privilege of Western feminists and insist on the importance of local and “Third World” agency in identifying problems and negotiating remedies (Mohanty, 2003; Chowdhry & Nair, 2002). They expose how the ideologies of racism and imperialism continue to reproduce the subjugation and exploitation of “women of colour” worldwide. They draw attention to the economic, political, and sociocultural forces of contemporary recolonizations and to nationalist and/or religious fundamentalisms that are dominated by men and deployed to discipline women.

Along with my paradigm commitment, it is also important to note here that postcolonial does not erase the reality of the colonization occurring (Clair, 2003). The overt ideological goal of feminist/postcolonial research is to correct both the invisibility and the distortion of the experiences of females/people of colour in ways relevant to ending the unequal social positions
of women’s/race and culture. This entails the substantive task of making gender/race a fundamental category for our understanding of the social order, to see the world from women’s place in it (Lather, 1991). Lather continues that, in efforts to produce social knowledge that is helpful in the struggle for a more equitable world; it is important to pursue rigor as well as relevance. For rigorous and relevant knowledge production, Lather (2008) calls for attention to a praxis-activated research paradigm. According to her, activating praxis through research means that of those research activities that combat dominance and move toward self-organization and that push toward through going change in the practices of especially critiquing across difference as methodological practice. It is, therefore, essential to critically consider performing ethically sound research from a postcolonial perspective. For this, Gonzalez (2003) argues that one cannot create a postcolonial stance with ethics. Rather, the postcolonial stance produces the ethics. She suggests four validities in terms of ethics from a de-colonialist perspective: accountability (the ability to account, to tell a story); context; truthfulness; community (share the story with the community). As she stated, these ethics issues in research that are rigorous and mindful practices of openness to the liberated cultural storyteller in each of us will lead us to an ethical postcolonial practice.

Through postcolonial ethics research, this study seeks to uncover and explore varieties of oppression and historical colonizing between dominant and subaltern genders, identities, races, and social worlds; the postmodern historical moment, which problematizes truth as partial, identity as fluid, language as an unclear referent system, and method and criteria as potentially coercive (Ellis & Bochner, 1996); and criticalist theories of social change.

**Positionality: Theoretical, Methodological, and Interpretive Positions**

My ultimate and challenging goal throughout this study is to rigorously avoid being a
privileged informant about the “third world” to the “first world” by my academic training in the first world, and to actively deconstruct the first world readership who are also trained in certain ways. Theoretical positionality informs my awareness of methodic and interpretive positionality throughout the course of my research. In this section, I detail these issues of my interpretive positionality for the current study, and the theoretical and methodological challenges and struggles in the study.

**Methodological Positionality**

Methodological positionality refers my in/out/sider positions and the resulting conflicts while I was generating data (interviews, selection of the media narratives, and in the process of language translation with my back-translator and translation committee, etc). My positions that are given and the positions that I took are costly: the given positions for non-Anglophones are one; and the post-colonial/anti-colonial interpretive positions that I intentionally took for the study are the other. Donnelly (2004) raised issues around language among non-Anglophone language communities in publishing their research in an Anglophone journal. The issues that Donnelly raised were: the politics of translation (who carries out the translation, who pays the translator?, how are the contextual politics managed in academic work?, etc.); the loss of meaning through translation; the ethnic cost for non-Anglophones; and the loss of/ limitations on scientific/ interpretive discourse.

**Interpretive Positionality**

Rigour in methodology tends to focus more on data collection (i.e., subjectivity, matters between researchers/participants), but I believe that it is also important to emphasize rigour particularly in the data analysis/interpretation especially because of the data
translation/transition. In this sense, interpretive positionality particularly refers to my dilemma while translating/interpreting Korean narratives into English, and my interpretations of US narratives. Issues in my interpretive positionality with Korean and US media narratives were: my academic training in Western academia (the issues of embedded imperialism and internalized Other within), and my gender (the issues of interpreting male journalists’ narratives). Further, my cultural insiderness (the issues of taken-for-granted assumptions and understandings of cultural accounts that are not usual/common to North American readers).

The ultimate goal of my interpretation, not only with the media narratives but also especially with the interview data, is to construct practices neither universalist nor particularist, but that are both partial and the same time aware of their own distinctiveness in relation to each other. Ang and Stratton (1996) believe that this practice would create a cultural studies which “would match the current condition of the new world (dis)order where the success and failure of European/western modernity (in which British imperialism was a major force) has led to both its globalization and its problematisation; where all identities, national or otherwise, are being relativised as a result of their increasing interconnection and interdependence.” (p. 388)

Further, Lather (1993) insists that scholars should be overtly political in feminist activist research. However, I believe that we should take a step further. I wish to trouble the idea that uncovering and reporting about the exploited/oppressed women subjects are always empowering and liberatory gestures. I argue that paying close critical attention to the system of representation and its modalities can help us to avoid mistaking our own discourse making as an ultimate political end. Rigorous interpretation, by avoiding and reflecting (prestigious) positions as interpreter, are therefore critical in our own writings and representations.
Crystallization

Data translation and transition problems can be ruled out as a source of data contamination. The ways of securing crystallization for the study process were the use of back-translation techniques and a committee approach to translation. In terms of preventing data contamination in the research process, Brislin (1970) refers to the back-translation as a “decentering” tactic (p. 186). Decentering refers to a translation process in which the two versions of language are equally important during the translation procedure. Employing both translation techniques were essential for the study, and because there are several issues that affect the translation quality I have tried to minimize the effects of: the nature of sport of golf narrative; male journalism versus female translation; equivalence between source (Korean) and target version (English).

In addition, the multiple data sources serve not only for collecting rich, “whole picture” data (Berg, 2007) from both nation-states in order to better understand complex social phenomena, but also for tracing transformations of the discursive production from elite discourse to popular cultural practices, and thus, as crystallization of data that are critical in establishing trustworthiness. In addition to reading the multiple data from different states/nations’ media representation texts and other cultural productions around the women, hearing the Korean women golfers’ voices about their experiences and about the media texts/images represents an effort to increase the polyphonic aspects of this research.

The results of the study are presented in two parts: following Chapter four which is a chapter outlining the context of the women golfers’ migration into the US. It illustrates how the Korean women professional golf phenomenon comes about. The two main results chapters analyze how media in the two nation states represented and contextualized the phenomenon and how they interpret it.
CHAPTER IV. Glamorous Sojourners: Korean Women Golfers’ Migration and their Transnational Mobility and Flexibility

Five (main) women’s professional golf tours are internationally recognized: ALPGA (Australian Ladies Professional Golf Association); KLPGA (Korea Ladies Professional Golf Association); LET (Ladies European Tour); LPGAJ (Ladies Professional Golf Association of Japan, typically called JLPGA); and US LPGA (Ladies Professional Golf Association). Among these, the US LPGA (typically called the LPGA) has forged the most transnational connections across its tournament destination sites, with its transnational sponsors, and its multi-national members. These transnational connections are, however, uneven and unstable. For instance, despite the LPGA’s numerous transnational connections and movements, only one nation, Korea has actively engaged with the LPGA and become more transnational (see the statistics in Chapter I). Before moving to the main purpose of this study of media representations of the transnational Korean women golfers in both Korea and the US, it is important to understand why and how Korea has responded so enthusiastically to the LPGA’s transnational initiatives or, to rephrase the question, why has Korean women’s golf become transnational? To answer the question, it is crucial to examine how Korean women’s golf began, why Korean women golfers flow to the US, how these women athletes gain their transnational mobility and flexibility, and how the global golf markets are reformulated in varying contexts? The first part of this chapter, therefore, discusses the historical, political, economic and cultural contexts of the development of Korean professional women golfers and their inter-connectivity with the US-based LPGA, the JLPGA, and interrelated golf development processes within the two nation-states. In the second part of the chapter, I then illustrate how the sport of golf was reshaped into a transnational sport
institution. The third part of this chapter assesses and critiques this explanation and calls for a conceptual/analytical shift toward transnationality in the study of Korean golf, and sport more broadly. The final section in this chapter provides an example of the Korean women professional golfers’ mobile lifestyles, which involve a wide array of material as well as metaphorical ‘crossings.’

**Transnational Golf Flows and Korean Women on the Move**

The number one ranked prize money winner on the LPGA tour in the 2008 season, Jiyai Shin, is the first and only Korean woman golfer who has played on the KLPGA, JLPGA, LET, and LPGA tours, all in a single season; and won championships on three different tours. In the 2008 season, she played in 36 tournaments over 48 weeks, along with her Australian caddie. *Chosun Daily*, a major newspaper in Korea, published Jiyai Shin’s annual schedule, covering her entire K/J/US LPGA and LET tournament schedule and her daily winter training schedule (from morning to evening) in Australia (*Chosun Daily*, Wednesday, February 4, 2009). The following shows the heavy volume of travel over a short period of time:

Women’s World Cup of Golf in Sun City, South Africa (Jan 18-20) → MFS Australian
Women’s Open/ANZ Ladies Masters in Melbourne/Sydney, Australia (Jan31-Feb11) → SBS Open in Hawaii, USA (Feb14-16) → HSBC Women’s Championship in Singapore (Feb28-Mar02) → PRGR Ladies Cup in Kochi, Japan (Mar22-24) → Kraft Nabisco Championship in CA, USA (Apr03-06) → the KLPGA tour in Korea… [underlines are my emphases]

The article is significant, not only because a nation-wide mainstream newspaper (not a sport newspaper) spent a fair amount of space reporting about a woman athlete, but also because of the
detailed information about the woman athlete’s annual schedule and winter training schedule. This is addressed in chapter six, but the issue I want to point out here is the woman athlete’s involvement in extensive transnational border-crossings. Within three months, Shin crossed six national borders across four continents. It is not only technology that allows her to compress time and space, but also her multinational professional tour membership. With her cross-national membership (tour card), she represents a transnational mobile elite who move around the world as top class golfers, win prize money based on their talent, and have the flexibility to choose where they want to play. The Chosun Daily article ends with a comment on how the 22 year old, part-time university student in Korea and full-time transnational golf tournament professional will soon fly to her Orlando home in the US to prepare for US LPGA tournaments. The article briefly captures the glamorous nature of the professional golfers’ transnational lifestyle, which is an elite privilege, and the ways in which the sport of golf can involve multi-national travel. Simultaneously, the article reveals a difference from the classic picture of sport talent migration— that is, these women golfers are always arriving and never settling, and are living multiple places. However, why and how Koreans, especially Korean women, have responded to the transnational golf circuits is not well understood.

At first glance, these transnational movements have certain patterns. The cultural economy of capitalism around golf talent migration among the KLPGA, US LPGA and JLPGA, and its complicated histories and politics, cannot be understood without a thorough contextualization within and against the background of divergent (post) colonial and imperial histories. Since its inception of the women’s flow into the LPGA tour, talented Korean professional golfers rapidly ascended to the top international level, and Korean women’s golf skills are in demand by many golf tours. Geographically close, the JLPGA is one of these. Today, the Japanese golf tour, for both men and women, is highly attractive in terms of number
of tournaments and the amount of prize money. However, Korean golfers tend to gravitate
toward the US tour, and the reason is rather more complicated than simply the prize money. To
understand their motivation and choice of routes, it is necessary to examine the localized cultural
and political context of women’s professional golf in Korea; contexts that are inevitably
connected to the US, Japan, and to consideration of the place of “Korea” within the dominant
discourses of international relations.

The majority of Western sports in Korea were introduced by European and American
missionaries or by the YMCA, but golf was introduced and expanded in Korea by the Japanese
In this sense, the appropriation of postcolonialism as a theoretical perspective implicitly and
explicitly places the nation in a historically determined transnational frame. The adoption of the
postcolonial category stresses the construction of a distinct transnational relationality based on a
particular past and its effects in the present and future. At the same time, the limitations of
Eurocentric postcolonialism and lack of post/coloniality in East Asia calls for urgent attention to
cultural studies in Asia. I therefore aim to gain an understanding of the Korean women golfers’
talent migration and their transnational mobility and flexibility as juxtaposed, contradictory, and
overlapping, always unfinished and moving. Postcoloniality in Korea, and the country’s
relationships with both Japan and the US, hint at the complexity of transnational sport talent
migration. The sport of golf and its structure of inter-national circuits add further complexities.

It is not only colonial/postcolonial history that inevitably sets Korean golf in a
transnational frame, but professional golf itself also has a transnational nature: circuits of
traveling and border crossing with flexible membership policies, and systems of profit making.
The world of professional golf is marked by uncertainty as is revealed in the reward structure,
the task structure, work roles and relationships, and nomadic life style of golf (Theberge, 1981).
The constant moving/traveling circuits make golfers “contemporary nomads,” a phrase widely used in globalization literature. The insecurity associated with the rewards from tournament play warrants explanation. Each week golfers enter a different tournament where they are tested anew and rewarded only for their play in that event. The task structure involves the work done on the golf course. The uncertainty is due to the variability in the courses played the conditions under which they are played (e.g., weather, tee-time, pin placements, etc.), and the fluctuations which mark an individual golfer’s performance over time. The ability to manage the uncertainty and respond to the indeterminacy of their work is directly related to career success. Multinational golf circuits enlarge the uncertainty and the travel, and therefore the insecurity of the task structure. Among professional sports, golf and tennis involve the most traveling: the distance traveled between competitions within a short period of time is far beyond that in other sports. This is illustrated by the LPGA’s annual October and November schedule: Alabama, USA (Oct 07-10); California, USA (Oct 14-17); Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Oct 22-24); Greater Seoul, South Korea (Oct 29-31); Shima-shi, Mie, Japan (Nov 05-07); Guadalajara, Mexico (Nov 11-14). The mobile nature of professional golf increases profit making opportunities, and professional golf institutions throughout the world have reformulated their profit maximization system. A single tournament generally takes a full week: this includes practice rounds for a day, celebrity Pro-Am tournament and charity programs for two days, and a four-day, 72-hole stroke play competition including championship play on the last day. This week does not include travel time, or mandatory services (for fans and corporation/s) to which players are contracted. By its mobile nature, professional golf is a sport that transformed easily from nation/al to transnational competition.

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15 These dates are from the 2009 schedule.


**Economic Imperatives and Dislocations of the Women Athletes**

It is important to note first the conditions under which women golfers are pulled or pushed, or sent or received. As a number of studies have pointed out, the dominant cause of sport talent migration is economic. In the Korean women golfers’ case, the Asian debt crisis was a major driving force for the flow. The debt crisis in Korea began on November 21, 1997, and Korean government signed a $55 billion bailout agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF, hereafter) in December 3, 1997. In 1998, the Korean economy recorded a minus 6.9 % growth rate. The GNP per capita reached $11,422 in 1996, but fell to $6,800 in 1998. It began to climb up to the level of $10,000 only in the year 2002. During the IMF crisis (1997-2001), the Korean government had to restructure the society: industrial, financial, and government management systems along liberal free-market lines. Before the crisis, Korean economy was highly dependent on big conglomerates, however, it was inevitable that the free-market system entailed the bankruptcy of many large conglomerates and banks and it led to large-scale unemployment. Women’s professional golf was at the front line for down-sizing and restructuring.

Prior to the IMF crisis in 1997, the KLPGA was highly formalized and stable. Since the first professional women golfers in 1978, the KLPGA has steadily been growing and celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2008. Compared to JLPGA or LPGA, the KLPGA is financially weak and its political and institutional expansions are relatively small compared to its male counterpart in Korea. Considering its short history, however, the KLPGA established a stable professional tour within a short period of time (see Table 4-1), and individual professionals enjoyed economically independent careers, which was quite rare amongst professional women athletes in Korea.

The stable and steady growth of KLPGA, however, was abruptly stopped under the unstable economic and social conditions. The financial crisis in Korea destabilized existing
Table 4-1. KLPGA Growth (KLPGA, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of tour members</th>
<th>Number of tournaments</th>
<th>Total prize money, Million Won [USD*]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.75** [$10,396]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>500 [$442,400]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,900 [$2,565,920]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,131</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7,450 [$6,591,750]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Currency converted approximately to give a general idea of the amount of total prize money.
** 1984 data; 1978 is N/A.

Table 4-2. Number of Professional Golf Tournaments and the Tour Members throughout the Five Political Regimes in Korea (Korea Golf Association, 2009; L/PGA, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political regimes</th>
<th># of tournaments men</th>
<th>women</th>
<th># of women tour members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The 1st &amp; 2nd Republic Period (1948-1962)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 3rd &amp; 4th Republic Period (1963-1980)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 5th &amp; 6th Republic Period (1981-1993)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

formal systems of hierarchies and power, at the same time it further reinforced the notion of a conservative gender hierarchy and Korean Confucian norms. Under the rapid flow of neoliberal globalization, destabilization and alteration, women, especially women in sport were a particularly vulnerable group. Table 4-2 shows that 60% of the women’s tournaments were cancelled because of the economic crisis compared to a 40% cut for the men’s. These talented women, therefore, had to find tours outside Korea where they could play. This may be the primary reason why there are many more Korean women golfers than Korean men on the US-based tours. In this case, the women golfers’ motives for migration, as Maguire (2008) notes, were tied to a financial imperative, rather than financial lure.

**Cultural Logics of the Skilled Golfers’ Migration Choice**

Unlike other talented, skilled, and educated Korean women under the debt crisis, professional golf has a multinationally established infrastructure, and ultimately the crisis restabilized the Korean women golfers by drawing their attention to the transnational tours.
Although the women golfers’ migration movements are initiated by financial capital, the golfers’ migration choices are further complicated. Table 4-3 briefly captures the shared rankings amongst international women’s tours within Korean golf community. The figure was developed as a result of my supplementary interviews with former national men’s and women’s golf team coaches. The coaches now run a consulting business for the Korean golfers’ migration; therefore, they are sensitive not only about Korean public’s perceptions of those tours, but also to changes in golf markets and sponsoring corporations’ desires. I am aware that measuring these complex forms of capital are almost impossible, however, I noticed that there is an unspoken, yet shared hierarchy of the tours in the Korean professional golf community. When the two coaches talked about which tours are preferred by players and sponsoring companies, I asked them to compare those tours, and the two had almost identical perceived-rankings of the tours. Adopting Bourdieu’s (1984) concept, capital, I loosely quantified the forms of capital on each tour as identified by the two coaches for purposes of comparison.

In the professional golf community in Korea, the LPGA tour has the most perceived capital, followed by the JLPGA. The tours are not only measured by economic capital, but other forms of symbolic capital that stem from the colonial history can maximize the golfers’ opportunities for material accumulation. For example, when Se Ri Pak won her first championship in the US, she was quickly reconstructed as Joan-of-Arc in Korea. The articulation of Pak’s play and her winning against imperial America symbolized Korean pride, and this discursive articulation have opened greater sponsorship markets to the women golfers that are in turn a major vehicle for their transnational mobility. They have greatly promoted Korean women golfers’ flow into the LPGA tour. And the same rhetoric, with a colonial sense of Korean nationalism, also works in the case of the Japanese tour.

What is not explicitly shown in the Table 4-3 is that, based on the forms of capital, the
Table 4-3. (Perceived) Capitals of Women’s Golf Tours in Korea (among Korean public)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>World Rankings of Women’s Golf Tour</th>
<th>Cultural/Symbolic</th>
<th>Social capital</th>
<th>Economic capital</th>
<th>International capital</th>
<th>(loosely quantified) Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LPGA</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JLPGA</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLPGA</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LET</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALPGA</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volume of capital: high (***); middle (**); low (*); none (-)
Composition of capital
Change in the four properties over time is not considered in the table.

most attractive tour for Korean women in financial terms is the Japanese tour. Not only does the Japanese tour benefit from geographical proximity and cultural familiarity, but there are also potential sponsorship contracts with Japanese companies (US companies do not sponsor Korean golfers). Nonetheless, almost all of the top-ranked KLPGA members join the LPGA path as their base-tour. Why do the women take the more ‘risky’ path? With respect to the historical context, it is not difficult to understand the popularly circulated cultural discourse amongst Koreans on the women golfers’ ideal migration path. Economics is not the only part of the migration equation in this case. This discourse reveals another cultural layer that defines the women golfers’ migratory path alongside the political economy model of globalization and sport talent migration. The former women’s national golf team coach stated that when the women golfers were looking for alternative tours, popularly circulated public perceptions of the available global tours were important for the women’s choice because of the women’s sponsorship contracts.

Transnational Connectivities of Golf between Korea, Japan and US

Grewal (2005) uses the term “transnational connectivities” to describe how subjects,
technologies, and ethical practices were created through transnational networks and connections of many different types (p. 3). By claiming transnational connectivities, she treats the local, national, and global as linked spaces with divergent transnational ties. To better understand the logics of the women’s choices within the transnational connectivities of professional golf, I now contextualize the development of Korean golf, both men’s and women’s, throughout the history of Japanese colonization, US-Korea relations, and the US military occupation and bases. These elements and conditions, I argue, enable the Korean women golfers’ transnational mobility, flexibility and their transnational connections.

Political History of Korean Golf and the KLPGA

The KLPGA classifies women’s professional golf history in Korea, including the beginning stage of Korean woman’s golf at the amateur level, into three phases: Birth phase (1950-1978); Growth phase (1979-1997); Blooming phase (1998-current) (KLPGA website, 2008). For my research and analysis, however, I divide it into five phases based on political government regimes. As Ahn and Sage (1993) argued, Korean golf history is closely bound to political economy, and it is impossible to discuss its history without involving the political and economic history of Korea. My classification, therefore, includes: The 1st & 2nd Republic period (1948-1962); The 3rd & 4th Republic period (1963-1980); The 5th & 6th Republic period (1981-1992); The Civilian & National Government period (1993-2002); and the Participatory Government period (2003-2007). Based on the five periods of political regime, I briefly contextualize the background of the political economy of each political regime, and briefly introduce the bigger picture of Korean professional golf tournaments for both men and women and the changes/transformations in professional golf.

1948-1962: The 1st (1948-1960) & 2nd (1960-1962) Republic Period. This is the period
when Korea regained its independence from Japanese colonization (1910-1945), was ruled by the US military administration for three years (1945-1948), then established the Republic of Korea government in August 1948. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, and the preceding political turmoil, all areas of society were poor and destroyed. The US quickly formed a military alliance, and when the war ended in 1953, US foreign aid flowed to Korea. Under these circumstances, golf had been introduced to limited populations, such as foreigners and upper class Korean citizens, by Japanese colonists, and subsequently by the US military. Japanese colonists dismissed precolonial Korean culture as backward, and introduced and reproduced Japanese culture as part of colonial practices (e.g., the official national language under the regime was Japanese). At this time, the golf introduced and installed in Korea was Japanese style, including terminology (e.g., “Gu-rak-bu”—Japanese pronunciation of club) (KPGA, 2002). The very first 18-hole golf course that both Japanese and Koreans were allowed to play was “Kyang-sung Golf Ku-rak-bu” built in 1924. Also, Korean golf was managed, controlled and taught by Japanese, which reproduced the colonial education system—a military-based, control-/discipline-oriented educational system. Under these political conditions, golf was also taken up by Koreans as passive resistance to Japanese colonization. The Korea Golf Association (1985) claims that when the first Korean professional golfer, Yeon Duk Choon won his first championship, the Japan Open in May 1941, he was treated as a national hero among Koreans (pp. 42-43). In 1954, the first amateur golf tournament in Korea was founded, and the first official professional (men’s) golf tournament took place in 1958. Meanwhile, in August 1957, the women’s social golf group was formed at the Seoul Country Club.

central to national economic growth and capitalist exploitation, and garnered the support of the military state (Song, 2009). Along with this economic change, professional golf in Korea actively developed in this period in terms of infrastructure (some 20 golf courses, 18-hole official courses, were constructed between 1959 and 1976) and golf tournaments, both amateur and professional (in the 1960s, there were three tournaments; in the 1970s, five; in the late 1970s, ten). In addition, the Korea Golf Association was founded in 1965, and the Korea Professional Golf Association (KPGA) started operations in 1968. In 1978, a women’s professional division within the KPGA was created, and introduced the first four women professional golfers at the 9th Pro-test on May 25th, 1978 (Chosun Daily, 1978); the first Korea Women’s Professional Golf Tournament was held on September 20-23, 1978. In addition, private enterprises started to sponsor various golf tournaments.

1981-1992: The 5th (1981-1988) & 6th (1988-1992) Republic Period. Korea struggled through political conflicts and difficult times during this period of democratization and post-modernization, yet ultimately managed to achieve economical stability. An and Sage (1992) pointed out that, behind the nation-driven capitalist growth in Korea, there was collusion between the political and economic power groups to overcome proscriptions about building new golf courses. Prior to this time the construction of golf courses in Korea was strictly regulated by the state, and only the President had the authority to issue a permit. Strict regulation was a consequence of the high population density and need for land for housing, agriculture, and industrial development. In this time period, however, while the temporary official approval system for constructing golf courses in the 5th and 6th Republic changed into the official approval system in the 6th Republic, golf, which had been viewed as a closed and exclusive possession of one specific class, showed signs of popularization. Thus, there was a boom in the construction of golf courses and the number of golfers sharply increased due to a greater number of domestic
amateur golf matches and the establishment of golf tournaments by various private companies resulted in an increase of golf tournaments. It was also the time when Korea successfully hosted the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games, and gained international recognition as a result. In 1988, the Korea Ladies Professional Golf Association was formed. In addition, the SBS (Seoul Broadcasting Station) established its golf tournament (both men and women’s) in 1992, and broadcast the tournament nation-wide; therefore, the SBS is considered to be a pioneer of “golf as mass-sport” in Korea.


While the 5th and the 6th Republic periods were the golf-boom periods (An & Sage, 1992), the Civilian Government treated golf as a site of corruptive adhesion between the financial and political power groups. In the period, a national crisis was generated at the end of 1997 which led to the imposition of the IMF sanctions. Then the Korean economy showed rapid recovery as it escaped from the IMF recession in the second half of 1999, resulting in economic stability. Song (2009) defines this political era as the introductory period during which the Korean neoliberal welfare state and social governance were introduced, and the political transition to the Kim Dae Jung presidency (1998-2003) helped the reformulation of the society into a neoliberal regime. Before the IMF crisis, golf tournaments had laid the groundwork for quantitative expansion by increasing the scale of prize money and the number of tournaments. Under crisis circumstances, however, domestic professional golf development was generally held back by a decrease in the number of professional tournaments and a reduction in the prize money, which became a driving force for Korean professional golfers to migrate to non-Korean tournaments. As the economic crisis ended, the situation in domestic golf improved, and media coverage of the high level of competition at foreign golf tournaments resulted in the expansion of the fan-base of golf. Even with this period of continued lack of growth of domestic golf circuits, Korean professional golf
has continued to develop and reached a world class level of play.

2003-2007: The Participatory Government Period. This period marks continued neoliberal reform. Following the National Government, this is the time when minority governments were in power. Following the neoliberal mandates from the previous political era, the government promoted a more flexible and adaptable labour force (Song, 2009). The sport of golf grew in this period which was described by the KLPGA as the “full-blooming” period in their institution’s history. The capitalist and profit-centered calculations of neoliberal governance were also introduced in professional golf. In 2003, transnational women golfers’ (e.g., Korean players on LPGA, JLPGA) foreign currency acquisition reached a peak to that time of approximately 9,600,000 USD (in 2002, it was approximately 7,900,000 USD).

Growth of Women’s Professional Golf

The KLPGA was initially established as a women’s professional division within the KPGA in 1978. Through the first test for women professionals in May 1978, four women professional golfers including Kang Chun Ja and Ku Ok Hee were introduced. Later in the year (August) four other professional golfers passed the test, so women’s professional golf in Korea began with eight members. The official, independent KLPGA was established in 1989 with Kim Sung Hee as the president and 45 members. In 2007 there were 25 events on the main Korean tour, including one co-sanctioned with the LPGA tour and one co-sanctioned by the Ladies Asian Tour, plus a Han-il dae-hang-jeon (Korea-versus-Japan Team Match) at the end of the season.

As shown previously in the Table 4-1, the LPGA sanctioned event has US$1.5 million in prize money, and prize money at the other individual events ranges from 200 million to 500 million Won (US$217,000 to US$542,000 at the March 2007 exchange rate). Based on May 2008 exchange rates, in 2008 the main tour had a total prize fund of approximately US$ 9.5 million for
individual tournaments, plus US$ 600,000 for the Korea-versus-Japan team tournament.

Along with the quantitative growth of women’s professional golf within a national level, the quality of their professional golf skills reached to highly competitive level among other international women’s golf tours. A former Korean national women’s team coach told me that, unlike men’s golf where the differences between Asians and European/North American players in terms of average physique (e.g., average height and weight, muscle strength, etc.) have a critical impact on golf scores, women golfers are comparable in height and strength. Further, he raised a specific case and stated that the “national team’s first class goes to the Asian games (1994 Hiroshima Games), and we send second class members to the World Amateur Golf Tournament in the same year. The second class Korean team ranked second on the world amateur tour. It proves that Korean women’s golf is competitive in a global tour” (interview data).

Transnational Actor/s Associated with the Flow of Talented Korean Golfers

The Korean women golfers’ transnational circuit started in the early 1980s. Ku Ok Hee passed the JLPGA tour membership test in 1983, claimed the first victory in Korean golf history in Japan in 1984, and in 1988, claimed the first Korean victory in the LPGA. Later, Ko Woo Soon twice won the Toray Japan Queens Cup in the LPGA (1994, 1995). These early examples of contemporary transnational movements in golf, however, were exceptional, and lacked the novel features that have since captured the attention of the media. Economic imperatives were the direct/initial motivation and driving force. The transnational flow of Korean women golfers, however, was not initiated by individuals, so the choice of individuals as a point of departure for inquiry into this movement is not sufficiently precise. The first substantial move to LPGA tournament was uniquely initiated by a transnational actor, Korea’s multinational corporation,
Samsung.

Samsung started to invest in Pak Se Ri in 1996. My supplementary interview with a former ‘Se Ri Team’ member, who is a sport marketing agent, recalled the Samsung’s Pak Se Ri Bill in the Chosun Daily in May 19, 1998 (see the Figure 4-1). The figure states, and the marketing agent added in his comments, that Samsung invested 27 billion Won in Pak, and in return collected 2,100 billion Won (estimated value of the publicity, public relations, and increased sales). As Pak’s case shows, Korean women golfers’ transnational mobility was initiated, promoted, and strengthened by Korean multi-national corporations. Samsung, however, started to become involved in the LPGA tour before sponsoring Pak Se Ri. As Kwon (2006) pointed out, Samsung learned their global strategy from the supranational sporting institutions (e.g., IOC, FIFA), and started to investigate sport marketing as a tool for enhancing their brand name. Samsung’s global sport marketing through golf started in 1995, when Samsung became the title sponsor of the LPGA tournament, World Championship of Women’s Golf. This major tournament was founded in 1980, originally with the world’s top 12 invited LPGA players.\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) The field was increased to 16 players in 1996 and to 20 in 1999.
From 1995 to 1999, the name of the tournament was changed to Samsung World Championship of Women’s Golf. In the year following their title sponsorship, Samsung contracted Pak Se Ri for a 10 year sponsorship. When she won the tournament in 1999, Samsung again changed the name of the tournament to the Samsung World Championship.

The partnership between Samsung and Pak Se Ri seemed to produce a mutual synergy. For example, by 1998, Samsung was operating in the black: US$1500million earned solely through sponsoring Pak Se Ri. Pak Se Ri’s role in revitalizing Samsung is described by Chosun Daily (May 20, 1998) in a provocatively titled article, “Is Pak Se Ri Samsung’s Viagra?” Following Samsung’s contract with Pak, HB Telecom and Hankook Tires (see Table 4), multinational corporations that had plans to expand their business into North America or elsewhere, made contracts with other Korean women golfers. Table 4-4 shows sponsorship contract examples in the early stage of the women’s flow into the US. Around the time, the amount of the contracts was also sensational news in Korea. As shown, Korean corporations’ involvement with the LPGA and their transnational corporate practices is an essential vehicle for the women golfers’ flexible migration. By sponsoring those women golfers, the corporations were able to maximize their transnational profits. At one point, Pak Se Ri’s nickname in Korea was ‘Samsung’s Viagra’ (DongA Daily, 1998). Although the multinational Samsung corporation made the initial foray into the LPGA possible for the Korean women golfers, fundamentally, women golfers’ athletic capital allows them to have relatively uninhibited access to the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athlete Name</th>
<th>Corporation</th>
<th>Duration (years)</th>
<th>Contract Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pak Se Ri</td>
<td>Samsung</td>
<td>1995-1998 (4)</td>
<td>$2.3million (약 27억원)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1998-2002 (5)</td>
<td>$4.3million (약 50억원)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Mi Hyun</td>
<td>HB Telecom</td>
<td>1999-2001 (2)</td>
<td>$500thousand (약 6억원)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KTF</td>
<td>2003-2005 (3)</td>
<td>$2.5million (약 30억원)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Jeong Yeon</td>
<td>Hankook Tires</td>
<td>1999-2002 (4)</td>
<td>$1million (약 12억 6000만원)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
infrastructure that makes this transnationalism possible. Therefore, another leading transnational actor (and factor) for the Korean golfers’ flow is golf icon Pak Se Ri and the other first generation Korean golfers, and their success on the LPGA tour.

Pak Se Ri was the initiator of the “first wave” of women athletes’ modern and transnational capital accumulation. Her success in the US showed many Korean youngsters and their parents that if Se Ri can do it, then maybe they could also. The glimpse of possibilities through Pak was the strongest motivation for pursuing transnational golf as a career. Shortly after Pak Se Ri, Kim Mi Hyun and Grace Park joined the initial group of contemporary transnational Korean golfers. Both the Korean and US media confirm the continued importance of Pak Se Ri as an epicenter of Korean entrepreneurship and transnationalism, and recognize the first generation golfers as “roots and routes” (Levitt, 2009) in terms of transnational migration. The cultural and political economic currency of Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun’s success made them actors on a real and personal level to the next generation of Korean golfers. The first generation Korean players on the LPGA tour raised Korean women golfers’ prestige, especially in Korea. Recently, a tournament winning player’s father mentioned how Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun are important among Korean players:

Se Ri and Mi Hyun made this path, everybody knows it. Before they made it, we [players and parents] didn’t even imagine coming to the LPGA, because we thought it’s impossible. … Many things are new and difficult to get familiar with here [living in US and playing on the LPGA], but let’s say, we have signposts (Se Ri and Mi Hyun)…

(interview with a player’s father)

As a result of the success of the first generation of Korean golfers, discourses circulating among professional women golfers in Korean society have constructed golf as a prestigious profession which has business in the US, is financially secure, provides “Rock-star-like-fame”
and status, and is fun (Korean Daily, 2008). This relatively new subject position of the professional women athlete, and the positive connotations around professional golf and golfers, highly influenced some young girls and their supportive parents to pursue an athletic career in (transnational) golf.

A Prepared Sending-Nation: Technical Innovations for Golf Transnationality

In addition to the technological prerequisites for the rise of large scale transnational activities and technical innovations that allow the thick web of regular instantaneous communication and easy personal travel, I also point to the unique forces in Korea and the sport talent immigrant communities that triggered their start. National sporting competitions, especially between Korea and Japan or Korea and the US, have a remarkable capacity to secure committed spectators and TV audiences (including internet users) in Korea (Kwon, 2006). The technical supports that promoted the Korean women golfers’ transnational movement are various: a) the SBS broadcasting company’s accumulated knowledge of broadcasting golf tournaments (SBS had an exclusive a monopoly contract with the LPGA for broadcasting full tournaments, and now J-Golf, a Korean golf channel, has the exclusive contract from 2010 to 2014); b) widespread internet distribution, fast internet access and inexpensive user fees in Korea (according to Akamai Technologies18 (2010), Korea has fastest world internet transmission speed); c) television companies’ active business marketing in the internet business sector; and d) cable television distribution in Korea and the increased number of golf channels on cable television.

The transnational Korean woman golfer, a traveling figure between Korea and the US and other nations, is subject to the gaze of millions of Korean (and Korean American) viewers

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18 Akamai Technologies is a transnational company that develops software for web content and application delivery.
whose subjectivities have been shaped and articulated through the unequal exchange between the US and Korea, and its history of interconnection. In this sense, media are not only a crucial facilitator of the global interconnectedness (Falcous & Maguire, 2006; Held & McGrew, 2002), but also local media sport entwined with the global intensifies the national (Rowe, 2003; Silk & Andrews, 2001). Because of this, the women golfers’ transnational practices and their mobility are closely tied to their sending nation. First, the Korea-based sponsoring companies and their institutional practices discourage permanent migration of the women golfers; therefore, the women become circulatory migrants, always arriving and never settling. The time-space compression and technological innovations accentuate the circularity and impermanence of regional migration. The women golfers are closely bonded to their fans, sponsors, and to their sending-nation through media, and Korea’s technology strongly supports that.

**US Power and the LPGA’s Matrix of Global Domination**

The LPGA tour, with headquarters in Daytona Beach, Florida, organizes a series of weekly golf tournaments for female professional golfers from around the world; the tournaments run from February to December each year. The LPGA was founded in 1950 by a group of 13 women, including Babe Didrikson Zaharias. In the 60 years since its inception, the LPGA has evolved into the world's preeminent women's professional sports organization. Its 60-year history also makes the LPGA the longest-running and oldest women's professional sports association. The LPGA tour held 14 events in its first year, with $50,000 in total prize money. In the intervening 50 years, the prize money increased by 7,320 percent (LPGA, 2009). Today, LPGA players are competing for more money per event than ever before and are among the highest paid female professional athletes in the world. At the time of commissioner Bivens' resignation, the tour had only 14 events committed for the 2010 schedule and had failed to sign contracts for
several key tournaments. On October 28, 2009, the LPGA board of directors announced that marketing executive Michael Whan had been hired as the permanent replacement for Bivens and assumed his duties in January 2010 (LPGA, 2009).

The LPGA is also an organization for female club and teaching professionals. The LPGA's Teaching and Club Professional (T&CP) Division, formed nine years after the founding of the LPGA, now has a membership of more than 1,100 women who are teachers, golf professionals, facility managers and coaches. This is different from the PGA tour, which runs the main professional tours in the U.S. and, since 1968, has been independent of the club and teaching professionals' organization, the PGA of America. The women’s T&CP Division also administers the association's grassroots programs for youth and women, in addition to teaching the game to men, women and children across the country. The LPGA also administers an annual Qualifying School similar to that conducted by the PGA tour. Depending on a golfer's finish in the Qualifying School tournament, she may receive full or partial playing privileges on the LPGA tour.

United Colours of Capitalism and Growth of the LPGA

There is no doubt that the LPGA is the powerhouse of women’s professional golf, internationally. Table 4-5 shows the LPGA tour reformulation over the years and how it became transnational with a continuous increase in prize money. As the LPGA is celebrated its 60th anniversary, the cross-national institutional networks with the other golf tours were basically initiated by the LPGA. Through their ten international tournaments, the LPGA has made a concerted effort to recruit not only transnational sponsorship, but also international golfers by issuing special memberships. For example, if a Korean golfer wins an LPGA tournament that is held in Korea, she is automatically invited to all LPGA tournaments for the next year and, based
on her record for the year, she may exchange the special membership for a regular one. These “war for talent” events are available in Mexico, Singapore, Canada, France, England, China, Korea, Thailand and Japan; and among those, Koreans take the most advantages of the policy.

Further, before 2000, the majority of the LPGA’s television revenues came from the US, but by 2006, more than 50% came from outside the US, mainly from Asia (e.g., in 1998 SBS paid the LPGA USD 8 million; that increased to USD 300 million by 2006), and it continues to grow.

Harvey (1989) explains that transnational capitalism is based on flexibility in terms of labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation (p. 147). Further, corporate globalization discourse constructs the dramatic increase in global flows of people, financial and cultural capital, technology, and ideas as producing a borderless, increasingly integrated world free of historical divisions and hierarchies (Wallach & Sforza, 1999. pp. 1-2). The LPGA started to accumulate its transnational capital by introducing a flexible membership policy and, in return, tapped into entirely new sectors of income such as Asian television revenue. The new interdependence of the financial markets and the transnationalization of production and distribution across national borders.

Table 4-5. Total Prize Money Awarded in LPGA Tournaments, 1950-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Prize money awarded (USD)</th>
<th>Number of official tournaments</th>
<th>Tournaments in United States</th>
<th>Tournaments in other countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>$47,600,000</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>$60,300,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>$50,275,000</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$38,500,000</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>4 (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>$17,100,000</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>$5,150,000</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>$435,040</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>$186,700</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
<td>n/k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source: LPGA website, 2009
happened earlier on the PGA tour, and now are common in women’s professional golf. The transnational reformulation of Asian capital has played a role in this change. According to Wilson (2000), Asians and the Asia Pacific region have become code terms for framing both the opportunity and threat of globalization (p. 579).

**Flexible Membership Policies in the LPGA: Specialized Golf Citizenship**

In order to attract transnational mega corporations, the LPGA quickly specialized its membership system to attract top level women golfers to tournaments throughout the world by organizing tournaments outside the USA, and by issuing special LPGA tour membership cards to the local and regional tour champions (e.g., ALPG, JLPGA, KLPGA, LET). In this sense, the LPGA adopted flexible policies in its membership regulations and grew into an extra-state body to monitor and regulate production and exchange outside of the USA. Citizenship is not so much a legal status, but a form of political identification, ‘a type of political identity: something to be constructed, not empirically given’ (Ong, 1999). Professional tour membership, in many cases, works as a form of politically constructed citizenship.

Along with the Women’s World Golf Ranking System that benefits LPGA tour players (see following section), the LPGA’s tour card classification system is also a structural benefit to the members who choose the LPGA as their priority tour. LPGA members can choose, as their membership status, either “domestic player” or “international player,” based not on their nationality but on their choice. The institution asks members to register their priority tour. For example, if player A, who holds foreign nationality and memberships in both LPGA and her nation’s tour, chooses her nation’s tour as her priority, she is considered to be an international player. But if she chooses the LPGA tour as her first tour, she is classified as a domestic player.

There are systematic differences between the two: a domestic player can maintain her
member qualification with 10 mandatory tournament entries; international players have to compete in and make the cut in more than 15 tournaments in order to maintain their LPGA membership card. If a player is deprived of LPGA membership and wants to re-qualify, she has to complete the notorious “Q-school” (Qualifying school) process, which is known among players as “a hell on earth.” The rationale for this system is to induce more players to register with the LPGA tour as domestic players, and to secure a better pool of players for tournaments. International players may compete in their priority (non-LPGA) tour if they give notice to the LPGA. If the international player is invited to a certain non-LPGA tournament, and if there is an LPGA tournament in that week, the player has to receive permission from the LPGA 30 days in advance. Otherwise, the LPGA imposes a heavy financial sanction against the player. In addition, international players’ membership fees are more expensive than domestic players’. As a result of this process, the LPGA has gained transnational connectivities through the special membership policy.

*The World Ranking System and the LPGA’s Tour Management*

Collins (2009) introduced the term “matrix of domination” to describe the “overall social organization within which intersecting oppressions originate, develop, and are contained” (p. 246). She further explained that the matrix of domination is a historically specific organization of power in which social groups are embedded and in which they aim to have influence. In this section, I borrow the ‘matrix of domination’ concept to illustrate how the LPGA has established its global tour status among other tours, how this domination inevitably constructs the other side as the global periphery and maintains power dynamics, and how the periphery resists this matrix of domination.

The LPGA maintains its global matrix of power as *the* top professional tour, in addition
to the status of the US within the global political economic relations, through the Women’s World Golf Rankings. This ranking system was introduced in February 2006, and sanctioned by the five main women’s golf tours: LPGA (including Futures Tour, the official developmental tour of the LPGA), JLPGA, KLPGA, LET, ALPG, and the Ladies’ Golf Union, which administers the Women’s British Open over a two year period. The rankings are based on performances on these five tours. Players receive points for each good finish on the relevant tours, with the number of points available in each event depending on the strength of the tour (e.g., number of tournaments in a season, the amount of prize money, etc.). The ranking system, therefore, structurally provides extra incentives for the LPGA members, and for players who attend the LPGA tournaments simply because the LPGA has more tournaments and total prize money than other tours. The JLPGA tour also provides similar incentives because of the number of tournaments in a season and the amount of prize money.

A professional golfer’s ranking is of considerable significance to her career. The rankings are used by each of the sponsoring tours to determine eligibility criteria for certain events. For the LPGA tour, being top ranked in the system is one of the (key) entry criteria for the LPGA Championship, the Women's British Open, and the HSBC Women's World Match Play.

Table 4-6. Top Ten Women’s World Golf Rankings (as of May 3, 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Player</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Avg. points</th>
<th>Top 100 players in the initial rankings/countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jiyai Shin</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>9.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lorena Ochoa</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>9.20</td>
<td>25: South Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ai Miyazato</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9.11</td>
<td>23: Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yani Tseng</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>8.61</td>
<td>21: United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Suzann Pettersen</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>8.34</td>
<td>6: Australia, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cristie Kerr</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>5: United Kingdom (England 3; Scotland 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Anna Nordqvist</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>4: Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Michelle Wie</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>2: France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karrie Webb</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>1: Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Na Yeon Choi</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19The women’s rankings are known as the Rolex Rankings for sponsorship reasons.
Championship. Also, ranking points are the sole criterion for selection for the Women's World Cup of Golf. These four major tournaments provide qualification criteria for being selected for the European Solheim Cup, and playing in any of those four tournaments gives a player an automatic two year exemption on the LPGA tour. The rankings are also used to help select the field for various other tournaments. The current rankings as of May 3, 2010 are shown in Table 4-6. Although the ranking system has attracted considerable criticism for giving incentives for certain tour/s (i.e., the JLPGA and the LPGA), the ranking system reorganizes the five professional women’s tour into a more inter-connected golf institution. Further, it rearranges women’s golf into a hyperstructural and competitive institution.

The LPGA’s tournament management is considered to be (relatively) more player-oriented, thus better than other tours. Joe, a Korean player’s caddie, described the LPGA’s tournament management. According to him, unlike other golf tours, the LPGA adopted, with the help of caddies, a policy that provides a more player-oriented, competitive tournament-oriented tour environment—for example, including a caddie as a (real) team member of a player, and for field management:

Oh, yeah. KLPGA and LPGA are very [my emphasis] different. Well, number one, caddies don’t go out on the [KLPGA] pro-ams. They [KLPGA] really don’t even want us to do on this golf course, the work we need to do [checking/measuring/getting familiar with the golf course] to get ready for the tournament. We [with other (non-Korean) caddies] begged them to let us go out on Monday night. Well, here [Korean golf course], there is no numbers on the field. There is no book made for the golf course…not at a tournament level. This silly little book they got will not work for a professional caddie. …Whereas in America, all show up on Monday, all go out and walk the golf course, spend all the time I need to do what I got to do, get it done, and then when we come to a
practice round on Tuesday, we’ve got all the information checked [that] we need. Plus, they’ve [LPGA] got a professional guide. …Once again, it’s the way rules are here. Referees they couldn’t get into golf course until last Monday anyway. So, you buy the rules, you do what they say. The preparation schedule…causes conflict…obviously it [the course] is revenue generating. You know, in America, usually on Sunday night, a golf course is turned over to a tournament. (supplementary interview data).

Joe is an experienced caddie on both Korean and US tours. Korean players also pointed out the differences between the two institutions, and described the LPGA’s management style as “free-style,” or “player-first” style (supplementary interviews).

**Mono-multiculturalism: The Organizing Politics of the LPGA**

In various sport and national sport institutions, local and stable sport cultures are challenged by emerging globalized capital and the new transnational order. Their challenges involve attempts to embrace the new global flows while at the same time attempting to preserve their local cultures (Lowe & Lloyd, 1997. p. 26). The LPGA seeks to extend transnational commodification, but the process of commodification and the unrestricted access to the institution have created unsettling effects among members, fans, and their domestic sponsors. The LPGA is based on corporate money and offers itself as a marketing opportunity for its multinational sponsors by offering tournament/s in the USA with the corporations’ name (e.g., *McDonald’s LPGA Championship; KOLON-Hana Bank Championship; HSBC Women’s Championship; Mizuno Classic*, etc). Those sponsors, however, as Crosset (1995) pointed out, are rooted in the mainstream characteristics of corporate sponsorship, competition, and interaction with the political and financial elite. The LPGA, therefore, have made efforts to
promote the image of a stereotypical “ideal White heterosexual female athlete” (Kim, Walkosz, & Iverson, 2006. p. 311) in order to attract the presumably heterosexual mass market and sponsors, and to fuel the economy of the tour.

The Korean women golfers’ arrival and their frequent presence on the tournaments’ leader boards, simultaneously pose a threat and an economic opportunity to the LPGA. There was considerable publicity about domestic and non-Asian international golfers decrying the crisis of globalization—shared feeling amongst American golfers that they are losing control—and the LPGA introduced various policies in response. For example, private language lessons for the Asian players, and hiring Asian American staff for communication between the Asian athletes and the institution; however, these were unsuccessful and short-lived. Appadurai (1996a) pointed out that diversity is not just about plurality. Diversity “is a particular organization of difference” (p. 24). The issue here is not so much whether difference is organized or not, but how it is organized, and the way of organizing (how) involves an understanding and engagement between a very different cultural politics of organization with a very different cultural politics of diversity. Although the LPGA claims to be the most globalized and the most diverse professional golf institution, the ways in which the institution was organized were pluralistic in the sense of having diverse ethnic members, but the cultural politics of the organization were not diverse. A related pitfall of identity-based mobilizations is the facility with which many become little more than fodder for lucrative corporate marketing crusades. In an astute discussion of how branding practices have generated anti-corporate activism, Klein (1999) maintains that "diversity" is now "the mantra of global capital," used to absorb identity imagery of all kinds in order to peddle "mono-multiculturalism" across myriad differentiated markets (p. 115).
Discussion

In keeping with my postcolonial and transnational feminist orientation towards the Korean women golfers’ transnational migration to the US, I now turn to a discussion on the women golfers’ transnationality, their motivation for migration and their destination, and the women migrants’ transnational status.

Multiple Connectivities of the Korean Women Golfers’ Transnationality

Using Appadurai’s (1996b) five scapes of global cultural flow (i.e., ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape, mediascape, and ideoscape), Korean women golfers’ transnational migration, particularly to the LPGA tour rather than JLPGA tour or elsewhere, can be interpreted within the multiple connectivities of women’s professional golf, and particularity of the transnationality of the Korean women golfers. The LPGA’s desire to become global, and need for more global capital capture the ethnoscape dimension of the global cultural flow of the Korean women golfers to the LPGA tour. The conflicts in this ethnoscape are that migrant players from Korea are culturally and racially categorized as “Other” in the White American golf field. The large numbers of Korean members on the LPGA tour tend to be the target of all ethnically related LPGA policies and events. For example, when the LPGA announced the language policy in 2008, it highlighted the creation of political identities of the Korean women as Other. In professional sport, citizenship is not so much a legal status, but rather a form of political identification, “a type of political identity: something to be constructed, not empirically given” (Mouffe, 1992. p.236). The LPGA tour memberships are issued based on a woman golfer’s skill level; however, the LPGA members tend to be categorized by other identity

20 A tentative institutional policy only for “international” amongst LPGA members required its foreign-born players to be conversant in English by the end of 2009. The policy suggested that if someone does not pass the language exam, the institution will impose a penalty. The policy, however, faced criticisms domestically and internationally, therefore, the LPGA cancelled it. See Chapter Five for details.
markers, particularly nation. There are heated academic debates about whether nation-state is repudiated in sport under the process of globalization. In both US and Korean media, however, nation-states tend to stand out and the media highlight national identities around the transnational golf events (see the Chapter Five and Six). Unlike other sporting events that are typically used to promote nation-building discourse, golf, especially professional golf is primarily an individual sport, competing against other individuals, not against other nation/s in corporate sponsored tournament event/s. In the case of this study, Korean sponsoring companies, who have been key actors in the Korean women golfers’ transnational migration, adopted nationalist marketing frames for this individual sport.

The flow of Korean women golfers into the US is closely connected to the technoscape dimension. Appadurai pointed out that technoscapes are driven not by any obvious economies of scale, of political control, or of market rationality, but by increasingly complex relationships among money flows, political possibilities, and the availability of skilled labour. In the mid and late 1990s, Korea experienced economic collapse and the government accepted structural adjustment programs administered by the IMF. As a result, many KLPGA tournaments were canceled, and Korean women golfers, highly skilled workers who could produce profits, could not find markets; therefore, they started to look for other possibilities (Kwon, 2006). At the same time, one of the major Korean conglomerates, Samsung, perceived political and economic possibilities in Pak Se Ri and invested their capital in her as a transnational Korean golfer. And now, as the New York Times Magazine editor Holly Brubach wrote, “Se Ri is Samsung’s most successful export since 1995.” (New York Times Magazine. October 18, 1998. pg. 82-88)

Korean players on the LPGA tour seem to also follow the logic of the financescape dimension. Elliott and Maguire (2008) argued that research on athletic labour migration in elite level sport occurs at three levels: within a nation, intra-nation yet within a continental, and an
intracontinental transnational level. Maguire (1996) also introduced five overlapping categories and types of athletic labour migration: a) pioneers, b) mercenaries, c) nomadic cosmopolitans, d) settlers and e) returnees. More recently, Magee and Sugden (2002) added categories: f) ambitionist, g) exile and h) expelled. The Korean women golfers’ intercontinental transnational migration, according to the economic model of flow and Maguire’s (1996) categories, would be “mercenaries.” However, considering to historically and economically specific condition of Korea, and the cultural logic of the women’s choice, they may also be seen in terms of Magee and Sugden’s (2002) “exile” or “expelled” categories. The Korean women golfers, therefore, may have chosen the LPGA tour because social images, ideas, and their own construction that the tour possessed more symbolic and financial capital than any other tours, and these are connected to mediascape and ideoscape dimension of the golfers’ global cultural flows.

Mediascapes and ideoscapes are closely connected with the conjunction of geopolitics and biopolitics of the sponsoring companies and the women players. The Korean women golfers’ participation in the American dream was made possible by increased transnational openness of the professional membership and the tournaments, enabling the LPGA to invite talented golfers from other parts of the world; openness that enabled inclusion of the Korea-based transnational Samsung corporation. From the corporations’ perspective, the transnationally available athletes are important because migrant athletes cost less to the sponsoring corporations (but have better advertisement effects in the global market once their sponsored golfer wins an LPGA tournament) since they can be paid less than their domestically based counterparts, requiring no pensions or long-term training or commitment (See Grewal, 2005. p. 5). From the sending-nation’s side, the Korean women golfers have chosen the US rather than the Japanese or European tours because of pervasive public discourses about the US as global power with various opportunities, and the globalization rhetoric that emphasizes success-oriented self-
actualization in global space (a.k.a., in the First World).

For athletes, media attention can result in millions of dollars in endorsements and an increase in fan support (in other words, marketability of the athletes); the media can also influence audience perceptions of what constitutes the identity of the female athlete (Crosset, 1995). The transnational professional athletes living and working in several global sites and involved in the control of capital and information flows between these sites, negotiate the new spaces of late capitalism to their advantage. Korean sport media not only sell the Korean nationalism through broadcasting the professional tournaments, but also they sell a transnational imaginative life style. With the immediacy of communication juxtaposed with a real (14 hour) time lag, Korean media are also able to maintain nearly continuous player-audience connections. As a result of this “postmodern condition,” Korean sport media obtains an annual golf seasons, 24 hours a day, 12 months a year.

Although the majority of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour have a single (Korean) passport, their US LPGA membership plays a role as a multiple-passport that provides flexibility and mobility. This is not only because LPGA tournaments are held internationally, and because of the mobility involved in a tour, but also because the US LPGA membership has more power than other countries’ (or nation’s) women’s tour membership (i.e., KLPGA, JLPGA, and so on). The US LPGA members’ flexibility in geographical and social positioning permits them to accumulate transnational profits; however, they are deeply intertwined with the horizontal and relational nature of the contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces. To apply Ong’s (1999) argument, the new modes of subjectification of the sporting women even under conditions of transnationality, political rationality and cultural mechanisms continue to deploy, discipline, regulate, or civilize subjects in place or on the move (p. 19).
The Winner-Take-All Structure and (Financial) Insecurity of the Migrants

Competing on the LPGA tour costs extra maintenance budgets, especially for migrant players, because of frequent travel, not only for players but also the associated workers’ travel expenses, entourage expenses and so on. Although the LPGA’s financial attraction to the Korean women golfers is one of the key motivations for migration, it is not the same case for all golfers. In fact, more than half of the Koreans on the LPGA tour do not have prize money to support themselves. Multi-time LPGA champion Kim Young told the Chosun Daily:

“It is barely possible to remain on the tournament if you are not within the annual money ranking top-50.” Last year [2005], for those ranking 50 and above, the prize money was US$246,280 or less. That amount is almost the exact border line between income and expenses. “In order to make minimum benefit, you should earn at the 30th rank or better (last year, the 30th ranked player earned US $451,981)” she says. (July 28, 2006)

The 2009/10 season was no different. In his study of marketing strategies among Korean women golfers on the LPGA, Choi (2010) interviewed a woman golfer’s father, who mentioned how much LPGA tournament cost the Korean women golfers, the risks for the Asian LPGA players, and the future outlook for Asian players:

It takes about US$300,000 annually to cover the expenses of touring in the LPGA tournaments. Not all Korean girls will make it annually. There are some girls who sold their houses in Korea for a shot at making it on the tour. It takes a lot of money to tour here. Not everyone will be able to afford it on a long-term basis. Only the top 15-20 money winners can break-even, so I think less and less girls [directly] from Korea will play in the LPGA in the future.

As Kim Young stated and Choi’s study showed, the material conditions of the transnational Korean women golfers, and their security, are at risk. The institutional and cultural structure of
the prize money system of the LPGA, and other women’s professional sports such as tennis and figure skating, leads to insecurities, and does not provide support and/or protection. In addition, this prize money system may include a ‘winner-take-all’ system in that tournament winners also command the highest share of sponsorships.

In addition to personal financial difficulties, Bairner (2007) commented on the absence of any discussion of social class in transnational sport migration, and urged that proper attention be paid to the material conditions of the migrant athletes. Similarly, Carter (2007) emphasized the negative aspect of transnational sport migration, especially when the athlete migrates with her/his family. The global economic recession has had an impact on the LPGA tournaments, with the number of guaranteed LPGA tournaments in 2010 shrinking to about half of the number just three years earlier. Two Korean-born LPGA professionals recently decided to return to Korea to try to qualify for the KLPGA tour in 2010. Korean sport media and golf specialists have called this return to Asia a “U-turn” (The Korea Daily, 2009). The u-turn phenomenon also highlights to the instability and uprootedness of the migrant workers’ conditions, discussed in the following section.

Up/Rooted Korean Golf Migrants—Glamorous Cosmopolitan versus Sojourner

As noted, Korean women golf migrants can be classified, according to Maguire’s (2008) typology as ‘mercenaries’ who are motivated by short-term gains. But they may also be described as ‘nomadic cosmopolitans’ who are motivated more by a cosmopolitan engagement with migration (p. 448). Whether either classification is accurate or not, it is true that the women golfers enjoy their mobile transnational citizenship through their multiple tour memberships and the glamorous professional golf tournaments throughout the world. Further, labour rights and employment rights within individual sports, especially golf and tennis, are considered
advantageous and these athletes tend to enjoy more freedom than team sports workers such as footballers (Maguire, 2008).

This does not, however, guarantee that all golfers enjoy these freedoms. The result of this study demonstrates a counter-evidence of the assumption on sport migration literature—sport migrants as a freely moving cosmopolitan. Carter (2011) pointed out that numerous authors still assume that the sport migrants are a freely moving cosmopolitan. He argues that this assumption is not only inaccurate but also uncritically accepts the migrant’s actual abilities to move transnationally. As noted, the women golfers are structurally attached to the sending nation. Every Korean needs a visa to visit the US. In 2008, former US president Bush included Koreans in the visa waiver program. However, this does not benefit the women golfers who must constantly revisit Korea and renew their US visa in every six months. The women’s transnational practices that are encouraging migrants’ rootedness in specific places, both in the country of destination and the country of origin, are based on this migrant attachment. But this rootedness in specific places simultaneously has a high risk of uprootedness, not only because of the constant visa renewal, but also because the KLPGA does not automatically guarantee its membership to the Korean women on the LPGA. Also, the women’s sponsorship contract status is not stable. The absence of protections provided for golfers exacerbates these migrant workers’ vulnerabilities. Further, while the LPGA’s transnational programs are driven by economic need, the question of political and cultural accountability remains under-theorized.

Here I propose a new but useful concept to understand the women golfers’ transnational mobility. “Transnational” automatically refers to the “sending” nation. While “nomadic cosmopolitans” or “mercenaries” are useful concepts in explaining global sport migration, the concept of “sojourners” captures a quite different aspect of the contemporary nomads’ mobility. I take the term sojourner from Hackenberg (1995. p. 248), with reference to the sojourner versus
settler debate. Sojourner’s defining characteristics are the never-settling nature of their movement, and their vulnerability to dislocation. By emphasizing the term sojourners I want to illustrate that the Korean women golfers on the LPGA, so far, are not permanent settlers. Further, additional modifiers such as unstable membership that has to be constantly renewed, limited-English-proficiency, and limited-term visa, also often apply to sojourner migrants, at least in the US. The notion “sojourners” also reminds us the current celebrity focused studies that often romanticize the sport migrant workers’ life, and the tendency to ignores the migrant population and their life that are not gaining the same degree of media attention.

**Conclusion**

Neoliberalization has undoubtedly swept Korea’s economy and finance. Korean women golfers, however, started to pay attention to other potential markets because of the crisis, and Korea-based transnational corporations started to recognize the value of women’s golf in the construction of corporate nationalism. Further, Korean governments’ neoliberal governance, and the LPGA’s flexible policies, strengthened the women golfers’ transnational mobility. Transnational migratory flows of Korean women golfers are continuously contested processes. Although the majority of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour have a single (Korean) passport, their LPGA membership plays a role as a multiple-passport that provides transnational flexibility and mobility. This is not only because LPGA tournaments are held internationally, and because of the mobility involved in a tour, but also because LPGA membership has more power than other nation-states’ tour memberships. The LPGA members’ flexibility in geographical and social positioning permits them to accumulate transnational profit; however, they are deeply intertwined with the horizontal and relational nature of the contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces. The new modes of subjectification of sporting
women, even under conditions of transnationality, political rationality and cultural mechanisms continue to deploy, discipline, regulate, or civilize subjects in place or on the move. While it is right to emphasize the importance of capitalism as a foundational category in structuring the contemporary world system (Dirlik, 1994), what the conceptual framework of transnationalism can offer us is insight into the convoluted historical processes through which all those at the receiving end of imperialism both voluntarily and involuntarily inserted themselves into that world system. Initially, the women golfers were not pushed or pulled by either state or corporations/agencies, but were destabilized by the state, in both rhetorical and practical terms that targeted one particular gender in a specific historical moment of neoliberal flow. Ironically, however, the gendered destabilization under the neo-liberal reform in Korea restabilized the women golfers in the “other” space of the LPGA. The women’s transnational mobility and flexibility and its path are intertwined, not only with the global political economy and local patriarchy, but also with colonial histories and imperial culture. Women professional golfers around the globe are not very different from the Korean women professional golfers. Through postcolonial and imperial lenses, the Korean women’s transnational mobility and flexibility may not be a unique phenomenon. My attempt in this chapter was rather to demonstrate the need to expand our conceptual/analytical shifts on globalization and sport talent migration to ‘transnationalism.’ And further, to suggest relational interpretations of transnational mobility and flexibility in conjunction with postcolonialism and cultural imperialism.

The following two results chapters examine how the media in two nation-states represent the Korean women golfers’ transnational presence and performance. This chapter—politico-economic, historico-cultural contexts and their impact on women golfers’ transnational mobility and flexibility—informs the analyses in the following chapters. Further, in return, the following chapters caution us to rethink how the discursive knowledge production practices by media in the
two nation-states re/formulate the Korean women golfers’ transnationality.
CHAPTER V. “Korean Golf Secrets Exposed”: US Media and Re/Productions of Fluid Orientalism

The previous chapter contextualized the history of women’s professional golf in both Korea and the US in conjunction with Japanese influence, and how the sport of golf was transformed into a transnational sport institution. Also, consideration was given to the globalization process and transnational movements of golf in and around Korea. Based on that contextualization of transnational golf tours in the web of nation-states’ relations and power dynamics, this chapter moves on to one of the main goals of this study: a textual and discourse analysis of the US media representations of the Korean women on the LPGA tour from 1998 to 2009. The results of the analysis are presented as follows. First, I examine the system of US media representations, which are characterized by ambivalent and binary distinctions, and intersectional structures of representation. Second, I provide in-depth and nuanced analyses of the systematic character of the representations that are analyzed using Fairclough’s (2003) guidelines for analyzing media representations. And third, I provide discourse analyses of US media representations of the Korean women golfers. The strongest discourses that emerged from this analysis were productions and re/constructions of the Orientalized Other with reference to the Korean women golfers’ presence and their performances. In the discourse analysis, special attention has been paid to the intersections of the golfers’ gender, race, class, nation, and sexuality in the media narratives.

The System of US Media Representation

Hall (1997) prefers to term the complex processes of representation a ‘system of representation’ because the processes consist of different ways of organizing, clustering,
arranging and classifying concepts, and of establishing complex relations among them. Before introducing the themes that emerged from the discourse analysis of US media representation, it is, therefore, important to examine the system of US media representations that references Korean women golfers. There are three important points to note in understanding their representation: a) ambivalent representations, b) binary dualism and the absence-presence of the US, and c) the intersectional structure of the representations. These three systemic structures are evident in media narratives from 1998 to 2009, and support the sense-making process of the discursive productions around the Korean women golf phenomenon.

**Ambivalent Representations**

Korean women golfers are represented in an ambivalent way, as both opportunity and threat. Over time, the dominant representations of Korean women golfers have shifted, and may be divided into four time frames. I classify the ambivalent and heterogeneous representations as **Start, Welcoming, Crisis I: Dislike, and Crisis II: Blaming**. Although there are risks of oversimplification in this time frame classification, these loosely defined time frames provide a type of map that charts discursive flow in the media, and therefore provides a comprehensive and comparative understanding of the media texts. The time frames also offer powerful and complex examples of the authority of the media to construct and reconstruct the events surrounding the Korean women golfers’ careers. This also provides historically and culturally meaningful transnational comparisons of the discursive productions of Korean women golfers: The four time frames encompass Korean women golfers’ emergence on the LPGA tour, and their presence in both the US and Korea.

*The Start* begins with Se Ri Pak’s debut (1998-1999), when Koreans were not yet dominating the LPGA tour in terms of numbers, but were nonetheless a sensational news item. In
The Welcoming period\(^{21}\) (1999-2002) Western discourses about Korean women represented them as an opportunity for the women’s golf industry in the US, stemming from the globally perceived economic rise of “Asia”; also, Asian (Korean) women’s differences were desirable and even required to promote the LPGA’s global face. Further, economic and marketing benefits occurred when Asian broadcasting companies, including Seoul Broadcasting Station (SBS), started to purchase television broadcasting rights to the LPGA. The narrative tones within these two time periods are usually positive (or at least neutral) about Koreans about the impact of the arrival of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. For example:

[1998] Pak is undoubtedly the best thing to happen to women’s golf in a long time (*The New York Times* by Holly Brubach. October 18);

[2003] “Korea has done a great job of developing their young girls, a model we can use,” the LPGA veteran Meg Mallon said. “Either they come from a university there or they come straight to play on the tour. They are well prepared.” (*The New York Times* by Michael Arkush. September 1).

On the other hand, the Crisis 1, The Dislike period (2003-2006) captures when the tension and controversy between American/Western and Korean players grew more intense, mainly because of the Korean players’ consistent success and their lack of English language skills (often interpreted as a deliberate intent not to speak English). The dislike probably surfaced when the LPGA veteran Jan Stephenson expressed her dislike of the Koreans (although she used the word “Asian”) players in an interview with *Golf Magazine* in November 2003:

“The Asians [Koreans] are killing our tour. Absolutely killing it. *Their* lack of emotion, *their* refusal to speak English when *they* can speak English. *They* rarely speak…we need to set a quota on Asian players” (italics mine).

\(^{21}\) Although the events of September 11 occurred in 2001, and the LPGA canceled a tournament, there was no noticeable change in media representations.
It is important to note here that Stephenson’s racist comment became a rallying point for the US media, and the momentum was built for various conflicts and expressions of crisis. *Crisis 2, The Blaming* period (2007-2009) is the period when the LPGA seemed to find a concrete target to blame for the on-going tension and conflicts between Korean and US players. The LPGA and the White, English speaking players had long complained about the Korean players’ lack of English language skills. The peak moment of the tension came with the LPGA’s public announcement of its so-called “language policy for international players” on August 24, 2008, on the *Golf Week Magazine* website. The policy required its foreign-born players to be conversant in English by the end of 2009. A month later, the LPGA issued a retraction because the new language policy generated a great deal of scorn and criticism both in and outside the institution of golf and the country.

As noted in Chapter One, a number of feminist scholars in Asian American studies have called for historically and politically specific attention to be paid to representations of Asians in the West. The ambivalence of Asians, that is, Asian as simultaneously desired and feared, is pervasive in the Western construction of Asia/n: Asians as cheap labourers, as enemies and threats, and contemporary Western discourses about Asian as economic opportunities (Ong, 1999). Besides the ambivalent relationship between the US and Asia that contributes to the construction of the ambivalent discourse of the Asian Other, some scholars argue that this contradictory attitude reflects the wide-ranging modern Western approach to the body of ‘the other’. Foucault’s (1981) assertion of the opposition of “series and unity” is based on the principle of discontinuity. He argued that discourse works in discontinuous and often contradictory ways, insisting that “discursive events must be treated along the lines of homogenous series which, however, are discontinuous in relation to each other” (1981, p. 69). Said’s (1979) idea of ‘flexible positional authority’ also characterizes disunity within unity. For
Said, fluctuations in this liminal position are in fact necessary in the discursive politics of difference, which gains the status of “true” knowledge. The ambivalent nature of US media representations of Korean women golfers employs the techniques of knowledge production that maintain power as knowledge.

**Binary Dualism and Absence-Presence of the US**

The second point to note in analyzing US sport media is how the practical and suggestive distinctions based on binary dualisms are common and frequent structures of Othering. Further, the presence of the Other mirrors the opposite side of the other, which is sometimes spoken or not-spoken in media narratives. Yeğenoğlu (1998) stated, “It is always the ‘absence’ of Western principles of progress and freedom which marks the Orient” (p. 103). In Yeğenoğlu’s rich discussion of “absence,” she argues that the binary distinction does not actually require two extreme sides. The presence and absence-presence of the US in media narratives helps to construct a binary category. In US media, racial differences were produced, justified and sustained through racialized discourse that positioned an uncivilized Oriental “other” against a civilized White “self.” The binary distinctions such as self versus other, West/East, male/female, and modern versus tradition were the most common methodological tools in the process of Othering. In the terms and characters used to define others, and within the border of we and they, the colonial imageries and narratives have been recycled and reformulated in contemporary discourses and practices (Yeğenoğlu, 1998). The economy of binary dualism allows the absence of the other, yet clearly and always talks about two extreme sides. The idea of United States of America, a collective notion, identifies ‘us’ Americans as against ‘those’ Asians (Koreans). An article from *World Golf*, for example, introduced the “secrets of Korean golf,” and offered a comparison between Koreans (they) and Americans (we):
Why are Korean women so good [at golf]?...It begins and ends with parenting: Korean parents raise their kids a little differently than American parents do. Okay, a lot differently. What Americans consider “pushing” their kids, Koreans consider right and proper. The more freestyle approach used by American parents—let kids have time to be kids—Koreans consider borderline irresponsible...Children are expected to do their share to help their family—and their country—succeed. (World Golf. August 2007)

Cultural difference is constructed as an essentialized and homogenized claim that inevitably polarizes the subject. For example “parenting” the Korean way is positioned as the opposite of the American way, and eventually it is weighed as a different value. The polarization of the binary value, if we pay close attention, is indeed a process of normalizing White rules. This construction of the “other” simultaneously requires the creation of a binary category of ‘same’ (Ahmed, 2000; Bergland, 2000). Young (1995) also suggests that racism and colonialism have not simply operated according to the same-other or black-white model but are also based on the “computation of normalities and degrees of deviance from the white norm” (p. 180). Thus, the strategic location in the binary distinction and essentializing claim in text, the World Golf operate concurrently and simultaneously within the American collective identity building and Orientalizing (Othering) process.

Another example of the binary distinction is from a Sports Illustrated article in August 1998, which describes Se Ri Pak:

Now she’s having dessert, a single fortune cookie. She unfolds the paper message. …“You are competitive and analytical by nature…” Recognizing the truth in this message—a Westerner would say it was delivered by luck, an Easterner by fatesche [sic.

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22 See also Chapter Six.
read: fate—she] smiles.

The narrative employs more culturally resonant terms in which the logic of myth-making and a certain sign system is clearly embedded (Ahmed, 2000; Slotkin, 1992). The term “fortune cookie” immediately invokes a reference to the illogical beliefs of Asians, and the narrative in fact acts as a reminder of how it is opposite to “us.” The psychically connected sign systems of fortune cookies and Easterners’ beliefs in fate reproduce an exotic Orient that is not modern, not measurable (fate), not knowable, and not visible. The obvious binary terms, Westerner versus Easterner, suggest a clear distinction between the categories. Yeğenoğlu (1998) discusses the discursive strategy of the construction of the modern (Western) subject as emptying out the place of the autonomous, universal, normal subject by marking the other as different and emphasizing the repressed condition of the autonomy and universality of the other. Within this structure, the other is an element of comparison with the subject, and remains radically different from the subject. She argues that this structure of the subject applies to colonial or imperial discourse:

By a rhetorical strategy, the Oriental or non-Western societies are pushed back in time and constructed as primitive or backward. The Western subject thus constitutes the universal norm by occupying that empty, abstract place reached by a “natural” and “normal” evolution. The subject [i.e., the non-Western subject] is thus produced by a linguistic/discursive strategy in which the denial of dependence on the other guarantees an illusion of autonomy and freedom. (p. 6)

These suggestive distinctions based on a binary structure are a common and frequent method of Othering in US sport media. Not surprisingly, the Other, the stranger within the binary, is portrayed as inferior to the counterpart. I should note, however, that the media language is metaphorical and suggestive rather than logical and analytical; therefore, it lingers and can easily be adapted to a different context/event. More examples of the construction of the
Other are given in the following section. The system of binary dualism in the US media is discussed in greater depth in the ‘Difference’ section later in this chapter.

**Intersectional Structure of the Representation**

Intersectionality, according to Davis (2008), refers to the “interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies, and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power” (p. 68). In the early discussions of intersectionality, the categorical triad of race-class-gender was the main personal and social identity marker in intersectional analysis. Gender, race and class are conceptualized as systems of domination, oppression and marginalization (that determine or structure identities). The term matrix of domination describes this overall social organization within which intersecting oppressions originate, develop, and are contained. Further, the categorical triad of race-class-gender has fuelled the dynamics of the discourse on differences and inequalities among women for the past 20 years. My interpretation of intersectionality is that “gender, race, and other social categories constitute mutually constructing systems of oppression” (Lorde, 1984; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 2001; Razack, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Further, I take an active interpretation of intersectionality, and advocate the dynamic process model as part of a constitutive model, especially intersectionality as a property of social structures and cultural discourses.

A number of sport media scholars in the sociology of sport have demonstrated that much of the media coverage in sport reflects and reproduces society’s gender roles, and confirms a male-dominated system that determines what is feminine and appealing. Sport media allow the system to remain unchallenged, and undermine the goal of gender equality (Cathy, 2005). Some studies point out how race intersects with gender and sexuality in sport media representations,
and how analyses are incomplete without a consideration of the racialized nature of femininity and stereotypes and expectations of gender roles (see Cathy, 2005; Douglas, 2002; Jamieson, 1998). Further, gender, race and other identity markers are commonly treated as separate sets of social relations within the social sciences and especially within sport studies. Few studies treat the social categories as related/intersecting/interlocking categories in society and especially in relation to sport. McDonald and Birrell (1999) problematise the singular treatment of the identity markers in sport literature, and call for urgent attention to intersectionality. Further, MacNeill (2009) calls for sport media scholars’ attention to an intersectional understanding of the representations of difference. She emphasizes the intertextual manner of intersectional analysis that can increase researchers’ interrogation of media interventions of differences and hierarchies.

The categorical triad of race, gender and class has fuelled the dynamics of the discourse on differences. The triad also used as a useful tool to define hierarchy and show who is oppressed and who is marginalized by their race, gender, sexuality, and class. This section introduces the ways in which the Korean women’s identity markers were taken up by the US media, and the media’s intersectional effects in the signifying process of the narratives. As noted, the Korean women golfers’ identity markers are not treated singularly in the US media representation. More than two identity markers are frequently and actively mobilized in a story. The forms of intersection, however, are historically specific. The following narrative was published at the beginning of the Korean women’s influx into the US. During this phase, the idea that a woman can be both Asian and a member of a mobile elite is perceived as an oxymoron because dominant constructions of Asian women as cheap labour (or women as an exploited labour force in the process of global capitalism), asserted by Whites and internalized by Asians from their immigrant history on, are so tied to images of passive, docile, weak and socially inferior beings:
A young American might defy her father. But such an act in the Korean culture is blasphemous. She [Se Ri Pak] breathed only the air allowed her by Joon Chul Pak, a former gangster. … He first nurtured the prodigy and then made her life his, a familiar pattern of paternal dominance/suffocation visited upon young women athletes\(^{23}\) (The New York Times. 1999).

These intersectional forms were often grounded in a discourse in which the colonized were characterized as incapable of self-government, and inherently predisposed towards immorality, irresponsibility and childlike characteristics (Mohanty, 1991).

Further, as previous feminist studies of intersectionality have suggested, there is frequent evidence that the identity markers are not additive, descriptive or politically and socially neutral. As Peterson and Runyan (2010) insist, different parts of identities become politically salient at different times, and some parts of identities rest on the meanings given to one’s other identity markers. For example, when more than two identity markers intersect and when one identity marker is highly emphasized, the other marker is often ignored or disappeared. The following narrative is a good example. It was published immediately following the LPGA’s language policy announcement:

For several years now the LPGA has promoted itself as a “world tour,” a golf circuit with players from 26 nations competing in tournaments on four continents. Swedes! Mexicans! Filipinos! One big happy family! But now a wave of Asian golfers has reached our shores, little gals with big swings and Samsung visors, and suddenly we discover that they are…inscrutable! They win our tournaments, they smile for the cameras, they mumble “very happy thank you,” and then drive off in their chauffeured Infinitis and Lexuses, leaving the tournament chairmen speechless. Literally. (Sports

\(^{23}\) It is not clear whether the author is referencing only to young Korean women, or to a more general tradition in sport such as tennis and gymnastics of ‘paternal domination.’
Illustrated. August 28, 2008)

In the narrative, multiple identity markers intersect: nation, politically safely expressed ethnicity (Asian, rather than Korean. Filipinos are not “Asian” in this narrative), corporate sponsored athletes, English language ability, and her material conditions (or purchasing power).

Although the policy was withdrawn by the LPGA, it showed the linguistic hegemony that American English holds in late capitalist society, and showed that language can be an oppressor even in a professional sport field where linguistic capacity appears to have limited utility. In the narrative, the golfers’ race/ethnicity is constructed as a threat to ‘one big happy family’ of racial diversity; they are armed with a machine-like swing and with economic capital from transnational corporations, yet they do not provide any institutional obligation (as a winner, a player has to entertain her fans/spectators, tour sponsors, and TV viewers) or moral responsibility (morally responsible for maintaining the big happy family) that they owe.

The dynamic interactions within the intersection, and the ways in which US media mobilize the Korean women golfers’ identity markers, work to maintain the matrix of domination. As McDonald and Birrell (1999) argue, power operates differently in different places and times. The results of this analysis also support the non-additive intersectional approach. Certain combinations of identity markers make a story sound truthful, some identity markers are emphasized, and some disappear, rather than combine. These intersectional structures of representing the Other, in conjunction with binary distinctions, are tightly woven with ambivalent, sometimes conflicting representations of Korean women golfers in the US. Using these mechanisms of US media representation, I now show transnational Korean women golfers’ location in the US, and how US society deals with the newly emerged Asian (Korean) women elite subjects, and strategically utilizes the Other through discursive practices in the sphere of public media.
Discourse Analysis of US Media Representations

This section provides an overview of discourse analyses of US media portrayals of Korean women golfers in the LPGA from 1998 to 2009. The overview is based on Fairclough’s (2003) guideline for analyzing strategies of representation. The content and discourse analysis of the media representations are organized as follows: a) agenda and representational genre; b) style, modality and evaluation; c) difference; d) intertextuality and its assumptions; e) discourses (see Methods chapter Three for details).

Agenda and Representational Genre

Fairclough (2003) insists that some social events (media agenda) have a highly textual character while others do not. LPGA tournaments are a mass mediated transnational commodity spectacle, and the presence of Asian women professional athletes and their beating White Americans are radical social events that challenge multiple layers of social order. The process of meaning-making around the social events, including texturing and making texts, and also the ways in which the events reported (genres) and represented social actors around the events, contribute to the types of meaning that the texts construct (Fairclough, 2003). In this section, I introduce the ways in which what media agenda around the Korean women golfers on the tour are the most frequently reported in US media, which social actors are mostly mentioned in what narrative tone/s, and what type of reporting forms/genres, are employed. In order to capture a more comprehensive picture of the US media representation over the time periods, I introduce some samples of media coverage and social actors that are portrayed in the media over the time periods (see the Table 5-1 and 5-2 in the following pages). These tables briefly show the chronological changes (if any) of the media representations.
Table 5-1. Most Frequent References in US Media Indicating Agendas about Korean Women Golfers on the LPGA Tour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Time period</th>
<th>Wins by Koreans and Major Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>The Start Period</td>
<td>- 5 wins including two major tournaments (4 by Se Ri Pak, 1 by P. Shin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- wire-to-wire performance to become the youngest winner of a women’s major in 30 years [Se Ri Pak]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 6 wins (4 by Pak, 2 by Mi-hyun Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>The Welcoming Period</td>
<td>- 2 wins (1 by Kim, 1 by Grace Park)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 9/11 affected the tour (the Safeway Classic cancelled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 7 wins including a major (5 by Pak, 1 by Park, 1 by Gloria Park)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 9 wins (5 by Pak, 2 by Kim, 2 by the two Parks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>The Crisis 1: The Dislike Period</td>
<td>- 7 wins (3 by Pak, 2 by Han, 1 by Park, 1 by Ahn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stephenson blast in <em>Golf Magazine</em>, “The Asians are killing our tour, absolutely killing it”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Commissioner Ty Votaw called a meeting of Korean players, parents &amp; agents to demand they be sociable during pro-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- LPGA age rule changed by Aree Song(^{25})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- World Congress of Women’s Golf (May, in New York): topics of discussion—cultural diversity, developing junior golfers, sponsorships, television, world rankings, golf as Olympic sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 5 wins including a major (2 by Park, 1 by Pak, 1 by Han, 1 by C.Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Grace Park appointed to the board of directors (an international liaison)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- The LPGA’s melting-pot marketability: think globally, act locally—through cultural evolution and exhaustion of denial, the LPGA has come to grips with lesbianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- LPGA’s outstanding success: 14% rise in attendance, 26% increase in network viewers, 19% growth in the cable audience, all since 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 8 wins including a major (by 8 different players)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 11 wins (by 9 different players)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>The Crisis II: The Blaming Period</td>
<td>- 4 wins (by 4 different players)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 9 wins including 3 majors (3 by Shin and by 6 different players)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- language policy: announced, revised, &amp; dropped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td></td>
<td>- 12 wins including 2 majors (3 by Shin, 2 by Choi, and by 7 different players)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agendas

1. Winning/success: The most frequent media accounts of Korean women golfers in the US concerned their winning events. Table 5-1 shows the most frequent agendas portrayed in US

\(^{24}\) See Appendix F for detailed information on the Korean players’ wins

\(^{25}\) LPGA rules state that players must be at least 18 to become members unless they show they are able to handle professional and financial responsibilities. The LPGA Tour gave special permission to Song to become a member at age 17 if she made it through qualifying school.
media report of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. The Table focuses primarily on
the success of Korean women on the LPGA tour over the four time periods. In the first of the two
time periods, Se Ri Pak was the most visible of the Korean players, both in and outside of the
field. The US media stated that she was “an unflappable and stoic presence on the course” (Sport

The transition from the Start and the Welcoming period to the Crisis periods in the
tournament fields and in the US media came about mainly, I argue, not only because of the
increased number of wins by the Korean players including more Major wins, but also the
increased number of winners. In the first two time periods, the Korean winners on the tour were
mainly Se Ri Pak or Mi-hyun Kim directly from Korea, or Grace Park, who is also from Korea,
but moved to US when she was 14, and won the US Amateur championship. Kim, Walkosz and
Iverson (2006) analyzed USA Today coverage of the top three women professional golfers
(1998-2001), Se Ri Pak, Annika Sorenstam from Sweden and Karrie Webb from Australia. The
results showed not only that the Asian player Pak received less coverage of her wins than the two
White players, but also more negative descriptors about her skills, personality and achievement.

2. Cultural accounts: Along with the winning-focused media portrayal of media agendas,
cultural accounts of Korea, including the “uniquely Korean” or “Korean way” of golf training,
and Korean father-daughter relationships was another frequent agenda in the media portrayals.
Cultural accounts were offered answer to the popular question “why are Korean women so good
at golf?,” especially in the two early time periods. For example:

No coach would be so oppressive and severe, waking her at 5:30 in the morning to run up
and down 15 flights of stairs in the apartment building where they lived in Taejon, a city
100 miles south of Seoul. He took her to dogfights to expose her to competition at its
most ferocious. He made her camp out alone at night in a cemetery down the street to
steel her nerves. He forced her to practice relentlessly, scolding her for the shots she flubbed. She wanted friends; he told her he was her friend. (The New York Times by Holly Brubach. October 18, 1998.)

Without mentioning here the US media’s portrayal of the Korean way of golf training as non-scientific and illogical (I revisit this issue later), the media essentializes the way of golf training such as running an apartment-building stairs, camping in a cemetery, and visiting dogfights as a common Korean way of golf training. The US media repeatedly quoted the “unique” and “shocking” Korean way of training, and competitively reproduced the same repertoire in their narratives. Around four years later, the same story was clarified, edited, added to, and reintroduced by Sports Illustrated for Women:

The story of Pak’s training has taken on mythic proportions. It’s true that Joon Chul [Pak’s father], who reportedly had been connected to the Korean underworld and nearly died from a stabbing in 1988, had her running sets of stairs in a nearby apartment building (They couldn’t afford a gym membership.). It’s also true that they often practiced in pouring rain. “There aren’t many courses in Korea, and it’s hard to get on them,” Pak once explained in a TV interview. “At first I hated it, but then I got to enjoy the silence and solitude of it.” But those were the least of their unconventional training methods. …an evening when Joon Chul supposedly went out for a drink with a buddy and forgot about his daughter at the range… Joon Chul returns at midnight to find Pak still practicing, oblivious of the time. She urges him to go home, saying that she’s not finished yet. … after a poor tournament showing by Pak, Joon Chul slaps his daughter and tells her he is going to take away her golf clubs. A crying Pak beds [sic] him not to. (Meyers, 2002)

This version of the story tells the reader more about Korean cultural events in terms of familial
relationships: the oppressive Korean father and his submissive daughter who is also loyal to her father and to her father’s orders (e.g., practicing golf until he says stop). Further, the good-daughter’s loyalty does not diminish although he exercises not only verbal violence but also physical violence.

A quite contrary yet connected cultural account is presented by other media to address the same question. *The Los Angeles Times* published an in-depth analysis of how Korea has developed the young women golf prodigies, and offered diverse reasons by quoting multiple Korean resources:

South Korea is a country with estimated 2.5 million golfers, but with only 50 public courses. The other 120 or so courses are private clubs with six-figure initiation fees.

“Most of Asia is inordinately golf-hungry,” said James Chung, a Korean American who runs Reach Advisors, a Boston marketing strategy and research firm specializing in sports. “It’s the status sport. It’s what you play if you’ve reached a level of affluence. That appeals to Koreans.” (Bonk, 2004.)

Bonk’s provides a social account for the development of transnational Korean golfers. He describes golf in Korea as a status sport. For those who achieve the status where they have time and money, golf has the value of being a social display. Elias (1994) explains this phenomenon using the notion “habitus.” In order to exercise/display a certain social class’ taste and their status, there is a certain habitus that matches the social status, and golf is one of the upper middle class, white-collar sports that display upper middle class habitus.

3. *English and language policy*: Korean women golfers’ English proficiency in and out of golf contexts is another frequently reported topic in US media. In addition to the long history of complaints about the Koreans’ non-social and non-verbal (whether they have ability to speak English or not) skills from other golfers, events associated with the LPGA’s English proficiency
policy (including the policy’s (draft) announcement on August 24, 2008 on *Golf Week* Magazine’s website, revision, and abandonment by the organization within a month) was also a frequent and widely publicized media agenda involving the Korean women golfers both in sport media and mainstream US media. The patterns and flow of representations of the language policy in US media sources were quite similar to each other. In this section, *The New York Times* is selected to demonstrate the general tone of the media.

US media were predominantly against the language policy, and the majority saw it as a form of racial discrimination. The tone of *The New York Times* article written by George Vecsey was fundamentally negative:

Having blundered into this policy apparently without thinking it through, the L.P.G.A. is now trying to rationalize that it wants foreign players to speak English so they can drum up business while they are driving and chipping and all the rest. Apparently, one of the previously underpublicized roles of the players on the L.P.G.A. tour is chatting up well-heeled friends of women’s golf during the pro-am events. The women on the tennis tour are not saddled with the responsibility of charming business contacts while swatting backhands. …the impression remains that the L.P.G.A. is singling out these players with Dobbsian bluster. Koreans learn languages pretty quickly. It’s Americans who have language problems. (*The New York Times* by George Vecsey. September, 1, 2008)

*The New York Times*’ golf specialist, Bill Pennington, wrote about the LPGA dropping the policy, and provided information about why the tour’s leaders thought English proficiency was necessary for their members:

[T]he tour’s leaders sent a 1,200-word memorandum to the L.P.G.A. membership outlining the critical areas for English speaking: “Interaction with amateurs during tournament pro-ams, media interviews, and winner acceptance speeches, including
thank you sponsors, fans and volunteers.”...Leland Yee, a California state senator from
San Francisco, had been examining whether the L.P.G.A.’s English proficiency policy
was legally discriminatory. “I’m very pleased that the L.P.G.A. saw the wisdom of the
concerns that we raised,” Yee told The Associated Press on Friday. “It’s a no-brainer for
those of us who have been the recipient of these kinds of discriminatory acts.”
(September 6, 2008)

At a first glance, the language policy, and criticisms about the lack of English among
Korean golfers are based on conflicts that emerged between the host and the guest.
Communication and cultural studies scholars, however, pay attention to the linguistic dimensions
of the globalization of culture and communication. Phillips (1997) argues that the synergy
between American-led global capitalism and English had the biggest impact on the global
hegemony of English. In over a decade of media narratives about Korean women golfers in the
US, issues of “English speaking” have been one of the most frequent news items. Despite the
LPGA’s announcement of a language policy, and the subsequent volume of the US media’s
criticism (predominantly from outside of mainstream golf media), whether the US media agree
or disagree with the LPGA’s language policy, the discursive arrogance of American English was
evident in US golf media.

**Social Actors: Se Ri Pak and No-name, Collective Korean Women Subjects**

Various Korean social actors appeared in the US media around events of the LPGA tour:
Korean players, the players’ fathers/parents/families, the major companies sponsoring players
(e.g., Samsung and J-Golf, a major golf-specialized cable channel), Korean media, and so on.
The ways in which the Korean social actors are named within media agendas, or a chain of
media agendas reveals what is considered important in the media narratives, and who of is at the
centre of the narratives. Table 5-2 chronologically introduces key Korean social actors who appeared in US media titles and/or sub-titles, and the changes over time.

1. Se Ri Pak and the rest: Korean women golfers are critical agents in the production of media narratives and, at the same time, any discursive productions in the US media. Korean women professional golfers are represented as a passive, impersonal, and generic/collective rather than as active, personal, and specifically named social actors. With the exception of Se Ri Pak, the collective style of representation of the social actors tends to happen more often in the Crisis I and II time periods. The relentless presence and potent existence of Se Ri Pak have been continuously evident since 1998. The US media acknowledged the presence of Korean golf icon Se Ri Pak more frequently and in a more respectful manner than other Korean golfers. An ESPN article in 2002 shows how Pak is considered in the US and on the LPGA tour, as one of the Big Three (along with Sorenstam of Sweden and Webb of Australia);

No one knew much about Pak when she won at DuPont in 1998. Now, she is an integral part of the “Big Three” in women’s golf. Pak, Sorenstam and Karrie Webb have combined to win 56 tournaments and 11 majors since 1998. (ESPN. June 9, 2002. “Pak Erases Deficit to Win Second LPGA Championship”)

On the LPGA tour, Annika Sorenstam of Sweden and Karrie Webb of Australia had been the LPGA’s two leading champions and leading money-winners for same time. The media narrative above treats Se Ri Pak as one of the big three, and the following narrative recognizes her potential among the big three.

The 24-year-old Pak last week became the youngest player to win four majors. She also claimed the U.S. Women’s Open in 1998 and last year’s Women’s British Open and still feels she can get better. (ESPN. June 13, 2002. “Pak Trails Frenchwoman Icher by a Strike”)
Table 5-2. Changes in Representing the Players (quotes are headlines and/ or sub-titles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Naming of the social actor/s (nickname, synonym, ways that they are recognized)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Start Period | '98 | - An unflappable and stoic presence on the course  
- The player; The woman can swing  
- Pak is undoubtedly the best thing to happen to women’s golf in a long time |
|              | '99 | - The demands of being Se Ri  
- Pak fires a Record 63  
- Pak eases the pressure with LPGA victory |
| Welcoming Period | '00 | - Kim [Mi-Hyun] leads by 2 at Midway Point  
- “I like where I am [one-stroke leading] and I don’t feel any pressure,” Park said |
|              | '01 | - Terrorist attacks’ effect on sporting world  
- Wasted up at 23? Pak’s 64 ends victory drought  
- Park puts down her chopsticks and looks thoughtful (SI for W. Mar/Apr) |
|              | '02 | - Pak achieved balance and happiness by playing and living on her own terms.  
That’s bad news for the rest of the LPGA.  
- Gloria Park knows how to win an argument  
- Final could be an all South Korean affair |
| Crisis I: Dislike Period | '03 | - LPGA will have meeting with Korean fathers to discuss rules  
- LPGA gives Song OK (Song lowered LPGA’s age limit)  
- Asian golfers at home in LPGA. They have come, and they have conquered. A fluke? Apparently not.  
- South Korean Park disagrees [with Jan Stephenson’s comments about Asian players and lesbians hurting the LPGA]  
- Stephenson’s comments grossly unchallenged |
|              | '04 | - KOREA: Something is happening south of the 38th parallel. It’s become a breeding ground for a hot new export: lady golfers  
- why is Korea turning out so many women pros, and so few men?  
- “Grace is Korean but also very Americanized” says Inkster  
- The Koreans are often perceived as shy, reserved and focused on their game to the point of being machinelike. |
|              | '05 | - Pak returns after physical exhaustion  
- Jang’s display of long-range hitting and approach play made it difficult to believe she had never won a tournament in 5 ½ years on the LPGA tour  
- Hee-Won Han earns wire-to-wire LPGA win  
- Internationals [White American Team] lead Asia [Team] 8-4 at Lexus Cup |
|              | '06 | - Korean players lost in translation on LPGA.  
- South Korean golfers dominate the LPGA, but that doesn’t make them popular  
- South Korea becomes new face of LPGA: S.Koreans have won 8 of this season’s 17 LPGA events.  
- It’s Michelle Wie’s world now, and the rest of us are just living in it.  
- a handful of Kims |
| Crisis II: Blaming Period | '07 | - Seoul Sisters  
- “Most of the time, she’s [Ji-Yai Shin] trying to teach me [Shin’s American caddie Richard Kropf] some Korean, though”  
- American Lee the low [score] amateur [not a hyphenated Korean-American]  
- Why Korean golfers are dominating LPGA tour |
The US media’s active and frequent recognition of Se Ri Pak as an individual athlete and/or a representative identity for the group of Korean golfers on the LPGA tour, however, led representation of the Korean golfers as collective agents rather than as unessentialized individual golfers.

2. Young and sexy Americans and the Kims: Other explicit representations of social actors compare White American/European athletes and Korean athletes. The White golfers are often constructed in a (hetero-) sexualized and feminized manner that is generally perceived as inferior to their male (even elder-male) counterparts, while Korean golfers are often constructed as collective, no-name Asian golfers. US media not only represent the Korean women professional golfers as a collective, no-name figure, the social actors are also represented differently by their race. While the LPGA struggles to gain public attention, and competes to gain publicity in competition with the Senior (male) tour, the US media emphasize the cultural conventions of Korean family names as a marketing point, representing them as deviant. An article from *Golf Digest* by Dan Jenkins titled “Why the LPGA beats senior golf” emphasizes the LPGA’s selling points: the (hetero) sexual appeal of White American golfers in comparison to the

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26 Although Dan Jenkins is considered to be a humorous columnist, the issues raised here are still meaningful.
assumed anonymous identities of Korean golfers:

Today I give you 40 reasons the LPGA tour will be more fun to watch this year than the seniors, not that the seniors have ever been fun to watch by anyone other than a hip surgeon:

1. The seniors don’t have a Michelle.
2. Or a Paula.
3. Or a Natalie.
4. Or a Cristie.
5. Not to mention a Morgan or a Brittany\textsuperscript{27}.
6. All of whom would look better in a swimsuit than Craig Stadler.
7. And the seniors certainly don’t have an Annika,
8. like a basic immortal
9. to keep chasing the records of Mickey and Kathy.
10. Not to mention Babe.

What’s more…

11. You’ll rarely see a woman or a young girl on the LPGA tour try to hit a 3-wood with a cigar in her mouth.
12. The LPGA can often entertain fans with a brain-teasing leader board that reads:

…

36. The ladies can’t putt or chip any better than the rest of us, which is part of their charm, of course. … (\textit{Golf Digest}. February 14, 2006)

This media text produces women golfers in a marginal subject position where the women golfers’ athletic achievements are considered inferior to those of their male counterparts. In addition to that, the marginal subject position interlocks those grounded in a longstanding discourse of (hetero) sexuality and race. Carty (2005) recognizes how definitions of

\textsuperscript{27} Those players that are named (first name with no family name) are blonde, young, “sexy” Americans except Michelle Wie, a dark-haired Korean-American, but considered as a young, rich, “sexy” American.
“appropriately feminine” and stereotypes of beauty are different for White and non-White athletes. She discusses race as playing a critical role in influencing which athletes are sexualized and for what purposes. She further argues that the sexuality of Black female athletes is often marginalized in mainstream media portrayals. Similarly, there are contradictory images across racial lines in the text cited above. White American golfers, whose sex appeal and appropriately feminine bodies are greatly emphasized in and out of the tournament fields, count as the top-ranked selling point in the media; the focus is on the cultural characteristics of Korean women.

The frequent confusion and complaints about the Korean players’ names is evident earlier than 2006. For example, golf journalist Don Markus:

Is it Pak or Park? Aree or Naree? Kim or, well, Kim? Life is confusing on the LPGA tour these days, especially at the top. But there’s no truth to the rumor that it’s quietly being referred to these days as the Ladies Professional Golf of Asia tour, [my emphasis] though there’s definitely a cultural swing in these fairways. … In the six years since Se Ri Pak burst onto the scene, winning both the LPGA Championship and the U.S. Women’s Open in a span of two months, parents all over South Korea have taken their daughters into the previously male-dominated world of private golf clubs and created a monster. (ESPN Golf. May 26, 2004. “Culture clash at the turn”)

This narrative also clearly shows that the Korean women golfers’ individual identities as social actors are not recognized.

3. The Korean father as problem: Another frequent Korean social actor in the US media is the Korean women golfers’ parents, mostly their fathers; he is the social actor predominantly constructed as problem. In the beginning (Start) phase of the time periods, the Korean father is actively recognized in the US media, and these social actors have multiple jobs around their talented daughters: coach, friend, bodyguard, cook, driver, nutritionist, agent, stylist, and so on.
The fathers are highly scrutinized in the US media not only because they always show up at their daughters’ matches, but also (according to the US media) because their patterns of behaviour are very different than Americans, and therefore need to be subject to a constant gaze.

“They do laundry for me,” Mi Hyun Kim said of her parents, “and find a good restaurant for me and cook for me.” Some complain that the parents do too much. Last month, one South Korean father was accused of moving his daughter’s ball from behind a tree during a tournament. Other parents have been charged with helping their daughters during play, which is not permitted. (The New York Times. September 1, 2003)

Thus, one of the common US media narratives portrays Korean players’ fathers as great help and support for their daughters; however, the “help” often refers to cheating at tournaments, especially during the Dislike and Blaming time periods. Another narrative includes strict and oppressive behaviours toward their talented daughters. The multi-tasking, sacrificing Korean father, therefore, quickly becomes a problem in US media (a theme that had been developed previously with regard to tennis fathers). For example:

[Callahan asks] Are the Korean fathers a problem?

[An American golf teaching-professional in the Jack Nicklaus Golf Centers and Academies in Korea answers] “Yes, a big problem. In America I can talk to the dad. ‘You’re being too hard on the kid. Lighten up.’ And he’ll usually go along with what I say. Here the father rules. The culture makes them the authority on everything. Whatever he says, right or wrong, that’s it.”

[Callahan asks] Do any of them know the game?

“The majority can’t play a lick. I don’t think some of them have ever played…” (Golf Digest by Tom Callahan. April, 2004)

In the narrative, the logic that supports constructing fathers as a problem is the intersection of
race and culture. The message offers a value judgment on Korean fathers’ authority as wrong by simply presenting the “American dad” as the opposite side of the comparison pole. Further, the problematic father is not only wrong and unjust, but the father’s authority as a golf advisor is dismantled by the American golf veteran. The father is not capable of offering advice since he has no golf knowledge and experience. These narratives further suggest that Korean women (Oriental women) have to be emancipated from their oppressive father/male family member/s.

The frequently portrayed social actors—Se Ri Pak and the group of Korean players, young and heterofeminine American players and the collective and unrecognizable Korean players, and the problematic Korean fathers—in US media are key elements for storytelling, and those actors lead the storytelling genres.

Genres

The representational genres most frequently employed in US media when they report on Korean women golfers are: a) comparative/distinctive based on binary dualisms; b) mirroring forms of messages that are unspoken but spoken; and c) employing the authentic voice to establish truthful knowledge status.

1. Binary comparison narrative structures: Over the time period, the binary comparative structure is most often used: between the East-West; they-us; old-new; home-away, and so on. In Sports Illustrated, for example (in a quote used previously):

Now she’s [Se Ri Pak] having dessert, a single fortune cookie. She unfolds the paper message. … “You are competitive and analytical by nature…” Recognizing the truth in this message—a Westerner would say it was delivered by luck, an Easterner by fatesche [sic] smiles. (Sports Illustrated by Michael Bamberger. August 3, 1998)

It is not important whether it is true or not that the fortune cookie’s message was exactly like that
or whether Pak went to a Chinese restaurant in New York. Difference is established by the binary comparison.

2. Unspoken but spoken: indirect delivery of message. Another genre often employed by US media involves indirect delivery of the message using various forms. For example:

These issues [Korean parents’ doing too much for their daughters on and off the golf course] were discussed several weeks ago in a meeting among Commissioner Ty Votaw and about a dozen South Korean players, parents and agents at a tournament in Dublin, Ohio. Afterward, the players talked for another half-hour or so. …In a previous meeting with Votaw, South Korean players were encouraged to be more sociable during pro-am competitions. In the United States, some parents of star athletes are criticized if they are perceived to be interfering too much. The charge seems to come up most frequently in tennis. South Korean culture, however, is different. “That’s the way they live,” Christina Kim said. “Everything is done together.” For Jennifer Rosales, 24, who won the NCAA individual [golf] championship as a freshman at Southern California, coming to the United States meant sacrifices. Although she has family in the Los Angeles area, she misses friends. “I prefer to be home,” said Rosales, who spends about three months each year in the Philippines, “but this is my life here. If you want to be the best, you play the best.” (The New York Times. September 1, 2003)

The narrative claims that American celebrity athletes’ parents do not interfere with their child/ren too much, but Koreans and Korean culture are different; which means, unlike Americans, Koreans do interfere. And the narrative introduces an authentic reference by quoting Kim’s statement that the reason Koreans interfere with their child too much is because everything should be done together since it is their way of living. In the narrative, it is not clear which part or what is done together, and the vagueness works in the narrative. When the reader
reaches the next line about Jennifer Rosales, they find that “everything is done together” means the opposite of “being independent” and “living one’s own life.” Comparing Koreans with the other international [Asian] player indirectly indicates that the Korean players are either immature or not taking their life as their own. Further, exclusive word choices in the US media around the Korean women golfers are psychically structured and nuanced, based on historic, cultural and political relations between Korea and the US.

These genres work in tandem with stereotypes, popular discourses on Asian women/culture and historical/cultural/political relations between Korea and the US to remind the reader who is inferior and who is superior, therefore working as a mechanism that maintains and strengthens the matrix of domination and power relations.

3. Introducing a “seriously authentic” Korean voice to American readers: In the 2004 season, US media sources competed to publish the tensions and conflicts around Korean women golfers. The LPGA’s growing business that season also played a role in attracting media attention. In April 2004, Golf Digest published an article about Korean golf by well-known Korean American writer, Chang-Rae Lee.28 (It is not known whether Golf Digest sponsored his trip to Korea for the article.) The title of the article was: ‘The Homecoming: A Native Son Returns to Sample the Heights and Delights of Golf on the Other Side of the World.’ This is an excerpt from the introduction to Lee’s essay:

    The most disarming feature, however, isn’t a detail of the facility but the patrons themselves, divided equally by gender, who to the last seem to own solid 10-handicap swings…the two chic 20-something women taking a lesson next to me, had clearly been instructed by a professional. The women are slickly coutured in clingy black pants and

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28 Chang-Rae Lee was born in Seoul, and migrated to the US in 1968, aged two. He grew up in the New York City area and received his education at Yale. His first novel, Native Speaker (1995) won the PEN/Hemingway Award, the American Book Award and the ALA Book of the Year Award. Lee’s more recent novel, A Gesture Life (1999) focuses on issues of assimilation, immigration, and identity.
tops, funky Swedish golf shoes, their salon-perfect hair and makeup done up a la Grace Park on the LPGA. … when the pro takes a coffee break, I’m not surprised to hear that they aren’t gossiping about their boyfriends but rather seriously theorizing on grip pressure and weight shift and a full release…People take golf seriously here, even if they’ll never hit into anything but a net. (*Golf Digest. April 2004*)

Lee briefly illustrates Korean (amateur) golf culture in Seoul as luxurious and glamorous, taken seriously not only by men but also (young) women. Lee went on to experience a Korean golf country club in metropolitan Seoul with people from *Golf Digest* Korea:

We are greeted at the Anyang clubhouse by a phalanx of uniformed staff (no teenagers in khakis and club-logo shirts here)… (most of the house staff are attractive young women in form-fitting outfits and lots of makeup), … At the first tee, we are warmly welcomed with greetings and bows by the caddie master, golf club manager and the two caddies. The senior caddie, a gregarious young woman named Ms. Kim, immediately leads us in a vigorous pre-round stretch session, then hands me my driver and describes the hole and the ideal shot. After my drive and approach she seems to know all of my yardages, and for the rest of the round she’ll just hand me a club and point the way and sweetly remind me to swing smoothly. And although my score certainly won’t reflect it, the round is indeed silky smooth, almost disconcertingly effortless, Ms. Kim even marking my ball for me on the greens, so that the only time I handle it is to tee it up, or when I have to reach into the bag after spraying one into a pond. Playing bogey golf has never been so pleasing. … After the round Ms. Kim gives me a friendly hug, and we retire to the locker room, which is like the ultra-high end spa of a Four Seasons in Bali or Thailand. (*Golf Digest* by Chang-Rae Lee. April 2004)

Lee pictures the luxurious golfing experience in Korea, fantasizing the experience almost as
sexualized and gendered fantasy (a young pretty Ms. Kim serves you as a caddie, flirts with you, knows what you need, and so on) of a perfect golf experience; “golf is so different here (Korea) than there (the US).”

What is further striking about this type of travel essay (a real, real-time experience) by a culturally authentic (Korean heritage) person who speaks English as his first language (nothing-lost in translation) and well-educated (Yale graduate) and well-established (award winning author) is that the article is to be considered as truth, as trust-worthy knowledge; therefore, the knowledge can easily be extended and reproduced. For instance, an article in the *Los Angeles Times* starts as follows:

In Asia, where caddies tend to be women, South Korean men prefer their caddies to be young and, well, flirtatious. (*Los Angeles Times* by Bruce Wallace. October 23, 2005)

These claims are made without any evidence. Indeed, the writer recognizes that he does not need to provide any evidence since he assumes that many of his readers would know this “fact,” this “truth,” that an authentic Korean-American writer confirmed a year earlier through his travel experience in Korea.

**Style, Modality, and Evaluation**

Fairclough (2003) defines style in texts as “the discoursal aspect of ways of being, identities” (p. 159). How you speak, what you write and how you write are the processes of identification. Identifying the distinctive stock of ‘characters’ of cultural and social differences is the issue I take up below. Modality is defined as speaker/writer’s judgment (Halliday, 1994), attitudes (Verschueren, 1999), stance (Hodge & Kress, 1988) regarding what they say, or commitment (Fairclough, 2003) to what is true. Representational modalities of the US media covering the Korean women professional golfers on the LPGA have changed over the time, in
and across various media agenda, social actors, and so on.

The inclusion of certain narratives gives focus to the story in terms of a particular point of view. The following narrative introduces successful Korean women golfers on the tour, and briefly captures each player’s background and inside information including family and/or personality:

Here’s a scorecard with a little background on each of the Korean players who have been victorious on the LPGA tour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>age</th>
<th>LPGA yrs</th>
<th>wins</th>
<th>Skinny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shi Hyun Ahn</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Speed demon exceeds 90 mph on roads back home thanks to knowledge of radar locations; spends two hours daily yakking on cell phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee-Won Han</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Husband, Hyuk Sohn, pitched in the Korean major leagues for eight years and retired in 2004 with a 36—31 record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin Joo Hong</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Named Best Dressed at 2005 Korean LPGA award show; mother, Young-Hee, supported her by running a restaurant in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeong Jang</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shot 18 under at St. Andrews; knits own headcovers; video-game addict (fave: EA Sports Tiger Woods golf games)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimin Kang</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Owns more than 70 purses; reads Bible nightly; father, Joo-Bok, is a black belt in taekwondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soo-Yun Kang</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>In homeland has been dubbed “fashion model of the field” for her stylish on-course apparel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birdie Kim</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Loves driving fast and got two speeding tickets last year; now, swing coach—travel companion won’t let her take the wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joo Mi Kim</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Her patriotic gesture: At major championships, paints her fingernails with Korean-flag designs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi Hyun Kim</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Patterned her swing after John Daly’s; writes a weekly column for Korean daily Hankook Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meena Lee</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>From ages five to 12, trained to be a concert pianist; turned to golf because she hated playing piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seon-Hwa Lee</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Youngest Korean pro (age 12, 2000) and youngest winner on Korean LPGA tour (age 15, 2001 McSquare Championship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se Ri Pak</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Believes in reincarnation and hopes to come back someday as a man so she can be the No.1 player of both genders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria Park</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thrill seeker is an avid skydiver and a roller-coaster addict; youth spent in Australia provided nickname: Koala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace Park</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>At age four won a children’s acting contest in Seoul; as a teenager lived in Phoenix with a nanny while her parents were in Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sung Ah Yim</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Classmate of Joo Mi Kim at Seoul’s Se-Hwa Girls’ High; father, Yong Won, is a retired Korean Airlines pilot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Sports Illustrated. March 12, 2007)*

Although narratives of the “skinny” category are story-telling about an individual player, the 15
players’ narratives function as a story about Korean women. Further, the story somehow resonates with discourses about racialized and gendered images of stereotypical Asian women: (heterosexual) married (Han’s husband); hand dexterity and its practice (knits own head covers); religious (reads bible nightly); presence of her Korean father (who is practicing higher level martial art, taekwondo); patriotic (or should we read it as chauvinistic); obsession with childhood talent training, such as piano, and with the strict education system, so the ‘kid’ ended up ‘hating’ piano; emotional rather than logical (believes in reincarnation).

1. Style and modality about the “increasing number” of Korean players: In the Welcoming Period (although the example narratives below are drawn from the beginning of the Crisis I, there are no obvious distinctions between the periods), the attitude and style of representation about the increasing number of Korean players on the LPGA were not negative compared to later Crisis periods:

Led by Se Ri Pak, … there’s been an explosion of Korean golfers on the LPGA tour. Five Koreans ranked among the top 20 on the final money list: Pak, who finished second, Mi Hyun Kim (4th), Grace Park (6th), Hee-Won Han (14th) and Gloria Park (20th). Those players combined to win nine tournaments last year. To put that in perspective: It was three more victories than the six titles won by four American players. … Amazingly, seven more Korean golfers qualified for the 2003 LPGA tour at the final qualifying tournament … And it is even more remarkable when you consider the size of South Korea, a country roughly the size of Indiana that has less than 200 golf courses, almost all of them private. Koreans also don’t have much in the way of a formal junior national program, but they make up for it with hard work and discipline. (ESPN by Bob Harig. January 6, 2003) [my emphases]

2. Report on controversy/conflict situation/s: Since Korean golfers began to arrive on the
LPGA in 1998, several incidents were publicized that concerned Korean women golfers. The most media attention concerned Ty Votaw’s comments about a quota system in 2003, and the LPGA’s language policy announcement in 2008. The ways in which US media report the conflicts have certain patterns:

LGPA tour players have been whispering for months that some fathers of Korean players might be guilty of improper coaching during tournaments. *Golf World* reports this week that the LPGA has called a meeting at the Wendy’s Championship in Ohio to discuss a series of accusations, including one that a father moved his daughter’s ball from behind a tree. LPGA tour commissioner Ty Votaw told the magazine the meeting was “to make sure they understand the rules and regulations of the LPGA and the rules of golf.” Some players have complained that fathers stand behind greens as a directional marker, use hand signals to indicate the right club selection and offer advice in Korean—all of which violates the Rules of Golf. Players can only receive assistance from caddies. *(ESPN. August 5, 2003)*

This narrative shows that the US media report the conflict situation with no corroborating evidence. Further, the narrative leads readers to believe that Korean players and their fathers do not have sufficient knowledge about golf rules. Unlike *ESPN* and other major US newspapers and golf magazines, *The Los Angeles Times* published narratives that were neutral, also presenting the Korean side of the issue. For example:

Barbara Trammel, the LPGA’s vice president of tournament operations and the tour’s chief rules official, said she found no evidence of such a rules infraction and dropped the matter. However, soon after, Votaw met with 13 South Korean players at a tournament in Dublin, Ohio, and discussed rules. … [Park said] “The only thing that’s the same is driving on the right side and golf. Part of what was said was true, but it’s not just the
Koreans. The Koreans were upset because they were put in a corner as a whole. There are plenty of Americans and non-Koreans who don’t always know the rules, either.” (Los Angeles Times by Thomas Bonk. June 10, 2004)

3. The notion of cultural diversity: Later in the year these were internal complaints about the Korean players from White LPGA members, and conflicts between the institution and international players were publicized. These conflicts are not easy to categorize. For example, the issue of cultural diversity in the LPGA originated because of the large number of Korean players compared to other international players. It seemed almost taboo to talk about cultural diversity with reference to Korean players. The New York Times is representative of how the issue was handled by the media:

Votaw wants everyone in the LPGA to embrace the tour’s cultural diversity. Park, who was born in Korea, attended Arizona State and is fluent in English, will be added as a nonvoting member of the LPGA’s board of directors in 2004. “I think our cultural diversity is something that we should celebrate in terms of making us distinguishable from other sports,” Votaw said. “I don’t think anybody really cares that Annika Sorenstam isn’t a United States citizen. They just want to see excellent golf.” (The New York Times. November 21, 2003)

The above narrative encapsulates two unquestioned, yet problematic issues. First, is the notion of the “tour’s cultural diversity.” It is not clear if embracing the tour’s cultural diversity means the newcomers, international players, embrace American culture and education like Park did, or whether the institution embraces an international player as a member of the institution’s board of directors. Secondly, the narrative named Annika Sorenstam as another representative of cultural diversity on the tour. It is true that Sorenstam played excellent golf, and won far more championships than many Korean players on the tour. Unlike Koreans, however, she does not
hire her father as her caddie nor does her father always follow her games; she speaks fluent English, she socializes during pro-am competitions, and most of all, she is a White European. The ways in which the US media report the LPGA’s conflicts give the impression that some parts that the media do not want to know the truth about the tour’s cultural diversity or that the media do not want their readers to know.

4. Pro-ams and the conflicts: One of the main reasons given by US media for the LPGA’s introduction of an English language policy is the conflicts that emerged at pro-am tournaments because of Korean players’ lack of English language skills. However, it is not only about language proficiency but also about the structural problems of a women’s professional sport institution in the US (and potentially elsewhere). The New York Times described the way women’s golf tournaments work, and the way pro-ams are run:

The pro-ams are like a roving cocktail party, with plus-fours instead of petit fours, and entry fees of $3,500 to $12,000 a person. Coolers around the course are stocked with soda and beer; golf is the ice-breaker for conversation. This kind of socializing is new to the South Korean, who may even consider it improper. In their culture, it is unusual for young people to mingle with older strangers. Juli Inkster, who has had a front-row seat for golf’s globalization during her 26-year L.P.G.A. career, said: “You put an 18- or 19-year-old girl that’s maybe not comfortable with her English with four C.E.O.’s men or women, she is not going to feel comfortable going up there and making small talk. That’s not the way they are brought up.” (The New York Times by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)

As Crouse recognizes in her article, the LPGA is the longest-running and most successful women’s professional sports organization: “Its image has undergone more makeovers in its 58 years of existence than Betty Crocker: from dilettante to tomboy to pin-up to postfeminist and,
much more recently, to multinational.” The organization, however, is highly dependent on its White upper-middle class male sponsors and sponsorships. The importance of the pro-am games for the sport organization is as an essential fund-raising activity and to attract sponsors. The conflict, therefore, is about the real function of the pro-ams that are historically structured as Euro-/American centric, White male-based fundraising and sponsorship events to which the foreign (Asian), young (immature), and linguistically non-communicative are not able to respond well. By adopting a vague and non-clarifying reporting style and modality, both the LPGA and US media aid the reader to interpret the conflicts as an issue of cultural diversity.

5. Cultural anomalies (emphasis on deviance): Frequently, the US media’s general tone in their reports/narratives framed the Korean story as deviant. They do not make this obvious, but the tone of reports is suggestive:

Filial obedience and financial independence are not mutually exclusive to the South Koreans, who see nothing contradictory about taking home the bulgogi (barbecue beef) and letting their mothers or fathers fry it up in a pan. … Jang, who has earned more than $900,000 in 24 starts this year, was in the hotel doing her father’s laundry. (The New York Times, by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)

Another example involves “negative,” “lack of (proper) culture” or deviance that are a subject for mockery, in which the same author uses an opposite sense of “right way of doing things” tone:

In Korean culture, … fathers leave their jobs to travel the circuit and serve their daughters in many unofficial roles: coach, caddie, chauffeur, counselor, critic and cook. … Until she [Song-Hee Kim] signed a clothing contract with Fila, her father was her stylist. He bought her shirts in pro shops, choosing what he might wear himself. (The New York Times, by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)
6. The Korean fathers’ location: The Korean players’ fathers are constructed in the US and on the LPGA in a specific location. The US media identify players’ fathers using a trajectory of specific attitudes and tones, as the following examples indicate:

1998: under the guidance of her [Se Ri Pak] father, Joon Chul, a former professional baseball player and avid golfer who runs a small construction company, Se Ri won more than 30 amateur events in Asia. (Sports Illustrated. July 13, 1998; my emphasis)

1999: Joon Chul Park [Se Ri Pak’s father], a former gangster (“I was a thug,” he told The New York Times, showing what he called knife-fight scars on his stomach). He first nurtured the prodigy and then made her life his, a familiar pattern of paternal dominance/suffocation visited upon young [Korean] women athletes. (Golf Digest. March, 1999; my emphasis)

2004: she [Se Ri Pak] looks … more like the exhausted and terrified little girl made to duck walk the avenue and sleep in the graveyards of Seoul by her stage father, a former nightclub bouncer. (Golf Digest by Tom Callahan. April, 2004; my emphasis)

Se Ri Pak’s father is used intentionally in this example; the media narrative styles and modalities portraying Joon Chul Park have changed over time.

Difference: Discursive Shifts from Biological Determinism to the Biologization of Culture

Representations of racial differences in US media were produced, justified, and sustained through racialized discourse that positioned an uncivilized Oriental ‘Other’ against a civilized White ‘self’ in polarized positions. Figure 5-3 summarizes the polarization of racial differences through discursive constructions in US media. Over the time periods, whether it is biological differences or cultural (the so called racism without race), the polarization of racial difference was evident in US media.
Harrison (1995) refers to “neoracist discourses” that imply an association between cultural autonomy and biological viability. In the process of the biologization of culture, “cultural capital deficits” and the “culture of poverty” encode, hierarchize, and pathologize racial difference and ensure racial power hierarchy. These discursive shifts of racial differences were evident in the US media through: 1) the construction of biological facts about an inferior culture; 2) the construction of Asian women as body and the body as machine; 3) the construction of Asian as a subject for education/emancipation.

1. Construction of biological facts about an ‘inferior’ culture: The majority of Korean women golfers migrated to the LPGA tour when they were teenagers or in their early twenties. The US media recognize the players’ biological age, but the way that media blame/criticize quickly moves from the biologically immature to the culturally deficient:

Seon Hwa Lee turned pro at 14 and won her first event on the South Korean L.P.G.A. tour the next year. Son-Hee Kim was 17 when she won on the Futures Tour in 2006. When Lee and Song-Hee Kim gained their full L.P.G.A. privileges, they were cocooned teenagers not quite ready to be social butterflies. (The New York Times by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)

Korean culture is often discussed in the US media, and frequently there are unspoken/invisible comparisons to US culture:

In Korean culture, parents will do whatever is necessary to help their children’s prospects. They have a name for it, child farming, and cultivating successful sons and daughters confers great prestige on the parents. … As children, South Koreans are
funneled into sports or schoolwork. The two do not mix in a culture that places a premium on excellence, not well-roundedness. (*The New York Times*, by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)

In this narrative, what is not commented on (excluded) is the fact that Korean players and their families are not in their homeland, and there are no agencies or structured help for the players to settle. Most of the Korean golfers do not have big name sponsors who can take care of personal and professional career matters. The Korean golfers’ journey on the LPGA tour and in the US are mostly managed by family; therefore, I would call it a “family (small) business.”

2. *Construction of Asian Women as Body (not Mind), and the Body as Machine*: Another popular discourse about Asian women, especially in the process of globalization, is the “Asian women on the assembly line, working like machines” discourse. Over the entire period of time from 1998 to the present, the US media have tended to represent the Korean woman golfer as a body rather than a soul or spirit, and that body is often portrayed as machine. This theme is further discussed in the section on Othering processes; however, some of the example narratives follow:

[2004] On the LPGA tour, the Koreans are often perceived as shy, reserved and focused on their game to the point of being machinelike. (*Golf Digest* by Eric Levin. March/April)


Stereotypes of race sometimes function as a powerful/authentic information resource. Stereotypical beliefs about Asian women’s dexterity lead some people to assume that is the reason for excellence in putting and other skills in competitive golf. The amount of time that Korean women golfers spend working/practicing are another major difference from their White
counterparts commented on in the US media. For example:

She [Se Ri Pak] uses the range to work, not socialize. …”Probably 300 days is going to be work out, get changed, golf course, practice, and come back to hotel. It’s the same old thing.” (Golf World by Hunki Yun. March 22, 2005)

There is contrary evidence to the dexterity hypothesis: if Korean women golfers’ sporting excellence is founded on culturally trained dexterity, they should all be top-ranked in ‘putting average.’ The results, however, show no strong evidence to support the claim. Although the number/ratio of Korean women golfers who ranked in the top 30 Putting Average has continuously increased since 2004, the data do not provide strong evidence that Korean women are putting better than other players on the LPGA (see the Table 5-4 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Korean women</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data only available from the 2004 season on the LPGA website (data retrieved from http://www.lpga.com in April 2010)

3. Construction of Asians as subjects for education/emancipation: Another frequent style and modality of narrative in the US media around the Korean women golfers involves portraying the women as the White Americans’ project: the advanced White ‘us’ should educate ‘them,’ and eventually emancipate ‘them.’ An article from Golf Digest introduced the White LPGA members’ perceptions of Korean women golfers.

On the LPGA tour, the Koreans are often perceived as shy, reserved and focused on their
game to the point of being machinelike. Players such as Mallon feel this perception will change as the Koreans’ English improves and also as they emerge from the cultural cocoon provided by their families and the Korean press. Se Ri Pak has become more open to fans as her English has gotten better. Grace Park, who was prone to outbursts of anger as well as withdrawing when her game was off, has made an effort to be more even-tempered on the course and more outgoing with fellow players and fans. (Golf Digest by Eric Levin. March/April, 2004)

The US media continuously construct the Korean women golfers’ relationship with their family, especially with their father, as something that they should depart from. For example, Se Ri Pak’s father is often called a “former gangster” or “pushy” father in US media. And an unspoken allegory involves how could the former gangster’s strict ways of golf training could ruin the golf prodigy’s talents. Golf Digest argued that Pak’s father ended up causing the player’s Great Slump:

Pak provides a competitive standard for the Koreans and also offers lessons about the pressures of competition. She ended her rookie year—1998—in a Seoul hospital suffering from exhaustion, a result of overextension off the golf course. After winning eight times in ’98 and ’99 she was shut out in 2000, in part because she was breaking away from the traditional, dominating role Korean fathers play in the lives of their daughters. (Golf Digest by Ron Sirak. July 20, 2007)

Another example of the construction of the father-daughter relationship as pathologized and in need of emancipation was suggested by the LPGA’s language policy. The New York Times published then-LPGA commissioner Bivens’ reasons for the English-speaking policy:

Bivens has since strained relations more by indicating that her plan [English-speaking policy] was also meant to help the South Korean players shake their omnipresent fathers.
…she said her goal was to help assimilate the South Korean players into a culture starkly different from their own and to emancipate them from what she characterized as overbearing fathers. Forcing the players to learn English and threatening their livelihoods was the best way she saw to accomplish that. [my emphases] (The New York Times by Karen Crouse. November 2, 2008)

The sample narratives show the West’s perception and attitude about the Asian Other: a subject who needs help, who needs to be changed (assimilated), and assimilation will eventually emancipate the Other from the oppressive, overbearing fathers.

American norms and values are also a subject about which the LPGA feels a responsibility to educate the Korean players. In 2002, the LPGA introduced its “Five Points of Celebrity” as guideline for player behaviour on and off the course. The five points are: performance (being the best player you can be), relevance (finding a touchstone between you and the fan), joy and passion (playing in a way that makes the game fun to watch), appearance (presenting yourself in a professional way and being concerned about your appearance), and approachability (being comfortable with the public approaching you). Golf Digest published an article about how the five-points-of-celebrity guidelines were introduced, and what their goal was:

In Votaw’s [then the LPGA commissioner] view, “…I think Asian culture is one in which winning and performance is emphasized but perhaps not the other four points, which might be perceived as calling attention to yourself [read: Asian]. We have to educate them as to why these things are important.” (Golf Digest by Eric Levin. March/April, 2004) [my emphasis]

In US media constructions of difference between we and they, it is not only at the discursive level that ‘we’ are located in the ‘superior’ position, but also narrative techniques
position their voice in power against the powerless. The writer’s voice is presented as an unquestionable figure who has great deal of cultural knowledge; therefore, when the writer compares the two cultures it becomes truth. Haraway’s (1998) notion, “optical illusion” (p. 587) captures the in-power position. She “claims that power to see and not be seen” (p. 581). The cultural claims that US media coded in their narratives often take the optically illusive position, and claim the difference as truth.

**Intertextuality and its Assumptions in the Representation**

The US media quotes directly from Korean players often correspond with those stereotypical discourses circulating about Asian women. The direct quote plays a role to give authority to the text, and the text itself has the power as a form of truth in terms of the intertextual, taken-for-granted popular images about Asian women in North America. As one of the example narratives from *ESPN* shows (see the section Construction of Asian Women as Body, and the Body as Machine), the “Asian woman as machine” is one of the popular stereotypes. Quoting directly from Se Ri Pak, and identifying herself as a “machine” gives power to the readers’ stereotypes as “truthful” knowledge. The intertextual image (and knowledge) that makes smooth connections between the two is that of Asian women on an assembly line, and that of the women as part of assembly machine.

Another example of the unspoken text and its assumptions about Asian culture can be found in *Sports Illustrated*. The following is a set of questions that John Garrity asked 22 Korean players, “to learn more about them”:

1. Who decided that you’d play golf, you or your parents?
2. What would you do if you weren’t a golf pro?
3. Who is your role model?
4. Do you have a boyfriend?
5. Who will select your husband, you or your parents?
6. What do you drive?
7. What is your level of education?
8. Did Se Ri Pak’s 1998 U.S. Open win influence your decision to play golf?
9. Do you consider Michelle Wie to be an American or a Korean?
10. Favorite American TV show?
11. Do you prefer American or Korean food?
12. Favorite dish?
13. What is your religion?
14. Do you curse in English or in Korean?
15. If you had been eligible to vote in the last U.S. presidential election, for whom would you have voted?
16. Does the U.S. media stereotype Korean golfers?
17. Favorite U.S. city?
18. Favorite musician or group? (Sports Illustrated. March 12, 2007)

These 18 questions reveal unspoken texts and assumptions about the Korean women. For example, question number five is based on assumption about Asians and their culture. In the West, a popular belief about Asian youth is that what they do and what they want is decided by their strict parents, especially by their father. Following the same logic, if a young woman is around the age to get married, the popular belief about Asians in the West (whether it is true or not, the circulated discourse about Asians has discursive power) tells the reader that young Asian women does not have power to choose who they will marry.

Another frequent US media assumption about the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour concerns the ‘oppressive’ relationship between the young woman golfer and her father. These assumptions are frequently portrayed as a typical Korean cultural trait, and revealed as a major structure of taken-for-granted intertextuality in the US media. A narrative from Sports Illustrated for Women shows a set of intertextual assumptions that are not directly stated, but supported by the narrative:

Se Ri Pak has achieved balance and happiness by playing and living on her own terms. That’s bad news for the rest of the LPGA. …She’s no longer the naïve kid who traveled with her parents and said things like, “I have no nervous.” She travels with IMG Worldwide’s Yim [Cleveland-based International Management Group Worldwide that
Pak’s sponsoring company, *Samsung*, hired for Pak’s LPGA tour operation, and Yim is Pak’s agent[ while Mom and Dad stay home in South Korea. “I give her a ton of credit for taking the bull by the horns and saying, ‘OK. Dad, I need you as my dad, and I’m moving on in my golf,” says Lorie Kane, one of Pak’s best friends on tour. (*Sports Illustrated for Women* By Kate Meyers. May/June 2002)

This item actually celebrates Pak’s separation and distance from her father. Pak purchased her own house in Orlando and sent her parents back to Korea. The media narrative assumes that its readers would know about the oppressive relationship between Pak and her father. Therefore, without any further information or explanation, separation is treated as the best decision that an independent grown-up can ideally make. The quote from Kane, a well-known Canadian golfer, supports and authorizes the tone of the narrative, therefore giving power to the claim as a truth.

This section has provided a map of the representational strategies of US media portrayals of Korean women golfers in the LPGA: the frequent accounts of media agenda, actors and genre; their reporting style and modality; the ways in which they report (racial) differences; and the intertextuality and its assumptions in the media narratives. These tightly interwoven representational strategies work in tandem with racial stereotypes and available discourses on Asians/Koreans that are circulated in the US. The following section presents further discourse analysis of the US media, and offers an in-depth enquiry into how Korean women golfers and their performances on the LPGA tour are taken up by the US media as a key site to re/construct the racial Other to proclaim a humane, superior ‘us,’ therefore maintaining the matrix of domination.

**Discursive Re/Construction of the Oriental Other**

The strongest discourses are those that have attempted to ground themselves in the
natural, the sincere, the scientific: the various correlates of the ‘true’ and reasonable (Hook, 2001). What counts as ‘the truth’ is a production of discourse and power: a displacement of the will-to-truth by the will-to-power. US media insert Korean women professional golfers into the discourses of “Oriental Other,” “Third World oppressed women,” and “Asia rising.” The golfers’ images are introduced through such narratives, so that the women become entangled in an already existing pattern of cultural representation. Within the ranges of resources of representations, the linguistic and discursive forms of representations are fluid and multiple, and therefore inevitably heterogeneous. There are a number of narrative themes through which US sport media represent Korean women golfers. While portrayed ambivalently, the overall theme is that Korean women golfers are first and foremost Other. These representations are marked by three narratives: first, constructing the Other as a guest and the ‘forever stranger’ that is, the Other’s differences from (the White) “us” were managed in a racialized location in which race was a marker of stranger and danger; second, positioning the Other’s success as cultural myth that is the women golfers’ sporting talents are portrayed as a mythical production of Korean culture in which the women’s athletic hardwork is diminished; and third, marking the Other as a project, that is, the Other was treated as a project for the West, and the Oriental was marked as a subject to be changed and/or improved.

**Constructing the Other as the Stranger Danger**

One of the popular discourses concerning Asians in America is the ‘model minority’ discourse. The hard-working, smart, non-resistant, yet unassimilable and foreign minority discourses are reproduced around the Korean women golfers. Further, these discourses overlook and dismiss the Korean women golfers as strange foreign guests, therefore trivial. In US media, discourses about “disciplined, hard-working Asians” are commonly re/produced around the
Korean women golfers, although the tone of the discursive narratives vary:

“ My [David Leadbetter, an internationally known golf teacher; Pak’s then sponsor Samsung paid for the first-year lessons--$120,000.] biggest problem with Se Ri is keeping her from working too hard.” (Sports Illustrated, July 13, 1998)

An American golf teaching-professional in Korea said:

“I love these kids [his Korean students],” he says. “I refer to them as my kids. When we go to Florida or Australia for winter camp, I won’t let them hit balls on Sunday. I make them go to the beach or the amusement park. They’re kids for a day. The hardest thing to teach any of these kids is how to be kids.” (Golf Digest, by Tom Callahan. April, 2004)

US media narratives about the Korean women’s work ethic goes right back to the family-based Korean culture. The machine-like hard work is dedicated to their family, especially to their fathers. Not only do US media frequently describe the relationships between Korean players and their father/parents, but also the discourse when they talk about the relationship is mostly “a child dedicates her success to the father.” For instance:

Se Ri Pak won for her father on Father’s Day five years ago. Yesterday she won for her mother on Mother’s Day. (The New York Times. May 10, 2004)

Similarly yet more dramatically, ESPN wrote how Jiyai Shin played for her mother:

Jiyai Shin dedicates each one of her golf victories—make that five in 11 months—to her mother. The 21-year-old South Korean star, whose mother was killed in a car crash in 2004…”I have my mother’s picture in my course book,” Shin said proudly after picking up a $300,000 prize that vaulted her to the top of the money list. (ESPN. June 28, 2009)

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Asian immigrants around the non-Asian world were racialized as dangerous and unassimilable foreigners (Lee, 2005). The “problem” of “unassimilable,” with an assumption that the guests should assimilate to the host
country/culture and with no clarification why the assimilation is important and necessary, becomes a “Korean problem” that brings tensions to the other members of the LPGA [more specifically, White American members]. In the US media, however, it is not clear that the so-called problem is because of a rapid increase in the number of Korean players, or the different culture of the Korean players:

“What we’re dealing with more than anything is an issue of numbers,” says Charlie Mechem. “In the ’80s, when the only Asian player on the tour was [Japan’s] Ayako Okamoto, this was no real problem. Now, you’ve got a big number. Many of them can’t speak English at all, many don’t’ have interpreters. And a lot of these players are winning. It simply creates a bigger issue. When you have that many foreign players from any country the issue of integrating them into the tour is more difficult.” (Golf Digest By Eric Levin. March/April, 2004)

Risk discourse through the construction of strangers as dangerous people has been a central strategy in the media which repeatedly pathologize Korean culture, mark the players as immature/unintelligent strangers, and present them as dangerous threats over time. The rhetoric of risk and crisis has been used to advance a vision of US superiority, to clarify who is the host, what is essentially American and, ultimately, who needs to be protected from the dangerous threats, Koreans.

A number of articles show the ways that popular understandings of “ethnicity” pathologize and problematize the Korean fathers’ Asian-style education and their patriarchal manner in the tournaments. An article from Newsweek portrays Se Ri Pak’s machine-like high performance as a product of her “gangster” father’s abusive education and training; further, it pathologizes (in suggestive terms) the Korean culture that normalizes an abusive education style, and problematizes the silence about the young girl’s problematic success:
…recent U.S. press reports describing Joon Chul [Se Ri Pak’s father] as a onetime “gangster,” and he has publicly denied that his discipline amounted to “child abuse.” …

Back home, their story is now cast as a Confucian fairy tale of loving, demanding parents whose obedient child grew up to repay their devotion many times over. It wasn’t always this way, but success has silenced those who scorned the Paks (*Newsweek*, International Ed. August 17, 1998).

Along with the pathologization of the other race, the US sport media’s clear marking of the Korean players as “stranger” occurs at the same time as they mark the stranger as dependent, immature, and unintelligent:

> Being a stranger in a strange land does tend to promote a certain sink-or-swim urgency.

… But many of the new Korean players travel with their families and are coached by their fathers (*Golf For Women* Magazine. March/April, 2004).

Another Korean, hoping to get a Social Security number, hired a lawyer in Los Angeles to do it for her, oblivious to the fact that Social Security numbers are free (*ESPN Golf* magazine. March 2006).

In the preceding narrative, the Korean player is portrayed as unintelligent by paying money for a free service. In my preliminary study, I reported that most of the players’ socialization into golf and their career development patterns are quite similar to what Theberge (1977) and Crosset (1995) found among the LPGA members before the arrival of Korean players (Kim, 2006).

Theberge (1997) analyzed American women’s socialization into professional golf using the social learning framework, that is, a) the influence of significant others (mostly from their father or male member of family), b) the importance of opportunity sets, and c) perceptions of possible conflict between the roles of women and athletes. More recent research conducted by Crosset (1995) found similar results. However, US sport media often portray the Korean women golfers’
success as a result of being controlled, manipulated and brainwashed by their sexist fathers. Yet, the majority of the American players in Crosset’s study remarked on the contrast between professional golf and the “real world” and their inability to control their lives. Crosset states that they are professional golfers who dedicate their life to golf, and they are just not familiar with handling what other people take for granted. This is the same case for Korean professional golfers, and even considering the fact that they are not in their home country, the “getting a Social Security number” anecdote is a good example of the technologies of Othering in US sport media. These discursive practices have real consequences. Unlike the Start period of Korean golfers’ arrival on the LPGA tour, now the majority of the Korean players not only do not hire a family member as their caddie (especially not their fathers who have trained their daughters, and who have great knowledge about their daughters’ game of golf), but do not travel with their parents (parents typically travelled with the players as nutritionists and cooks) because of the US media’s negative representations of the relationship.

While this section has attempted to show how the racial difference of Koreans (Other) represents them as uncivilized, immature, and unintelligent strangers, I proceed to inquire whether further evidence of racialization as danger may be found in the US sport narratives. The relational nature of domination and subordination is also one of the significant foci in US sport narratives, especially in relation to international players (Koreans). The press emphasizes the fact that the LPGA (read: White American) has provided comfort to their guests, Korean players. In its narratives, the LPGA (White Americans) are always portrayed as hosts, and the Korean players are the guests (despite the fact that they are LPGA members, just like players from more than 20 other countries). LPGA commissioner Carolyn Bivens gave an interview to ESPN Golf magazine (March 2006). She is proud of the progress that her organization has made in helping to acclimate golfers to American society and says: “We have tried to give everyone the tools they
need”; however, the magazine noted that there are still troublesome and potentially embarrassing obstacles:

Non-Americans account for seven of the top ten players on the LPGA tour and 27 of the top 50. The culture clash is creating both tensions and opportunities. How the players and the tour respond is crucial to the future of women’s golf. …the LPGA needed to address the growing pains of its globalization. The year had been marked by on-course tension between American and international players and post tournament press conferences where the excitement of the event was literally lost in translation, as Asian players answered questions through interpreters. The tour…was facing an identity crisis. (Golf for Women Magazine. March/April, 2004).

The terminologies of anxiety in the narratives have changed dramatically. In the narratives, the LPGA experienced the Korean invasion, the invasion increased the pain of globalization, and the LPGA now is facing an identity crisis. The rhetoric of crisis has been used in US media to advance a vision of US LPGA uniqueness, to clarify and define who are the authentic LPGA members, and ultimately who and what needs to be protected for the good of the LPGA institution. The term “Korean invasion” and its implied sense of catastrophe, however, is not used in the same manner as the term “Swedish invasion.” The Swedish invasion did not evoke the same reactions from the US (sport) media as their response to the Korean invasion, likely one might argue because Swedes are physically indistinguishable from White Americans. LPGA veteran Jan Stephenson publicized her dislike of Koreans (though she used the word “Asian”) in her interview with Golf Magazine in November 2003, when she said: “The Asians are killing our tour. Absolutely killing it.” Arguably, her statement reflects a perception among the general public about the Korean women golfers as invaders who threaten the tour. The Korean women golfers’ manner and their culture, so suggested, threatens—like a virus—to contaminate and
destroy the LPGA and their culture. Korean women golfers are portrayed as latent threats, with the potential danger of abolishing cultural boundaries.

The narratives of dangerous strangers frequently appeared in the US media when the LPGA announced their language policy. John Garrity’s article on *Sports Illustrated*, introduced in the “intersectional structure of the representations’ section in this chapter, is a good example of how the Korean women are perceived as dangerous strangers. He uses a sarcastic tone to criticize the LPGA’s new language policy; however, he starts by (re)introducing the ‘real problem’ among the members and sponsors by pointing out that the language policy particularly targeted the perceived excessive presence of the Korean golfers (see the excerpt on p. 131. *Sports Illustrated*. August 28, 2008). Because the US media heavily criticized the institution’s language policy as discriminatory, resulting in the policy being revoked by the institution, the frames of the narrative that were deployed, and their representations, reflected the Western media portrayal of the Others’ winning. The narrative suggests that the profit-oriented guest, a wave of Asian (read: Korean) golfers, who are sponsored by capital from transnational mega corporations, and who are capable consumers, but have no will to learn the host’s language/culture, threaten the one big happy family. The narrative suggests that those women are strangers who have a different language/culture, and are threats who do not appreciate the hosts’ generous offer of prize money, and therefore they are dangerous to ‘us.’

**Positioning the Other’s Success as Cultural Myth**

Some scholars have pointed out that there is discursive shift from biological determinism to the biologization of culture in public media representations of racially diverse athletes’ performance (e.g., Burdsey, 2007; Werbner, 2005). Similar patterns emerged in US media narratives on Korean women golfers. For instance, the narrative of innate physicality,
*being machinelike*, is a frequent theme in the US media. Further, the stereotypical images of Asian women—women on the assembly-line, doing work like machines, the feminized labour force under the processes of global capitalism (Chang, 2004; Lowe, 1991; Ong, 1999; Parreñas, 2001)—are frequently used. An individual blogger responded to well-known free-lance golf columnist Tom Callahan’s article “Korean women are dominating the LPGA tour” published in *Golf Digest* in 2003, and the blogger’s response became popular among US golf magazine readers:

> What enables South Korean lady golfers to be so formidable in the LPGA tour? It is nothing less than the Koreans’ talent to make things skillfully with their hands, a trait handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years. [The writer then compares Korean’s, especially Korean women’s, using chopsticks and food preparation especially making Kimchi, sewing, etc. The article ends as follows:] My only question is how did Annika Sorenstam become so dominant without Kimchi, chopsticks…?

In the narratives, Korean women golfers’ success was essentialized as biologically inherited or culturally trained skills (such as sewing, Kimchi-making with their hands, and using chopsticks) that are also exoticized and Orientalized. Academic and popular discourses on race, and arguments about a genetic basis for sport talent (scientific racism) have been challenged by many scholars. However, such biological determinism is still evident in conjunction with race and culture. The US sport media’s myth making around “the sudden success” of Korean women golfers and their “natural born” talents to work skillfully with their hands encourages a view of the women athletes as both individuals who have not had to work hard to achieve success, and as collective victims of the Korean patriarchal gender system, thus diminishing the meaning of Korean women golfers’ success (Kim, 2006). Frequently, the US sport media represent the
Korean women golfers’ success as a production of the Korean patriarchal gender system, and describe their success as if the good-daughter behaviour29 had created it. It is, however, difficult to ascribe as racialized those narratives that distinguish between people, especially when the language used does not directly refer to “biology,” “nature” or “types of bodies” but utilizes terms such as “culture,” “indigenous,” “tradition,” and “ethnicity” (Kothari, 2006; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Thus, it is important, when speaking of “race,” to consider whether all comparisons or references to, for example, “culture” are inevitably and always also racialized. Werbner (2005, p. 747) argues that within the social sciences “culture has come increasingly to be seen as a concept that essentialises, reifies, stereotypes, Orientalises, racialises, Others, exoticises and distorts the subjects of anthropological research.” Similarly, in the US media, the representational strategy has been shifted from gene to culture metaphor.

US (sport) media’s myth making around “the sudden success” of Korean women golfers, and their “natural born” talent to work skillfully with their hands, also encourage a view of the women athletes as collective victims of the Korean patriarchal gender system and ignores the women’s agency. Frequently, the US sport media represent the Korean women golfers’ success as the product of the Korean patriarchal gender system, and describe their success as if it was created by submissive good-daughter behaviour. The US media also identifies who is developed and who can legitimately bestow ideas about modernity, progress, morality and civility. The New York Times’ narratives explain how Korean patriarchy and its power relation works on the athletes. With these suggestive terms, the narrative pathologizes and problematizes the Korean fathers’ Asian-style education and their patriarchal manner on the tour. Shin and Nam (2004) analyzed the Korean women’s success beyond the golf course, and paid more attention to the

29 The good Korean (golf) daughter behaviour is frequently cited (cf., Shin & Nam, 2004). Korean parents are traditionally given the utmost respect by their daughters, are almost unquestionably obeyed in their parental direction because of their parental sacrifice (pp. 233-234).
social and cultural system. Although they delve into historical roots and social systems that may lead the women to become stronger, aggressive, and more independent, which they believe are necessary characteristics for an athlete, they see these as the result of historical and cultural deterministic forces. Therefore, the war experience, women’s cultural practices, and disciplined good-daughter behaviours provide and develop the athletic psyche and physique. This investigation, however, fails to consider the political and economic context, and raises significant questions. For instance, Shin and Nam (2004) cannot explain how and why these well-developed athletic skills come to be projected into golf, as opposed to any other sport, or how the women golfers and their parents deploy the discursive and material resources associated with professional golf in general and more specifically, the LPGA tour. Further, it shows that Korean male authors are also taking an essentialized view of Korean women’s success.

Because of this pathologized and problematized gaze focused on Korean gender and gender relations, the Korean women golfers become a project for the modernized, advanced White West. Reimagining and placing the mobile elite women within the transnational social basement provides immediate and convenient reason for the White West to take the saviour position against the racially specific oppressed woman subject since they (the White West) recognize the gender absurdity. The reasoning, therefore, inevitably leads to the production of the following narratives in the media: marking the Other as the (White) West’s project, and the Othering process takes its focus (gaze) from “them” to “us.”

**Marking the Other as a Project: The West’s Responsibility**

In this section I consider how the representations racializing the Other are not just about signifying racial difference by stereotyping, but also how the representational modality allows “us” (the US) to take flexible positional superiority (without revealing the speakers) by locating
the Korean women golfers in a subject position in which the women are from a problematic and
dangerous culture; therefore, they need to change, and the ultimate model for the changes is “us.”
In other words, Koreanness on the LPGA is subject to romantic transvaluations to White
American middle class women’s values. Yeğenoğlu (1998), drawing from Said’s (1979) work,
reasons that:

…if we admit that the power of Orientalism does not stem from the “distortion” of the
“reality” of the Orient, nor from the dissemination of “prejudiced” or “negative” images
about other cultures and peoples, but from its power to construct the very object it speaks
about and from its power to produce a regime of truth about the other and thereby
establish the identity and the power of the subject that speaks about it, then it becomes a
peripheral concern whether the images deployed to this end are “positive” or “negative.”
(pp. 89-90)
Said further explains that “In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this
flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible
relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand” (p. 7). The absent-
present “us” (the US) in media narratives is placed in a relationship with Korean women golfers
with a relatively superior position, therefore, the narratives suggest, Korean women golfers
should look up to the model “us”.

Se Ri Pak’s (and other Korean players’) “feminine” rhetoric, a stereotypical Asian
feminine rhetoric, is produced repeatedly, and the rhetoric’s suggestive meaning is that Korean
players’ sexuality is hidden and oppressed by the Korean gender system. In The New York Times
Magazine (1999) Se Ri Pak was described as follows:

The stylist touched up her hair, we did some slight makeup-and it’s like she became a
different person. “On the golf course, she had an androgynous look. But with the cap
off and the sweater on, she looked soft, feminine, just beautiful. I have one shot of her riding away in a golf cart, turning to look at us, and she smiles. She’s radiant, glowing.” Oh, to be 21, to be innocent, to be radiant and glowing when there’s darkness afoot. (The New York Times Magazine. March, 1999)

In the narrative, Se Ri Pak transforms into a beautiful, innocent, young woman through the [Western] stylist’s touch. The touch allows her to be “soft” and “feminine,” smiling at the West. In addition, the Oriental woman’s mysterious veiled subject is reproduced in the West as imaginary and fantasy, although veiling women is not a part of contemporary Korean culture. In an article in Golf For Women magazine (March/April 2006), under the sub-title of “Think globally, eat locally,” veiling/un-veiling is discussed in other terms:

On the LPGA tour, the Koreans are often perceived as shy, reserved and focused on their game to the point of being machinelike. Players such as Mallon feel this perception will change as the Koreans’ English improves and also as they emerge from the cultural cocoon [my emphasis] provided by their families and the Korean press.

The narrative is a good example of an articulation of sexuality with psychically structured Orientalism. The figure of the “veiled Oriental woman” signifies the Oriental woman as mysterious and exotic but also signifies the Orient as feminine, always veiled, seductive, and dangerous. As Said argues, the feminization of Orient is a common ideology in Orientalist discourse. Further, Chang (2004) contends that “the ‘Orient’ was produced discursively and epistemologically as a feminized location. The metaphorical feminization of the Orient resulted in the metonymic hyperfeminization of ‘oriental women’…” (p. 239). This practice of feminizing the East is what Revathi Krishnaswammy (1998) calls effeminization, “a process in which colonizing men use women/womanhood to delegitimize, discredit, and disempower colonized men” (p. 3). The process of effeminization is evident and ongoing.
Within the text, along with the effeminization process, the traditional masculinist assumptions of Orientalism meet the Western feminist discourse which seeks to “liberate” the veiled woman in the name of progress. Indeed, within the discourse of modernization, progress is conceived as a shift from the traditional to the modern (movement from badness to goodness, from mindlessness to knowledge) (Shanin, 1997. p.65). It is these racialized colonial dichotomies, such as “modern/backward,” “order/chaos,” “reason/emotion,” that have provided rationales for the practice of some people intervening in order to develop Others.

Further, what is emphasized is that there is a stranger, a guest who came to the host’s land and space, and is threatening the status of the host; therefore, the relationship between the host and the other should be defined clearly. Establishing the host versus guest relationship also suggests that the guests, the newcomers, should follow the host’s rules; especially the unspoken yet suggestive rule that ‘when you are in Rome, do as the Romans do’. Therefore, when the tension and controversy between the host and the guest is growing, the guest is the subject to be corrected or changed:

Grace Park, who was prone to outbursts of anger as well as withdrawing when her game was off, has made an effort to be more *even-tempered* on the course and more *outgoing* with fellow players and fans. [italics added] (*Golf for Women* magazine. March/April, 2004)

She [Grace Park] wasn’t the introverted, emotionally volatile newbie she had been only three years before. (*Golf for Women* magazine. March/April, 2006)

According to the media narratives, Grace Park has changed a lot: from an ‘emotionally volatile newbie’ to an even-tempered, outgoing golf-star. The discursive structure also suggests that once the colonizers reimagine their task as a “civilizing mission,” it implies that the colonized were not immutably inferior but could change through their encounters with the West. Not
surprisingly, this discursive structure is common in US sport narratives about Korean golfers. The LPGA Board of Directors nominated Grace Park as an “international spokesperson” in 2006 because of the tension and controversy in the LPGA. The narratives state that she was nominated because Park fit the mode of spokesperson for the international members. Though she is a Korean-born Korean, and unlike when she was a ‘newbie’ when she showed her inability to control her private emotions, she is now Americanized, a well-tempered and outgoing, therefore civilized member who is qualified as a good LPGA member. Golf for Women Magazine reports:

“Grace is Korean but also very Americanized,” says Inkster. “We’re trying to make decisions for the whole tour. But without the influence of international players, it’s not the whole tour. … By the end of the evening, Park had agreed to join the board, …

(Golf For Women Magazine. March/April, 2006).

Intended or not, this item suggests that international newcomers (especially Koreans) are introverted, emotionally unstable, and therefore need help. On the other hand, Grace Park had her Koreanness washed out by her, becoming “Americanized,” thus further removing her from her Korean newcomer’s childish, dependent heritage and solidifying her status as an appropriately developed Korean. This example also illustrates how the imperial relationship between the two countries also plays a role in the unconscious structure of Orientalism. Inequalities between the US and South Korea have been reified through global capitalist relations instantiated through histories of war and US military occupation, imperialism and neo-imperialism, development, immigration and trade (Joo, 2000). The relational nature of the contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes and the embedded regimes of power support the psychic structure of Orientalism.

In addition, the Korean women are constructed in relation to Korea (and Korean men) and to the West (and White men and women). Within those relations, the Korean nation and
Korean media are depicted as the villain. ‘They’ are the structural forces that oppress the young, talented, beautiful women, therefore, ‘we’, the civilized West recognize and criticize it, and eventually rescue the women, particularly from, as the narrative hints, Korean men’s brutal, unchivalrous behaviour. They ask their woman to carry heavy burden, unlike US men. The New York Times magazine (1999) interviewed Se Ri Pak’s former liaison/translator/traveling secretary Steven Kil, hired by the Samsung Company, and criticized these structured forces:

“In summer, she [Se Ri Pak] was a Korean hero. But in winter, no. The Korean people are quite disappointed now” [Steven Kil]. Here we should pause and take a deep breath before asking: How can anyone look on Pak’s wonderful work and find in it disappointment? The answer: It’s a Korean thing. …She’d become a national treasure.

“Our Joan of Arc,” Kil says. McNulty’s take: “She’s not bigger than Michael Jordan. But she may mean more to the Korean people than Jordan means to Americans. Our whole country doesn’t depend on his will to win, his desire, his success. We see him as an athlete, an entertainer. Se Ri, to Koreans, is more than that. The weight of a nation is on her shoulders. Jordan just carries the Bulls.

The three emergent themes of representational practices of the Other should not be treated as a singular or independent theme. They are interrelated and inform each other in US media representation. For example, the ambivalent and interrelated representations of Korean women golfers use both positive and negative images, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes separately, employ multiple representational modalities, and the absent-presence of the US in the US media constructions of Korean women golfers.

**Conclusion**

The arrival of Korean women professional golfers and their continued strong
performance in the White dominated sporting arena—the multi- and trans-national LPGA tour—provides a unique and key contact zone where the global and hemispheric dynamics of race, gender and nation are contested and re/formulated. While the increased media coverage of the Korean women golfers in the US (sport) media may be celebrated, it is essential and timely to critically investigate the ways in which the Korean women professional golf/ers are constructed in those media representations. In the stereotypical images of Asian women in the US, particularly in the contemporary era, Asian women are rarely conceptualized as being part of the mobile elite, and they are primarily viewed as being exploited by the processes of global capitalism. The Korean women golfers are, therefore, “unknowable” figure, because they do not fall into the stereotypes, they provoke Western cultural normativities in a way that triggers a crisis in American public consciousness (at least in the golf world), and they challenge the nature of the hegemonic link between Whiteness and the Other. Thus, growing anxiety in the US golf world about Korean women’s success and increasing presence on the LPGA tour led an obsession to know the Other and maintain the conceptual order between the self and the Other. The US media’s increased portrayals of the Korean golf phenomenon and a seemingly obsessive desire to ‘know’ them are the discursive productions of the contact zone.

The findings presented in this chapter illustrate how the Korean women professional athletes on the LPGA tour are examined in US print media, how the women’s gender, race, culture, and nation are read, and their athleticism understood, and how the media narratives relate the women to “us,” the Americans. In the chapter, I first critically connected US media narratives with post-colonial feminist explanatory frameworks regarding racialized, gendered and sexualized representations of the strangers, and then revealed how the media establishes the borderline between us and them, same and other. Multiple conditions exist in the media representations in which Asian/Korean professional women golfers are both/either incorporated
into and/or expelled from the physical and metaphorical boundaries of the transnational LPGA membership. However, the on-going constructions of Other as a racialized and gendered stranger, and the circulation of culturally resonant terms and images of Korean/Asian patriarchy and gendered cultural practices were part of the necessary framework upon which Orientalist assertions and representations of Others could be constructed. The media narratives provided an irrefutable imaginary backdrop ensuring the validity of White supremacy and the imperialist ordering of the world, and the veracity of these representations. Locating the Korean women professional golfers within the fluid discourses of American Orientalism, the US media demonized, pathologized, inferiorized, and at the same time celebrated, glamourized and fantasized the racialized women subjects.

Throughout the analysis, I attempted to show the dominant focus of representation of the Korean women athletes as the Other in US media, and how the discourse of the Other is fueled by American Orientalism. To counteract the tendency toward hierarchal Otherizing, and in the pursuit of social justice challenging stereotyped images of racialized women in sport, this study draws attention to Korean/Asian women athletes in sport studies by highlighting how the constructions of race, gender, class, sexuality and nation are represented within unequal power relations between the US and Korea. Paying close attention to the complicated dynamics of interlocking categories in society, especially in relation to a transnational sport phenomenon, this study also emphasizes the ways in which those social identity markers intersect in media narratives, and the working mechanisms within the discursive matrix of domination. While it is unclear at present to what extent Korean professional women golfers can exist in a deracialized, deimperializing form in the US sport media, what is evident is that this can be accomplished only through challenging hierarchy, racism, and sexism within discourse and practice.
CHAPTER VI. Re/Constructions of Nationalism and Patriarchy: Golf, Gender, Nation and Korean Media

The previous chapter described US media representations of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour, and discussed how the Korean women are re/constructed as welcomed and/or unwelcomed Oriental Other. This chapter now considers Korean media representations of the transnational women professional golfers, and examines how the same women athletes and transnational events are represented in Korean media. Special consideration is given to Korea’s social, political, and economic relations and place in the process of globalization and transnational movements that influence the media’s discursive productions and practices from 1998 to 2009. The results of the analysis are presented in the following order. First, I outline the system of Korean media representations, which are characterized by periodization and the dis/appearance of women, ambivalent and binary distinctions, and intersectional structures of representation. Second, in parallel to the previous chapter, I provide in-depth analysis of five systematic characteristics of the representations (media agenda and representational genre, style/modality/evaluation, difference, intertextuality/assumptions, and discourses) that are analyzed, based on Fairclough’s (2003) guidelines. And third, I provide discourse analyses of Korean media representations of the women golfers. The strongest and most repetitive discourses that emerged from this analysis were the production and reinforcement of Korean nationalism, loyalty and faithfulness to the principle of neo-Confucian norms and values with particular emphasis on family and kin relations and, at the same time, constructions of (new) women subjects who are productive and competitive citizens in neoliberal market-driven societies/nation-states.
The System of Korean Media Representation

Before introducing the themes that emerged from the discourse analysis of Korean media representation of the transnational Korean women golfers on the LPGA, there are four important points to note with regard to understanding the systemic nature of their representations: a) periodization and the dis/appearance of the women; b) ambivalent representation; c) binary dualism; and d) the intersectional structure of representations. As in the case of US media, these four aspects of the systemic natures of Korean media representation continue through from 1998 to 2009 in the media narratives, and support the story-telling and its sense-making process with regard to the discursive productions around the women’s golf phenomenon.

Periodization and the Dis/Appearance of the Female Subject

There are four time periods in Korean media representations of the transnational women golfers: The Start (Se Ri generation), Going Global, The Explosion, and Post-Se Ri (Se Ri’s Kid generation). I have named the periods in order to parallel the US media analysis; the time periods, however, show somewhat similar patterns to the US media. This is probably because Korean media often not only consider US media as authentic narrators with regard to the Korean women golfers, since the LPGA events (tournaments, pro-ams, etc.) are mainly held in the US, but also they cannot ignore the US media because of the cultural currency (and various other forms of currencies) that the US and English narratives have around the world. These time periods are characterized as follows:

The Start, the Se Ri period begins with Pak Se Ri’s debut (1998-1999). As in the US, Pak’s victories were sensational news to Koreans, and her debut was perceived (by media and by government) as a “new start” for Koreans to leave behind the IMF economic crisis, and to embrace the new millennium without the bailout humiliation. Anti-American sentiment in this
time period had also peaked, especially because of excessive US economic intervention under the IMF restructuring process, and the US capitals’ acquisition of Korea’s representative corporations at give-away prices (Kwon, 2006). Pak’s winning in US territory, therefore, was read by Korean journalists as something more than a golf tournament championship.

The *Going Global* period (1999-2002) is when transnational mega corporations such as Samsung in Korea started to systematically sponsor young Korean women’s and men’s golf to support potential LPGA golfers. In addition, they increased their sponsorship of the LPGA by increasing the prize-money for their brand-name LPGA tournament, “Samsung World Championship of Women’s Golf,” from USD500,000 to USD700,000 (LPGA website, 2011). Further, SBS (Seoul Broadcasting Station) and other Asian broadcasting companies started to purchase television broadcasting rights from the LPGA (KLPGA website, 2011).

The *Explosion* period (2003-2006) is when Pak Se Ri’s domination among Korean players ended and various new Korean champions started to appear on the LPGA tour. Korean players also began to win more tournaments. It is, therefore, the period when the US media started to complain about too many ‘Kims’ on the tour. The KLPGA also identifies this time as the “blooming” period: beginning in the early 2000s, after the IMF financial crisis, the Korean economy improved and women’s golf grew quickly and became stronger. In addition, political relations between Korea and the US pushed Korean media further to celebrate the increased number of Korean women on the LPGA as an “explosion.” Anti-American sentiments were once again in flamed in 2003, initiated by the 2002 *Misun-Hyosoon* incident. Although the incident

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30 Samsung initiated specialized golf schools for school children, and funded an increased number of local and national tournaments for middle- and high-school students.
31 Although Samsung withdrew from its sponsorship of the championship in 2000, their sponsorship increase in 1999 encouraged other transnational corporations; such as Subaru, Evian, and Office Depot, to sponsor the LPGA.
32 In 2002, two middle-school girls were crushed to death by a US military armoured vehicle. The two US infantrymen who drove the vehicle on a civilian road and killed the two girls were found not-guilty based on the Status Of Forces Agreement. The US army offered USD900 for each girl, and this incident fired Korean hatred of the US.
may not have had a direct influence on the Korean media’s representation of the women golfers on the LPGA tour, the media certainly started to pay more attention to Korean victories in the US.

Post-SeRi, Se Ri’s Kids Period (2007-2009) is the period when frequent media coverage passed from the first generation of Korean women golfers, including Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun, to the next generation of golfers, including Shin Ji Yai and Hong Jin Ju, the so-called “promising young rookies.” The Se Ri Kids, named by Korean media, refer to the fact that most of the new generation golfers started playing golf when they saw Pak Se Ri on television, especially when she won the 1998 LPGA Championship. The Korean media also seem to blame the new generation for not being as newsworthy as the previous generation in both Korea and the US.

Throughout the four time periods established here, the first important thing to note regarding systemic nature of Korean media’s representation of the women golfers is that the media actively periodize the women golfers’ influx into the US, and define the time changes from a linear development perspectives: the present is always better than the past, and the future will always be better than the present. Further, along with the periodization, the women golfers are framed as, for example, “our (dutiful) daughter,” and “our (my) (fragile) younger sister.” By periodizing the women golfers’ influx into the US, the women’s individual agency can easily be forgotten (dismissed), and their group identity, which is often represented as Korea’s collective female (golf) identity, replaces the individual agents’ space to celebrate the performance, the golf excellence. Korean media continuously re/define the time of the women golfers’ influx, and often name those time periods in terms of the linear development of a “group” or a “family” project. For example, the most visible periodization in Korean media is their classification of [Pak] Se Ri Era versus Se Ri Kids’ Era. These representational devices signify the meaning
making process, defining women golfers’ successful performance in the US as “our” success or “the nation’s” achievement. Further, in this narrative technique and textual construction, whether it is intended or not, the stories produced gain textual authority from their readers: the events happened outside of Korea; therefore, the media or the reporters’ position as information transformer guarantees their authority. At the same time, their position for reporting the events is above and more comprehensive than what actually happened on the course.

As a consequence, two structural characters of this narrative technique reveal themselves. The first is that the women are celebrated as the nation’s representatives and symbols on the LPGA tour; therefore, a woman golfer’s individual agency as a transnational professional golf entrepreneur is not fully recognized. Treating the women golfers as a collective representative of the nation allows the media to keep representing the women’s success as the nation’s progress and triumph, especially within the unequal power relations between US and Korea. It also establishes the media’s voice as authoritative. The second, and closely connected with the first point, is that the women appear as highly gendered subjects; however, the sexualized women subjects that are typical in sport media often disappear in Korean media. I argue that this is because the media treat the women golfers as symbols of national collective identity. Unlike other male dominated (sport) media (even in Korea) where portrayals of women athletes are frequently sexualized, the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour are constructed as androgenized and desexualized females within the boundary of Korean male hegemony and patriarchy. It is arguably a specificity of Korean nationalism that is closely intertwined with Confucian ideology. In the following analyses, this conjunction is discussed again.

Ambivalent Representations

Similar to US media representations, Korean media’s representations of the transnational
women golfers are ambivalent. The systematic nature of ambivalent representation is taken up by Korean media and used to mobilize different (often conflicting) discourses. The ambivalence is characterized by: a) employing contradictory terminology; and b) both de-sexualized and hyper-gendered representations as discursive politics, depending on (particular) discourse/s that the narrative aims to promote.

**Employing Contradictory Terminology**

Korean media tend to employ ambivalent, rather contradictory, terminology when they portray the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour, not only over the different time periods, but also by the events that they report. The ambivalent terminology more frequently emerges i) when the media report on gender relations, ii) certain events (winning or family-related events), and iii) when the media report on the LPGA tour (as opposed to the domestic KLPGA tour), iv) the White Americans as opposed to Koreans on the LPGA tour, and v) more broadly the US (as opposed to Korea).

First, when the media report the women golfers’ victories, the narratives increasingly use male, androgenic terms, and these appear more often in the later time periods since the number of Korean players has increased and they win more major tournaments. Examples are: “bare-feet combative spirit [Pak Se Ri]”; “Kim Mi Hyun, a man of mighty sinews, ranked 4th”; “a great ‘Korean typhoon’ blows the American green”; “Shin Ji Yai—‘record-breaking machine,’ ‘iron-heart,’ ‘walking corporation,’ ‘never-ending challenges’ (DI, 2008)”; “US media report, ‘Koreans rule LPGA’.” However, especially when the media report the women golfers’ family-related (or oriented) events, Korean media tend to employ female, estrogeneric terms. Example include: “a ‘rose’ [Pak] blooming in a garbage-can [read it as a metaphor of Korea’s economic crisis, messy political conditions, and poor golf infra-structure]”: “sorry daddy. But now I [Kim
Mi Hyun] got confidence. Soon I will give you the championship cup.” (More examples and in-depth discussion are provided in the following section.)

Second, contradictory terms and narratives are used with reference to the LPGPA tour, about the White (American) members, and more broadly about the US. The historically, politically, culturally, and economically complicated relationship between Korea and the US has established a sort of love-hate relationship among Koreans and in circulated public discourses in Korea. In a similar vein, the employment of ambivalent narratives often happened on the KLPGA tour, about the Korean members on the LPGA tour (e.g., the use of androgenic and estrogenic terms), and about the Korean players’ fathers. For example, the KLPGA tour was often portrayed as a rich farm for development of skilled golfers; at the same time, the Korean tour is often pictured as basic and less developed compared to the advanced LPGA, in the sense of a minor league against a major league. Examples of those contradictory usages are provided and discussed in the section on discourse analysis.

*De-sexualized and Hyper-gendered Representation*

Ambivalent discursive politics involving desexualized and hyper-gendered representations of the women golfers are present over the four time periods. It is evident in Korean media that traditional feminized representations of women athletes have changed, or at least have been challenged, by the transnational Korean women professional golfers. For example, some conventional media representations of men in sport, such as “man-as-machine,” that are complemented by militaristic descriptions (McKay, 1992), are now actively used with reference to women golfers. Examples used in Korean media are: *Iron-heart; Korean troops/combatants; bare-feet combative spirit* [Pak Se Ri]; *mighty sinews; bull-dog; and record-breaking machine* [Shin Ji Yai] (see the Media Agenda and Social Actor section below).
Gendered representations, however, still dominate; therefore, feminized words such as *golf princess, smile queen, and fashion model on a field* were used for the women golfers. Behind the Korean media’s interplay between androgenic and estrogenic terms and their discrepant perception of the women and the women’s performances there are various politico-cultural interests and discourses. The de-sexualized and hyper-gendered representations were seemingly required because the main discourses that the media tried to produce do not promote the sexualized nature of women subjects; that is structurally prohibited. For example, in nation-building discourses, the highly promoted woman subject is represented a *mother or mother-hood or (good) daughter or girl who is soon to be part of the national production through her biological productivity.* The sexualized woman subject has no place in nation-building discourse. As a number of scholars have argued, historically, women are portrayed in the media as having one of two general characters: a wife/mother or a sexual object (e.g., Burris, 2006). In Korean media, the transnational women golfers are portrayed differently. In a non-systematic examination of Korean media, it appeared that domestic women golfers who are close to the conventional beauty standard are given highly sexualized representations, but *not* Korean LPGA members.

The Korean LPGA members are hyper-gendered when Korean media treat them as an active discursive field for promoting Confucian gender norms and values, at the same time actively producing the internalized gendered subject. For example, Kim Mi Hyun was reported as reproducing [or repeating] the notorious assumption about Korean women golfers’ cultural genes making them excellent golfers:

After the Order of *Maengho* reward ceremony, president Kim and journalists asked her “what is the secret that Korean women golfers conquest the world continuously?” She took a while to think and answered “traditionally Korean women have been doing
knitting and cloth-pulling with wooden bars a lot so [we] have manual dexterity. [I guess I] inherited the [hand-] sensitivity” (Chosun Ilbo. October 26, 1999)

With regard to the stressful situation that Kim was in, and if I am permitted to offer a vindication for her, under the circumstances it would not have been appropriate to say, “I worked hard, and every Korean women golfer is working hard, so we deserve our victories. Working hard made us the best.” That could have been interpreted as arrogant, especially in front of the president and media ‘experts’. What is recommended to be safe is being humble. For her, therefore, the only remaining available discourse was to make the comments that she did.

However, the Korean media’s ambivalent representations of the transnational women golfers are within the boundaries of hetero-masculine patriarchal discourses. It is important to note here that the discourses that are produced around the women, though the narrating devices are conflicting or discrepant, do serve to promote a hetero normative patriarchy. Further, the dominant Korean narratives about the women professional golfers analyzed here are produced by conservative male journalists. The styles and modalities that Korean media have employed are seemingly ambivalent and rather conflicting; however, the target discourses (produced discourses), such as Korean nationalism and neo-Confucian gender and family discourses, are closely tied to, deeply entwined with, and still under the umbrella discourse of heteromasculine discursive production. The power of gendered language in sport is alive and well; at the same time, sexual body rhetoric or hyper-sexualized language tends to be forbidden in Korean media.

**Binary Dualism**

Binary dualisms frequently appeared to make distinctions in Korean media, such as domestic versus international, home versus away, (local) KLPGA versus (global) LPGA; basic versus advanced; women versus men; younger versus elder/older; old versus new; mother versus
father. These binary, yet often ambivalent, distinctions are a fundamental rhetorical device when Korean media report on the LPGA events, the women golfers, the golfers’ fathers, and the golfers’ sponsorship companies. With the presence of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour and their visibility in US media, Korean media categorized those golfers as “international” players (although almost all the players hold KLPGA membership), and the rest of the players are grouped together as “domestic” players. The nuances of the binary categorization are, however, multiple and fluid. For example, the LPGA tournaments are portrayed as multi/trans-national events that can be an ultimate goal for any top-level skilled professional women golfers who have ambition. The LPGA tour, therefore, is the most advanced women’s professional golf tour in the world, and in that nuance, the KLPGA tour is considered as basic, and less developed. On the other hand, the KLPGA tour is often portrayed as the most advanced because they produced so many of the “world’s-top level women golfers. The suggestive and multiple meanings of basic-less developed-rural-inferior-periphery versus advanced-urban-centre-superior are attached to the signs, Korea/n, US/American, LPGA, KLPGA, domestic, international, and flow among the signs.

What further complicates this binary categorization and the flow of its meaning is the frequent home-away distinction in the media narratives. The notion of home-away is often dramatized through the Korean media’s signifying practices of home versus away. Home is constructed as here, familiar, family, comfort, and therefore offers great advantage points, especially for playing golf. On the other hand, away is constructed as there, strange, other, difficult, stress; therefore, it is defined as a space of privation. As part of the discursive practices of the media narratives, the home-away becomes a more important and frequent matter in this case because the traveler who crosses the border between home and away is (our) woman (daughter/sister). In this home-away discourse, the woman takes the centre stage. Freeman
(2001) criticizes globalization discourse as widely promoting a binary of global as masculine and local as feminine terrains and practices, and Korean media is no exception. The fact that the women golfers entered the masculine terrain may be the reason why Korean media often use protective terms about the women golfers on the LPGA, or the reason why the women’s fathers are so frequently visible in the narratives (so that the media confirm to their readers that the women are protected in the unfamiliar space). Therefore, the women’s families often take the centre stage, rather than the individual woman. In Korean media, the “small-scale” individuals such as the family unit (often the woman golfer with her father) are engaged in a complex of activities in masculine terrain; activities that are both embedded within and at the same time transforming practices of global capitalism. These complicated yet powerful dichotomies and their fluctuating nature play an important role in Korean media representations of the women golfers on the LPGA tour.

**Intersectional Structure of the Representation**

In the previous chapter, I showed how the US media often intersect the Korean women’s identity markers in order to authorize the racialized discourses of inferiority and abnormality. In Korean media, the interlocking system and intersectional structure of media representation works to maintain the patriarchal gender and cultural norms and power relations of the society. The systematic nature of intersectionality is discussed in the following sections.

**Discourse Analysis of Korean Media Representations**

This section provides an overview of the discourse analysis of Korean media portrayals of the women golfers from 1998 to 2009. The overview is based on Fairclough’s (2003) guideline for analyzing strategies of representations. The check list for the content and discourse
analysis of the media representations is: a) agenda and representational genre; b) style, modality and evaluation; c) difference; d) intertextuality and its assumptions; e) discourses (see Chapter III for further details).

**Agenda and Representational Genre**

In this section, I introduce the agendas chosen by Korean media to make sense of women’s professional golf on the LPGA tour. The process of meaning-making around the media agenda, the kind of events that are frequently chosen, and the ways (genres) in which the events are reported are an essential element for a comprehensive understanding of discursive knowledge production. As in the previous chapter, I provide tables for both media agendas and social actors, and introduce sample highlights portrayed in the media over the time periods. In comparison to the US media, the number of articles and the media agendas reported is much larger and more varied. The tables, therefore, are longer than in the previous chapter. They show briefly the chronological changes and repetitive patterns (if there are any) of the media representations, and at the same time, capture the diverse media agendas and social agents that are reported in the media.

**Agenda**

As the sample highlights in Table 6-1 show, the media has covered a variety of agendas and has offered in-depth story-tellings about the transnational women golfers. Events that frequently caught the attention of the media were characterized by: i) intense media attention in domestic media; ii) winning in the US; iii) family; vi) sponsorship contract/s; v) professional golf as women’s (short-term) career; vi) athletic performance; vii) neo-Confucian values and middle classness; viii) sport talent as a means for upward mobility; ix) scientific/advanced training.
Sample highlights are presented in Table 6-1 (for an extended list of examples, see Appendix J).

1. Intense media attention: Korean ‘women’ athletes are more marginalized than their male counterparts when it comes to media coverage. There have been a limited numbers of events in which women (high performance) athletes gain media attention and publicity in nation-wide media, such as summer and winter Olympic Games and to a lesser degree, the Asian Games. Media publicity for women athletes during the non-Olympic seasons, however, decreases dramatically except for women’s professional golf. Following Pak Se Ri’s two major LPGA tournament wins in 1998, Korean media, in particular newspaper coverage of women’s professional golf, increased immediately. Further, news items around women’s golf began to focus on more than competitive success, now including tournament participation throughout the world, pro-am games, contract incidents including detailed information about the amount of contract money and personal stories about the sponsorship company, father-daughter relations, biographical details about the women golfers including the women’s family history, the woman and her caddie, and the women’s philanthropic social participation such as donations, volunteer activities, and so on. Although there are no published comparative studies about the quantity of media coverage on women’s sports in Korea\(^{33}\), it is noticeable that the frequency of media coverage and the amount of space that media devote to the transnational women professional golfers has increased since 1998.

In addition to the rapidly increased media attention given to women golfers, it is evident that Korean media intensely scrutinize the golfers on the LPGA tour. It is not clear whether the Korean public’s increased attention to the women golfers caused the media’s intense scrutiny or if the media’s attention and frequent reports about the women drew the public’s attention. It has, however, become normalized through the history of transnational golf migration that whoever

\(^{33}\) There are, however, a number of quantitative comparative studies on the amount of media coverage during Olympic games.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Time period</th>
<th>Major events that are reported</th>
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| 1998 | The Start: The Se Ri Period (Kim, YS presidency: '93-'98) | - Yellow squall in the White field  
- A ‘rose’ [Pak] blooming in a garbage-can [read it as a metaphor of Korea’s economic crisis, messy political conditions, and poor golf infrastructure] |
| 1999 | - with no sponsors, Kim Mi Hyun travels the US with her father (51) and mother (46) with a second-hand van, cook and eat their meals on the road. But she has no complaint, just waits for the day she will climb to the top  
- Kim Mi Hyun left [Incheon] airport to her grandmother’s (78 years-old) home to greet her, and ran directly into her regular [Korean style] sausage place, finishing off rice-sausage and sausage soup [iconic dishes for lower working class]  
- President Kim [Dae Jung] awarded Kim Mi Hyun the Maengho Medal [the Order of Sport merit awarded to athletes who enhance Korean national prestige in sport fields] |
| 2000 | The Going Global Period | - Park Gee Eun combines magnificent looks with talent, becomes popular among Americans as well  
- Korean damsels are fully mobilized for the Longs Drugs Challenge  
- ‘Peanut’ [Kim Mi Hyun], a beautiful fighting spirit: ranked within top 10 though she is on acupuncture therapy  
- ‘Roly-poly’ Jang Jeong ranked 13th |
| 2001 | - Golf Daddy: There were daddies behind the female golfers’ championship on the US LPGA  
- Park Gee Eun donated in total around USD77,533 (W90,000,000) to the Red Cross for aiding deprived people. |
| 2003 | Explosion Period | - “Super Peanut’s warm winter”: following the 30 billion Won re-contract with her main sponsor (KTF), Kim Mi Hyun snapped up by clothing [Kim Young Ju Fashion] and golf equipment [Honma, Japanese golf club maker] and brought a fairly good income.  
- “[Pak Se Ri] would learn a game from men”: Pak entered yesterday for the gender match |
| 2004 | | - Kim Mi Hyun purchased a domestic [car] Equus for the time when she stays home [Korea]  
- Park Gee Eun won her first LPGA major championship, [and] there are 6 Koreans among top 10 [at Kraft Nabisco Championship] (JoongAng Ilbo. March 30)  
- Pak Se Ri earned qualification for ‘Hall of Fame’: for the first time among Asians  
- Ahn Shi-hyun, ‘pinky smile’ [she often wear pink top, bottom, and cap] |
| 2005 | | - Enthusiastic first victory of Jang Jeong [at the British Open]  
- Missy-golfer, Han Hee Won dedicated her championship cup to her father-in-law for his birthday present…(DI. 5/10)  
- The trophy is bathed in tears: [Shin Ji Yai] lost her mother by car accident, her father serves as her caddie (CI. 12/9) |
| 2006 | | - Kim Mi Hyun returned to the top after 45months (DI. 2/5) |
- Along with Pak Se Ri’s come-back after two years, CJ [Pak’s sponsorship company] stood strong as well (J.I. 13/6)
- Jang Jeong, Wegmans LPGA Championship, after the final, she attended the memorial ceremony for the [American] soldiers in the Korean War…(Di. 27/6)
- ‘Birdie-queen’s return’: Park Gee Eun ranked top on the first day [of the opening tournament of LPGA, SBS Open]

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<tr>
<th>2007</th>
<th>Post-SeRi: Se Ri Kids’ Period</th>
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<td></td>
<td>- A bigger victory that Kim Mi Hyun showed: [she] cut half of the prize money [the SGC prize] and donated—[she] carved an image of ‘beautiful Korean’ [among Americans] (Cl. 10/5)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>- ‘Big 3’: Pak Se Ri—Kim Mi Hyun—Park Gee Eun, ‘Green Damsels’ Chat’: Marriage, donation [Kim donated $11million for Tornado Victims in the US], other donation (they will donate for the victims of Virginia Tech gun-fire…) (Di. 11/5)</td>
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<td>- Three consecutive victory…‘Shin Ji Yai Typhoon’ on Korean green: first time since Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun (Cl. 25/6)</td>
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<td>- the best dinner for me [Min Na On] is the food that my father cooks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- At last, ‘bare feet fighting spirit’ Pak Se Ri named to ‘Golf Hall of Fame’ (J.I. 14/11)</td>
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<th>2008</th>
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<td>- ‘The most revered Korean’ Shin Ji Yai became ‘the world most revered’: won victory with 18-under-par at the British Women’s Open (Di. 4/8)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- ‘Pak Se Ri Kid’ Park In-bee is the first teenage ‘major-queen’ of the US Women’s Open (J.I. 1/7)</td>
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<td>- ‘Domestic Majesty’ Shin Ji Yai, accession to the ‘World Major Queen’ (Cl. 4/8)</td>
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<td>- World amazed by the ‘final queen’ Shin Ji Yai (Cl. 5/8)</td>
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<td>- “They are coming in crowds”… [Americans are] shiver about the ‘Pak Se Ri Kids’ (J.I. 5/8)</td>
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<td>- Who will be the ‘million-dollar Cinderella’?: ADT Championship…half of the final entry is Korean (Cl. 24/11)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- In the US yesterday, today is in Japan, Shin Ji Yai aims at tri-national major V (J.I. 27/11)</td>
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<th>2009</th>
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<td></td>
<td>- ‘Logoless cap’ Shin Ji Yai, “[I’m] doing my best…”: ‘empty-handed Cinderella’ condition [because of the] non-successful sponsorship contract (Cl. 4/2)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘Final queen’s’ (Shin Ji Yai’s nickname) resurrection: HSBC Women’s Championship (J.I. 9/3)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- women pro-golfers marching to JLPGA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Korean Sisters on the LPGA: ‘the continental U.S. is also our land!’</td>
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</table>

wins championships on the LPGA becomes an immediate subject for the media’s intense scrutiny. Among the transnational women golfers, on both the US and Japanese tours, Pak Se Ri received the most dedicated scrutiny by the Korean media. Pak’s phone interview with Chosun
Ilbo in June 2009 led to the following report:

[Pak Se Ri] was afflicted with a major slump, following her first slump in 2004-2005, from 2007 to the beginning of this year. …sarcastic remarks and ‘malignant rumor’ [dating non-Korean man] were circulated. …“If the rumors were true, how could I possibly manage to attend games every week? In the US, it is a culture that understands an athlete’s slump and waits [until the athlete get over it]. But Korean athletes feel as if they are on a roller-coaster. When you win a championship [Korean people] put you on clouds, but if you don’t do well, [they] dash you to the ground…” she said. (Chosun Ilbo. June 10, 2009)

Kim Mi Hyun also once commented, in the media, how Korean media closely scrutinize her personal life, even her fashion choices. Further, by commenting how American people do not care about her fashion, she indirectly remarks on the intense media attention from Korea. The article reads:

[interviewer] Do you wear long pants on purpose? [she used to wear short pants in Korea]

[Kim Mi Hyun] “I bought shorts, but they look long. American people do not say this and that about clothing, but only Koreans do a lot. I’m now 22-years-old and am an adult, so I hope people don’t do that.” (Chosun Ilbo. October 12, 1999)

As both Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun’s interviews illustrated, the women golfers on the LPGA tour are subject to media attention not only for their athletic performances, but also their private lives such as their taste and preference in clothing (Kim’s case) and the relationship between dating and athletic performance (Pak’s case). No matter how the women receive the publicity, their celebrity-level scrutiny is naturalized and, in many case, celebrated as prestigious or as a privilege by Korean media. The media’s logic, and to a certain extent, that of the general public,
is that the former marginalized group of women athletes has taken the centre stage in media attention; therefore, the shift from lack of media attention to plenty is a net gain for the women athletes. Thus, intense media attention should be tolerated. This logic is pervasive among the women golfers as well. Although some of the women athletes have complained publicly about their stress as a result of intense media attention, especially an excessive number of interview requests mostly in the middle of a tournament, the majority of the women golfers also recognizes that media attention is prestigious and a vehicle for them to keep the public’s attention on their sport.34

2. Winning/success in the US—a reminder of relations between the two nations and amplification of Korean pride: The most frequent Korean media agenda involves the women’s victories. In addition, the women’s victories on the LPGA tour undergo a further intense signifying process in conjunction with the media’s special emphasis on the symbolic meaning of the US. Because of the historical, political, and economic contexts of US-Korea relations, the (public) meaning of the women’s presence on the LPGA in general, and on top of the podium in particular, is given more weight than simply that of winning a tournament. With all that, winning in the US is mainly portrayed as either victory in a battle against the US, or achieving a dream in the most powerful country in the world.

First, winning LPGA tournaments is often portrayed as a battle between Korea/ns and the US/Americans, where LPGA events are constructed as a physical as well as symbolic battleground. Further, the battles are portrayed in terms that remind the Korean reader of the unequal power relations between Korea and the US, but unlike the reality of the relationship, the golf battles are won by the powerless/oppressed Korea. For example:

34 In my supplementary interview, four of the women golfers used the word “thankful” for the Korean media’s attention to them, and three others internalized the media attention as part of their public service responsibility by stating “because we are the representatives of Korea and Korean women’s golf, we have to meet our people’s expectations.”
[1998] - Yellow squall in the White field; - Pak Se Ri drove us to being joyful; - Little pepper [read: Korean] tastes more spicy than big/tall pepper [Read: American].

[1999] - Korean *nangja* [damsels], strike the LPGA; - Nation’s darling, Kim Mi Hyun

[2000] The two ‘peanuts [Kim Mi Hyun and Jang Jeong, well known as short/small Korean players on the LPGA tour] beat Laura Davis [portrayed as ‘King-kong,’ read: giant and less feminine White American]’ The little peppers were spicier. … as her [Laura Davis] nickname ‘female John Daly,’ [the longest hitter on PGA] her tee-shot flew on average 30-40 yards more than Kim Mi Hyun and Jang Jeong. … But when it comes to score, the shortest (1m51cm) Jang Jeong scored two under-par (4 birdies, 2 bogies), Kim Mi Hyun got one under-par (3 birdies, 2 bogies), and Davis (1m78cm) marked even-par (2 birdies, 2bogies). … she [Davis] showed off her longest driver, but did three-putts and couldn’t make birdie, she was agitated by it (*Chosun Ilbo*, October 26, 2000)

[2002] ‘Korean wind’ never stops on LPGA: *Tae-geuk* Combatants [literal meaning of ‘tae-geuk’ is ‘the entity of the cosmos,’ but in this case, it refers to the name of the Korean flag, *Tae-geuk-ki*]

[2003] A great ‘Korean typhoon’ blows the American green


[2006] Jang Jeong, Wegmans LPGA Championship, after the final, she attended a memorial ceremony for US soldiers in the Korean War at the nearby Rochester National Cemetery. …she heartily accepted the invitation, and people gave her a round of applause [for the acceptance] (DI. 27/6)

[2008] - “They are coming in crowds”…[Americans] shiver about the Pak Se Ri Kids (JI. 5/8); - In the US yesterday, today is in Japan, Shin Ji Yai aims at tri-national major V
[symbol for victory] (JL. 27/11)

[2009] Korean sisters on the LPGA: ‘the continental U.S. is also our land!’

Pak Se Ri’s very first victory in an LPGA tournament was represented as a Korean squall in the White American field. She was a representative and reminder of the Korean nation, a little pepper within the international relations, especially with the US, the big/tall pepper. Her winning was sublimated to a little Koreans’ victory against the big Americans in the statement that the little pepper tastes spicier. Korean media collectively celebrated her triumph as a victory for all of us (Korea/n). This 2000 portrayal also visualized the competition between Korean and American players as competition between a little man and a giant. In reality, the US is always the giant to Korea, in politics, economy, military, and so on. The physically advanced/superior American (player) showed off her strength in driving; the result, however, was the small Koreans’ winning. In the structure of story-telling, Kim, Jang and Davis are taken up as effective tools (means) for comparing the two nation-states, symbolizing the realities, and becoming a space for imagination. There is a reminder that national relations and reality sometimes go further to include Japan since there are Korean members of the JLPGA, and at the same time, several Korean LPGA members hold JLPGA membership (see the year 2008 excerpt).

While Korean media construct the US territorial space as a battleground, there are also ambivalent or conflicting constructions of US space as: a space where a talented youth can have a dream and make the dream come true. These ambivalent spatial relations have happened through an active construction of the notion of home-away and, further, a construction of the LPGA as a metropolitan center and the KLPGA as a peripheral site (see Binary Dualism above). The space of the LPGA tour is set as a reminder of the unequal power relations between the two nation-states, rooted in subordinated relationship to the US political, economic and military power; at the same time, the space is a norm of global standards, and the ultimate competition
ground for women’s professional golf.

It is, however, important to note here that there is a fine line between the woman golfer and her victory in the process of sublimation. The woman golfer becomes the nation’s ‘darling’; however, the woman is not replaceable by the nation. Her victory is. In this sense, Korean women are taken up by the media as imaginative and substitutive subjects so that Koreans indirectly experience winning against the US (which does not often happen in reality except in the sport of women’s golf), and that Koreans indirectly accomplish their dreams in the most powerful country in the world through the women golfers.

3. Family: Another key Korean media agenda involves the golfer’s family, family members, and/or their family-related/-oriented events and activities. In particular, the woman golfer’s father, named ‘Golf Daddy’ (with positive connotations; see detailed explanations in the ‘social actor’ section following), is the most frequent news item since Korean media perceive the father as the woman golfer’s representative (for the public relations), trainer, cook, mentor, nutritionist, friend, driver, schedule manager, fashion coordinator, and so on. The term ‘golf daddy’ started to appear in media narratives in 2001, seemingly as a response to the US media’s usage of the term. The meaning associated with the term in Korean media is somewhat contrary to the American narratives. The following excerpts briefly capture the narratives on women golfers’ fathers, and the ways in which their family is described in the media.

[ 1999] …with no sponsors, Kim Mi Hyun travels the US with her father (51) and mother (46) with a second-hand van, cook and eat their meals on the road. But she has no complaints, just waiting for the day she will climb the top (1999)

[2001] Golf Daddy: There were daddies behind the female golfers’ championships on the US LPGA (2001)

[2005] The trophy is bathed in tears: [Shin Ji Yai] lost her mother in a car accident, her
father serves as her caddie (CI. 12/9)

[2009] Carrying bags, collecting balls, grilling [their daughters]…there are certainly father[s] behind the [women golf] champion[s] (CI. 14/7)

The positive portrayals of the golf daddy and frequent reports about the women’s family in Korean media have a lot to do with the reality of the nomadic life of transnational Korean women golfers. First, the woman golfer’s father performs a great deal of work to support his daughter’s career. The majority of the Koreans on the LPGA tour do not have corporate sponsorship. Pak Se Ri with Samsung (later in her career, with CJ Entertainment), and Shin Ji Yai with Mirae Asset are rare exceptions. Most of the women golfers manage their LPGA careers as a small family business: her family, mostly her father, performs multiple roles, from booking travel from one tournament to another, signing contracts mostly with domestic Korean companies, to driving and cooking. Often, it is inevitable to hear the fathers’ voice more frequently than the players’. Second, on and off the field, Korean media have better access to the golfer’s father than to the highly stressed-out athlete before competition. The father and the Korean ‘male’ reporter/journalist may be ‘smoking buddies’ during the (American/Korean) tournaments, and ‘drinking buddies’ off of the field at night during tournaments.35

4. Sponsorships/contracts are surprising news-items: On rare occasions the Korean (sport) media agenda involved reporting women professional athletes’ multi-million dollar sponsorship contracts. Since Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun, sponsorship contracts are sometimes more valuable than those of male athletes, and it is now more common for the media to report on the women golfers’ contracts.

The Korean media treat the contract events either as surprising news items in terms of contract size, or as corporate masculine capital’s support of the nation’s daughter/sister.

35 On LPGA tournaments in North America, most often the players and the journalist/reporters from Korea stay in the same hotel, and usually the golfers’ fathers socialize with the Korean (male) journalists at night.
Historically, the amounts of contract money for professional women athletes are lower than their male counterparts. However, some Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour signed for more money and better contract conditions than male professional golfers or other male celebrity athletes such as Park Chan Ho, a major league baseball player. See Table 4-5 in Chapter IV (Sponsorship contracts among 1st generation transnational golfers), and the following excerpts:

Kim Mi Hyun, 50 million USD contract with HB telecom for two years (1999).

New-generation golfer Lee Jeong Yeon signed a contract with HanKook Tire for 4 years with just over a million USD ($1,060,529)(W1,260,000,000) (1999).

Women golfers not only entered into the traditionally male/masculine market places such as Samsung with Pak Se Ri, a telecommunications company with Kim Mi Hyun, and a tire company with Lee Jeong Yeon, but the contracts were of a far longer duration and for more money than their male counterparts.

Further, Korean media treat the women’s contract events as the masculine nation’s gift/treat for their proud daughter/sister. In 2009, Shin Ji Yai had not yet found a satisfactory sponsorship company; therefore, she started her season with no commercial logo in her cap. Korean media called her “empty-handed Cinderella:”

‘Logoless cap’ Shin Ji Yai, “[I’m] doing my best…”: ‘empty-handed Cinderella’

[because of the] unsuccessful sponsorship contract (Chosun Ilbo. April, 2, 2009)

The suggestion was that one of the Korean mega corporations, such as Mirae Asset, was supposed to decorate/equip our beautiful (talented) Cinderella, or the handsome (economically powerful) prince was supposed to bring the glass-slipper to her, but somehow it was delayed.

It is also interesting to note the emphasis on the athlete’s emotional attachment to the contract company, and celebratory narratives of the almost blood relationship between the athlete and the sponsorship company. For instance, Kim Mi Hyun’s sponsorship contract with HB
Telecom was reported as a beautiful human-relationship:

   Peanut Kim Mi Hyun—Refusal with tears: sponsor HB Telecom suggests that she finds a bigger corporation (without any condition, they will release her from the sponsorship), but Kim refused because of her gratitude to the company (*Chosun Ilbo*. October 20, p.33. 1999)

The transformative slippage from a profit-driven corporation’s sponsorship for the women golfers to philanthropic support is happening in Korean media mainly because media treat the women as the nation’s golf representatives who will fight against the US.

5. Professional golf as women’s (short-term) career: Before the women golfers’ arrival on the LPGA tour and their successful performances, women professional athletes were not recognized in the media as having a socially established and financially secure career. As in North America, women athletes are considered as less athletic, and rarely conceptualized as having serious, stable careers in comparison to their male counterparts. These stereotypes and, in many cases, realities that women athletes faced have changed since Pak Se Ri’s success in the US, and media representation has contributed strongly to the change. The change in representation was mainly initiated by the amount of prize money and sponsorship contract: financial security. As noted, media actively report on sponsorship contracts. In sport marketing, these events strikingly changed the paradigm, not only in terms of the traditionally different amounts of contract money between male and female athletes, but also of the women’s entrance into the traditional male terrains which are constructed as more serious, and therefore more rewarding.

The financial security and economic power that women golfers are achieving is the major reason that Korean media recognize professional golf as a women’s career; however, media tend to frame the career ideally as “short-term:”
CEO Park [Park Gee Eun’s father] is a ‘forever caddie’ who reads Ms. Gee Eun’s mind the best. Lately, the daughter reads her father’s mind in this way: “golfer Pak Gee Eun’s father wishes his daughter to climb the top at least for a couple years. But a soon-to-be-thirty daughter’s father wishes different. He so well knows the painful world of competition [in professional golf], [he wants his daughter to] live an ordinary woman’s life. My [Park Gee Eun] thoughts are changing frequently. [On the one hand] for three years, purely focus on golf and become champion and then retire, but [on the other hand] all of a sudden, I sometimes dream about ordinary marriage.” (DongA Ilbo. November 3, 2006)

Although Park Gee Eun was taking her career seriously for the short term, and imagining ordinary married life, Korean media frequently report those narratives with regard to other women golfers, especially women with so-called “best-fit duration for marriage.” This can be taken as evidence that a social paradigm regarding sport as a life-time career has not yet been established, or not accepted in Korean media.

6. Athletic performance: Korean media frequently cover the players’ athletic performances: computer-like swings; tough mettle especially in final rounds and strong mental games against White American athletes; overcoming their Asian physicality (i.e., short height, weak muscle strength compared to a stereotypical American physique); managing their game to victory; working collaboratively with their fathers (caddie); fighting with unfamiliar environments such as weather, geographic conditions, constant traveling and fatigue; dealing with communication problems with her English-speaking caddie, and so on. Those terms and expressions that have mostly positive and admiring connotations about excellent athletic performance are frequently mobilized for producing narratives of victory, which are widely and proudly celebrated.
Poor performances, long-term slumps, and no victories for a long time, however, produce harshly critical news items. Further, women golfers’ lack of success is frequently framed in the media by devaluing golf into a mental game. For example, “lacking discipline” or “absence of hunger”, were typically framed, as if mental discipline is the key element for winning. For example, when Pak Se Ri fell into a long-term slump in the 2004-05 season, not only did her presence in Korean media dramatically decrease, but also the rare comments during her slump were framed in a sarcastic tone to imply that absence of hunger caused lack of discipline. Her presence and its importance in Korean (sport) history, which Korean media previously lauded in the highest terms is (seemingly) disposable, or she is easily replaced by any other woman golfer who is winning.

Kim Mi Hyun showed how the woman golfer herself internalized the same rhetoric of mental discipline:

[Reporter] At the Giant Classic, your last round, your fighting was impressive. What was the secret for it?

[Kim] When I finished my round with even-par on the first day, my father scolded me a lot. He bawled me out for not having the mental attitude that I will get a birdie for all 18 holes. The scolding that I haven’t got for a long time made me wake up. (Chosun Ilbo. August 3, 2000)

Thus, Kim’s impressive game was possible because of her father’s scolding rather than her training or athletic skills. In golf media, a player’s mentality is considered as one of the most important elements for managing their games for success; and Korean media tend to reproduce the rhetoric. Media report the cause of women’s slumps or poor records as being the women’s weak fighting spirit, as if it is the key element for golf success. Thus, the women who do not display a strong mental attitude (evident in their performance results) are easily dismissed by the
media. The women athletes’ performances, therefore, is radically essentialized as a matter of mental toughness rather than other factors that contribute to athletic performances.

7. Neo-Confucian values and middle classness: Other events that are frequently reported are those that highlight and emphasize neo-Confucian values. Along with the anecdotal lines that display a woman’s working/middle class status, those events have synergistic effects in media narratives that dramatize her success story: she has reason to be successful. The ways in which Korean media construct stories around the women golfers follow a certain formula: a good daughter from a poor family with a devoted and passionate (mostly) father work together through many impossible obstacles; it is not her work ethic alone. Events reported around Kim Mi Hyun, especially in 1999, provide a good example of how the transnational Korean women golfers are a key site to promote neo-Confucian morality in family relations—in this case “the filial piety to the (grand-) parents (hyo)”, and reconstructions of the image of golf, predominantly considered a sport of the upper-middle classes, by combining golf with the iconic dishes of the working class:

   Kim Mi Hyun left [Incheon] airport for her grandmother’s (78 years-old) home to greet her, and ran directly into her regular [Korean style] sausage place, finishing off rice-sausage and sausage soup [iconic dishes for lower working class] (1999)

The story promotes the idea of what is proper to do, or what is valued/appreciated behaviour. The valued behaviour, visiting her grandmother before anything else, in fact promotes not only the Confucian sense of age hierarchy, but also (grand) children’s shared familial responsibility for their elders to provide both the material and emotional care. Gender hierarchy and age hierarchy are key norms in neo-Confucian discourse that set multiple forms of social norm in Korea. As Chang (1997) noted, formerly considered as the eldest sons’ responsibility, care of the elderly is gradually replaced by all children’s shared responsibility and further extended to their
Korean mainstream (conservative) media emphasis on neo-Confucian values (mainly *hyo* value through showing that younger family members take care of their retired elders) and promoting a general-public-friendliness of the women is connected to a theme of “upward mobility,” presented in the following section. In order to claim social mobility, the women’s lower-middle/working class status (at least in the economic sense) had to be emphasized. These *sômins*’ [lower/working class citizens] success stories encourage their readers to believe that upward mobility is indeed possible. Another potential reason is to repair the general public’s negative images of golf throughout the 5th and 6th Republic Periods in Korea. This repair process is discussed in detail in the discourse analysis section below.

8. *Sport talent as a means for upward mobility:* The women’s inter/trans/national success is often portrayed as a climb up the social ladder through hard work and devotion to golf, not only from the golfer herself but also her father who initially saw her sporting talent and who socialized her into professional golf. In modern Korean history, educational attainment is considered as a critical contributor to upward mobility (for both men and women), although women are weaker indicators of open mobility through educational capital: marriage is often considered a better and faster path to upward mobility (Kendall, 1996; Park K., 1993). Sport, in this case professional golf, has provided rapid upward mobilities not only to enter prestigious universities for some of the women golfers, but also through increased financial capitals with prize money and sponsorship contracts. There are, in fact, many cases where women professional golfers received special admission from prestigious universities in Korea. Education in Korea is still the most essential means for class mobility, and sport talent, especially transnational celebrity level sport talent, plays a role in gaining special admission to enter a college/university. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* reported Kim Mi Hyun’s acceptance as a *cheyuk teukgija* (see
glossary) for a prestigious university in Korea in 2000. Her sporting talent strengthened her upward mobility and flexibility within the Korean class structure. Regarding the highly competitive university entrance exam in Korea, the events that are reported about Kim Mi Hyun create a discursive space among the Korean public in which it becomes possible to realize upwardly mobile opportunities other than being good at school, to enter a prestigious university. Further, the media comment on the financial independence of (some of) the women golfers and their strong purchasing power at a young age, as an indication of the way in which the women’s upward social mobility is aided through sport of golf.  

For the women golfers, sport operated as a cultural resource whereby they were able to maintain/mobilize their class status. For many of the women, the sport of golf helped them to negotiating educational structures that are extremely narrow for those who are talented in skills other than the Korean sense of academic brightness. Capitalizing on the opportunities and possibilities that came through amateur golf, they quickly learned to transform these athletic activities into currencies (e.g., records of tournament attendance, victories, etc.) that are valued in the process of entrance to prestigious schools/colleges/universities. In professional level golf, women golfers were recognized, valued, and respected, not only in the sport community but also nation-wide. Although the portrayals make facile assumptions about individual mobility trajectories, the upward mobility narratives constantly allow their readers to believe that individual and generational mobility is easy and typical (if an individual/or a family work hard and passionately enough), and to imagine other life possibilities.

9. Scientific/Advanced training, and the development of mettle: The women golfers’ training in Korea, and the ways in which they gain the ‘iron heart’ and almost machine-like swings are also frequent events/news items:

36 In addition, for golfers from lower and lower middle class backgrounds, the sport creates new more elite social networks that may also enable increased social mobility.
The reason that Park Hee Jeong managed to show a serene face even though she won the thrilling championship [Williams Championship, September 2001] was because of her unique mettle training. Park received high altitude jumping training at a height of 4,500 meter above the sea level, and she is regularly taking gunshot training. She is well-known as a first-class shooter as she hits on average 48 rounds out of 50 with a .48 Magnum pistol. (Chosun Ilbo. September 11, 2001)

Although the women golfers’ training methods are varied and diverse, Korean media typically reproduce sport as male territory, and males as having superior sporting bodies to their female counterparts. When Korean media report on the Korean women golfers’ training and their training methods, male golfers’ methods are considered more effective and more appropriate for the professional level; therefore, the men’s way is the norm. Chosun Ilbo reported as follows: Shin Ji Yai’s skills come from her faithfulness. Since she was little, she has followed male golfers’ training methods. Unlike those who have strong supports [for lessons and training], she got her lower body training through running high-rise apartment building stairs up and down. For strengthening wrist and waist resilience, she hit rubber-tires with a baseball bat and she broke 5 or 6 bats. To enhance accuracy and impact ability, she used to dig the ground with her iron clubs. (Chosun Ilbo. August 5, 2008)

Without questioning, and without mentioning Shin’s reason for adopting such training methods, male golfers’ training methods are introduced as a standard training for women who are pursuing professional level competition. As in North America, the male as norm in the sport arena is a pervasive discourse in Korea.

I have introduced those media agendas relating to women golfers that are frequently reported in Korean media and briefly illustrated the nature and characteristics of those reports. I now move on to the social actors. Frequently reported media agendas and social actors are strongly
connected and often conflated; however, it is analytically important to separate them because analyzing social actors can reveal the ways in which media mobilize individual/s and/or group/s to promote certain discourses in their narratives, and the ways in which the social actors in golf are taken up by media in their discursive practices.

**Social Actors**

Social agents are in a key subject position where conventional and traditional discourses are both contested and resisted. In this section, my analytical focus is more on the ways in which Korean media use the women agents in their story-telling. Table 6-2 shows chronological changes (if any) and frequencies of media coverage of the golf agents (the women golfers, their fathers, etc.) on the LPGA tour, and further briefly captures the ways in which the social actor is represented and/or taken up in the media (for a more extended list, see Appendix K). The agent/s actively presented in Korean media around the women golfers on the LPGA tour were: i) Pak Se Ri, the most powerful golf agent, and the other women golfers; ii) golf daddies and family; iii) sponsoring companies; iv) US media and the LPGA; v) absence-presence of male golfers.

1. **Pak Se Ri, the most powerful golf agent and the other women golfers:** It is evident that Korean women golfers as social agents have experienced changes over time in their media portrayals. Until Pak Se Ri’s championship on the LPGA tour in 1998, women’s professional golf had been largely ignored or belittled by the popular media in Korea. Along with Pak, the women golfers on the LPGA tour in general are among the most important actors in Korean media since then. Most of all, Korean media clearly recognize Pak Se Ri as the most influential agent in many possible ways: the agent who changed the Korean public’s perception of golf; led to a dramatic increase in golf participation among young girls and boys; increased the size of the Korean golf industry; and set the standard for golf training. Pak Se Ri was a key agent, playing
Table 6-2. Frequently Represented Social Actors (Quotes are titles and/or sub-titles of newspaper articles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Naming of the social actor/s (nickname, synonym, and ways they are recognized)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Pak: Korean mettle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pak: Korea’s best export</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A morning star from the Orient</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bare-feet combative spirit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Queen of green raised rigid (tiger-like) paternity/fatherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak: Samsung’s Viagra</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>American golf stage, hurrah Korean women!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘peanut [read: small]’ Kim Mi Hyun, but her talent is ‘big’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>former ‘Little Miss Korea’ wants to be a professional golfer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Sorry daddy. But now I [Kim Mi Hyun] got confidence. Soon I will give you the championship cup”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim Mi Hyun’s father Kim Jung Kil and HB Telecom owner Shin Min Gu shake hands after signing the contract.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Korean nangja [damsels], strike the LPGA</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nation’s darling, Kim Mi Hyun</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>‘Amazing Grace’: The era of Park Gee Eun in full bloom</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘New peanut’ Jang Jeong’s sharp latent energy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Rough and tough Korean’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Guardian angel: ‘short/small golfer’ Kim Mi Hyun’s big love—she expressed her will to donate 3 million for 3 sick-kids</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘peanut’ [ddang-kong] versus ‘king-kong’ [Jang Jeong versus Laura Davis]</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Glamorous appearance with sexy outfit: Park Gee Eun, her ‘marketability’ is also the best</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘A commanding’ Korean women golf</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Se Ri: 4 billion sponsorship contract with Kwang Dong Medical for one time advertising shot—a new domestic record; Mi Hyun: around 5 billion contract with KTF and others</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>9th ranked Kim Mi Hyun, a ‘hope’; 20th ranked Pak Se Ri, a ‘disappointment’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Korean wind’ never stops on LPGA: Tae-guek Combatants [literal meaning of ‘tae-geuk’ is ‘the entity of the cosmos,’ but in this case, it refers to the name of the Korean flag, Tae-guek-ki]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Peanut’ Kim Mi Hyun, but her reward is ‘Kingkong’: signed for another 3 years for Sponsorship contract with KTF for 30 billion Won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>A great ‘Korean typhoon’ blows the American Green</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LPGA requested “do not speak Korean during the tournament”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The ‘US’ Women’s Championship or ‘Korean’ Women’s?: [Koreans] sweep away the US Amateur Championship qualifying round</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Park Gee Eun (24) selected as a [non-voting right] board member of the LPGA, she is the second Korean board member next to Pearl Shin (36)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Pak Se Ri, the first Asian Hall-of-famer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What’s wrong with Pak Se Ri: a bumpy score at the Canadian Women’s Open (JI)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Korean Squall</td>
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<td></td>
<td>US Women’s Open: A Korean Feast</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Park Gee Eun: putting practice in hotel room for two hours before going to bed (CI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>- Six Korean Amazon [heroine] “Go Top10!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Pak Se Ri, will she come out of her ‘long hibernation’?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Jang Jeong accomplished her dream by making through the short stature, 151cm</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>- ‘Clear the deck, [elder] sisters!’: the two high-teens [Shin Ji Yai &amp; Kim Song Hee] are taking up the running</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Super-rookie Lee Ji Young; ‘Smile-queen on the field’; ‘the birth of 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cinderella’ next to An Shi-hyun</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>- Michelle Wie’s father is talking about “my daughter, Sung Mi’ [Michelle’s Korean name]: absolutely Korean, only her passport is American (CI. 21/4)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- “Since I [Kim Mi Hyun] got this championship, I’ll now get married” (DI. 2/5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Big sisters’ victory chat (CI. 18/7)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Women golfers’ ‘two-job marketing’ (CI. 28/8)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Excellent-looking Hong Jin Joo, “skills are excellent, as well” (DI. 18/9)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Dol-bu-cheo [stone carved Buddha that refers to being emotionally stable in any given crisis and calm personality] Lee Sun Wha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Is there anyone who would see me [Pak Se Ri] as ‘woman’? (Ilgan Sport. 7/11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>- Pak Se Ri in the Korea Section at Washington Smithsonian Museum, “I always carry a Korean flag, Taeguk-ki on my shoes and golf-bag, because I am proud of my country” [a caption under Pak’s picture in the museum] (JI. 8/6)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- “The slump [that I got through] taught me ease”: Pak Se Ri got championship [at the Jamie Farr Classic] without faltering at her competitor’s hole-in-one (JI. 17/7)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Shin Ji Yai, ‘19 year-old the Most Revered’ (CI. 26/11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>- Pak Se Ri Kids’ ‘unbelievable’ power: Pak Se Ri’s barefoot fighting spirit inspired [the kids], hooked bunch of them into golf (JI. 1/7)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [The power of Shin Ji Yai style golf] strong mentality, competitive spirit, devotion…a reversal victory at the British Women’s Open, as well (CI. 5/8)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘Mighty sinews’ Shin Ji Yai:… subjugated tragic family history, armed her mentality with ‘my-way’ (JI. 5/8)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Korea Nang-ja [damsel, virgin] Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- LPGA Taeguk Sisters</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>- Designer Pak Se Ri opened her second chapter in her life: was invited to design an 18-hole golf course in Malaysia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- US media see the Korean phenomenon as: A woman golfer named “South Korean” are dominating LPGA tour like Tiger Woods does in PGA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Kiroki daddy Park Gun Kyu (Cl. 27/6)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Carrying bags, collecting balls, grilling [their daughters]…there are certainly father[s] behind the [women golf] champion[s] (Cl. 14/7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Now there will be no LPGA, if there are no Korean athletes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Se Ri Kids broke Se Ri: ‘A beautiful disciple outshining his master’</td>
</tr>
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<td>- Korean troops</td>
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</table>

an essential role in these discursive productions/shifts.

In that year July at the US Women’s Open, the final game made Pak Se Ri a national hero. At the extended game on the 18\textsuperscript{th} hole, Koreans saw Pak Se Ri’s ‘bare-feet fighting


spirit’ when she [took off her socks and] went into the pond to play her ball that sat right beside the water, and the people gained confidence that “we also can get over this financial crisis.” Because of a hot blast of Pak Se Ri, golf became a ‘national sport (people’s sport) that used to be considered as limited to the upper-class’s exclusive possession. (Chosun Ilbo. November 14, 2007)

The next example concerns Pak as a driving force in the dramatic increase in golf participation among young Korean girls and boys:

Currently, registered middle-high student golf athletes in Korean Middle-High Golf Federation number around 1,800; compared to the early 1990s when there were around 200 athletes, it increased 9 times. If we count non-registered or student athletes or students who temporarily stay abroad for study, it would add up to more than 1 million. It is quite contrary to Japan; around 8,000 registered middle-high student golf athletes in the early 1990s decreased to 2,500 now. In the case of the US, youth who can play golf are calculated at 200 millions [sic], registered student golf athletes in Junior Golf Federation are around 5,200. (Chosun Ilbo. July 7, 2007)

In Korean media over the four time periods, Pak Se Ri has been recognized as a Korean golf agent who is a role model for women’s professional and transnational golf, who has provided opportunities, and who has been an initial factor for young girls’ socialization into the sport of golf. As noted later in this chapter, Korean media often ignore the young girls’ (and boys’) negotiations with economic, cultural, and social structures of society that prohibit their socialization into golf and their career development. Another point that is essential to note here is that Pak Se Ri is certainly one of the major Korean athletes who elevated the price of their sport labour through improving, developing, and innovating transnational golf. Korean media continuously recognize that aspect of Pak as a pioneer of Korean women’s golf.
In addition to the recognition of Pak Se Ri as the most powerful golf agent, the women golfers on the LPGA tour as a collective subject are taken up to promote various discourses. In Korean media, the golfers are critical agents in i) the production of the Korean golf expansion; ii) Korean pride and nationalism; iii) (neo-Confucian) nuclear-family culture and gender norms; iv) ultimate femininity or disposable femininity; and v) a Confucian sense of age hierarchy. First, Korean media frequently report on those golf events that are promoted or initiated by the transnational women golfers, and the media portray the women golfers as a major vehicle for golf development. The development and expansion narratives consistently recognize the women as key agents for Korean golf and both its infrastructure (i.e., increased number of golf courses, especially public courses) and suprastructure (i.e., installing golf programs in colleges and universities, increased number of golf tournaments in general and junior tournaments in particular).

Second, the transnational women golfers are not only taken up by media to promote Korean pride and Korean nationalism, but also portrayed as active agents who promote the sense of Korean pride:

Pak Se Ri in the Korea Section at Washington Smithsonian Museum, “I always carry Korean flag, Tae-geuk-ki on my shoes and golf-bag, because I am proud of my country” [a caption under Pak’s picture in the museum] (JoongAng Ilbo. 8/6, 2007)

As noted in the social actor and events sections, Pak Se Ri’s success narrative (and other women’s victories as well, especially in the space of the US) have internalized and replicated Korean pride and the iconic character of the Korean nation. At the same time, Korean media actively portray the women golfers’ nationalist practices, such as carrying the national flag everywhere, and stating how proud they are of the nation. Those narratives emphasize the women’s loyalty to the state; however, they also function as moral proof and evidence of loyalty
to the state by the women who come in close contact with the US. Through these practices and proofs, the women can participate in the production of nation-building discourse along with their victory over Americans. The discursive production of Korean pride and nationalism is discussed in the following discussion section.

Third, women golfers are used as key actors for rearticulating neo-Confucian virtue especially since the state underwent neoliberal reform starting in 1998. The sport of golf is a unique contact zone where father-daughter relations are emphasized; therefore, the two social actors together in the golf scene are an ideal discursive space to re/articulate neo-Confucian norms and values. Further, the transnationality of women’s professional golf, and their spatial reach to the US have created further significant discursive contact zones, therefore, the spatiality of the women’s presence and the symbolic capital of the women’s success was quickly converted into a currency of Korean nationalism (see the discourse analysis section for details).

Fourth, the transnational women golfers are also a unique discursive contact zone for promoting ultimate (yet non-sexualized) femininity beside the (almost) uniform Western standard of beauty and the Confucian sense of femininity. The questions that Korean media frequently ask the women golfers are about marriage, or if they have a boyfriend. Pak Se Ri answered the question several times, and Chosun Ilbo reported her most recent answer:

Pak Se Ri is now 32-year-old, and she talks about marriage: “I so wanted to get married, but it was not easy to find someone who would understand and support my career that has to travel around the world” and she says “lately, I don’t think about it” Also she says “my career has priority over settling down and making a family” (Chosun Ilbo. August 16, 2009)
they have to give up their femininity:

Last year, Kim [Mi Hyun] put on 6kg of weight. Though it is the peak time of her youth, she wanted to be a ‘powerful and skilled professional golfer’ rather than have a ‘beautiful and slim body shape.’ (*Chosun Ilbo*. May 13, 1999)

The same media reproduced and exaggerated the same weight-gain story four months later when Kim won her first LPGA championship at the State Palm Classic:

Kim Mi Hyun gained 8 kgs of weight in order to enhance her [driving] strength, to increase her hitting distance. Since she anchors her life in golf, she thought she can not afford the luxury of having an obsession with body-shape. (*Chosun Ilbo*. September 8)

Kim Mi Hyun’s case shows that concern about slim body shape is a luxury, and further, it does not serve to improve athletic performance. This narrative promotes the less-feminine nature of women athletes’ femininity; at the same time, it alternatively suggests the potential of a femininity that can be successful and acceptable in society. It can be interpreted as a shifting paradigm of ideal competitive womanhood in the global competition of the neoliberal era. The dominant discourses of the global woman “entrepreneur” fit nicely with the transnational woman golfer who travels around the globe for her career and is economically independent and successful. This ultimate (or less-feminine) femininity of women golfers, at the same time, however, can be interpreted as a continuum of a conservative sense of femininity, in the sense that the majority of the media narratives treat the women golfers’ ultimate femininity or less-feminine body as temporal and disposable, because they are willing to get married. The suggestive nuance of those narratives is that once these women find their ideal man and settle down, they will be ladies.

Finally, women golfers are used as effective actors for promoting a Confucian sense of age hierarchy in the media narratives. Age hierarchy is an important part of the social order in
Korean society. The golf agent in media is frequently used to confirm the importance of age and its hierarchical mechanism in broader social relations:

[2003] Darn teenagers: [elder] Sisters, strain!” [14 Korean teenagers received an entry for the US Women’s Open]

[2005] ‘Clear the deck, [elder] sisters!’: the two high-teens [Shin Ji Yai & Kim Song Hee] are taking up the running

[2006] Big sisters’ victory chat. (CI. 18/7)

Within the Confucian sense of social relations, the younger is supposed to show respect for the elder. The elder is supposed to do better (in their career) than the younger. It is considered to be shameful when the elder does not do better than her younger counterpart, and the younger who does a better job than her elder is highly praised. Another striking narrative strategy in the promotion of age hierarchy is that the hierarchy is often narrated in terms that are informed by Confucian philosophy: the elder has responsibility to take care of the younger. For example, as the excerpts show, the earlier generation players on the LPGA tour such as Pak Se Ri, Kim Mi Hyun and Park Gee Eun are often named as “big sisters.”

2. Golf Daddies: The women golfers’ fathers are recognized mostly as hidden agents for the women’s socialization into golf, career development, establishing their daughters as transnational professional golfers, and further, as strong advocates for the women’s success (in general within society). Further, unlike the US media’s negative representations of the woman golfer’s father figure, the golf daddies in Korean media are portrayed as passionate and willing to sacrifice. Even the term “golf daddy” in Korean media is used as a positive. Although as the ‘Social Actor’ table shows, the women golfers’ father/s frequently appear in Korean media as essential contributors to the women golfers’ success on the LPGA tour, the father figure in storytelling is quite similar: a father recognizes his daughter’s golf talent in her early childhood, and
decides to invest all the resources he and his family have into his daughter’s golf education, the father performs every possible and necessary role (i.e., scheduling agent, driver, cook, cleaner, and sometimes golf trainer and instructor), and eventually he made his and his daughter’s dream come true.

What is noticeable in the Korean media’s emphasis on the passionate golf daddy figure as a significant social actor for woman’s golf development is that: i) it celebrates the women’s professional golf as part of a male domain (most of the ‘work’ is done by males); ii) it reflects and promotes the Confucian value of “community consciousness” (as opposed to Western individualism) with the male head of the family shaping his daughter’s life path and sacrificing his life for his children; iii) further, the emphasis, in reverse, shows the absence of structured social actors for women’s golf development, especially within professional level development system in Korea. Women’s professional golf celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2008; however, the talent identification, education and supports are mostly in the realm of individual actors.

Beside the representation of golf daddies as key actors in the context of golf development and of revitalizing conservative gender norms, the golf daddies are also frequently taken up by the media as new male subjects under globalized and neo-liberally reformulated Korea. The new father subjects, that are frequently represented since the women golfers’ flow into the LPGA tour, are quite different than previous father subjects in popular media in that they are not only sacrificing parents, but the media also strongly appeal to their readers’ emotions by portraying the father as (an emotionally) poor and weak subject. For examples, Chosun Ilbo published a special report after following a woman golfer’s tour van in the US, and DongA Ilbo published Im Sung A’s story with her father:

[Chosun Ilbo] …long distance driving is father’s responsibility, while mother is taking care of Kimchi and side dishes… As soon as they [Lee Meena’s family] arrived the two-
story building, condo-style motel ‘Residence Inn’ where they booked as accommodation, father checked the breakfast menu that the motel served: eggs, scrambled; oatmeal; potato fries… then father even helped [mother] putting Kimchi and side dish containers into the refrigerator, and eventually [father] went outside of the motel door, squatted down and lighted up his cigarette. It was father’s ‘ceremony’ [emphasis from the original narrative] of his own for finishing his long journey of the day. (July 28, 2006)

[DongA Ilbo] …but father who always accompanied her could not share the delightful moment [Im Sung A won her first LPGA tournament championship since she debuted two years ago]. Because [he was] on a hospital bed. … While waiting for his surgery, father said “I feel like I already got over all the [health] problems by my daughter’s championship news. She delivered her promise within a year.” (April, 25, 2006)

In both narratives, interesting gender dynamics occur. Both Chosun Ilbo and DongA Ilbo narratives did not give the father’s name nor identify him as the player’s father; instead, he is called “the father,” and Lee’s mother “the mother.” By doing so, the narratives suggest that all (if not, most) Korean fathers would do the same as the two players’ fathers. Not only is the mother’s role is minimized and/or unheard, although the mother was there and presumably involved in the hard work and time together. It is the father figure whom their reader should think is the one who sacrificed the most, and who is to be pitied. The father is doing what is traditionally considered to be women’s work for his talented daughter, and the media construct it as sad. Recently, in Korean popular culture, the most common way of suggesting that a man (especially a father figure) is to be pitied is to show him outside in slippers, squatting, and smoking. The ideological appeal of the subject portrayal is that the father figure replaces the former mother figure’s intimate parenthood. The father figure not only promotes the Confucian value, the moralistic paternalism, through sacrificing his life for his children, but he also takes the mother subject’s
place. Song (2006a) argues that under the condition of the broken labour structure since neoliberal reform in 1997, the reconstruction of the father subject as more reliable and responsible because he is willing to take on women’s work, and therefore becomes more intimately attached to his children, is frequently shown in popular Korean culture.

3. *Sponsoring companies*: Sponsoring companies are also treated as essential agents for the women golfers’ presence and their success in the US and on the LPGA tour. Korean companies that have sponsored the women golfers since 1998 are/were Samsung, HB Telecom, Hankook Tire, KTF (Korea Telecom Freetel, now Korea Telecom), FILA Sport, CJ, Hi-Mart, Hite beer, Kolon Elode, Mirae Asset, and others. As stated previously (in the Media Agenda section in this chapter), these corporations are portrayed in Korean media as a major agent for the women golfers entry into the LPGA tour. Further, media report these corporations as agents that have contributed to the expansion of golf and the institutionalization of golf teaching/learning. Although most of the corporations are not directly related to the golf industry, a few have launched a golf academy and a day-golf-clinic with the sponsored golfer’s name, and/or regular golf tournaments/competitions:

HB Telecom [Kim Mi Hyun’s then sponsorship company] opens a J-Golf competition in order to develop junior golf and golfers like Kim Mi Hyun (*Chosun Ilbo*. November 17, 1999. p.34)

The corporate-sponsored tournaments/competitions could only happen because of the women golfers’ continued visibility on the LPGA tour; therefore, the corporations and the women golfers are a symbiotic agent in Korean golf. Korean media also recognize the symbiosis between the two. For example, when Samsung sponsored Pak Se Ri, the popularly circulated media narrative was “Pak Se Ri is Samsung’s Viagra” (*Chosun Daily*. May 20, 1998). Since 1998, Korean media have been producing narratives that show the ways in which the two agents
support each other, especially each others’ image construction from a marketing perspective.

Further, the sponsoring companies in the media narratives are often used as a means to illustrate how the transnational women golfers are able and productive agents in terms of capital accumulation, and the characteristics that made them attractive in marketing business. As discussed previously (Media Agenda section in this chapter), the women golfers’ sponsorship contracts are a frequently reported news-item. It is also important to note here which companies are attracted to the transnational women golfers, and which characteristics of the women golfers made them attractive from a marketing perspective. The following excerpts briefly show those elements:

[2001] Se Ri: 4billion sponsorship contract with Kwang Dong Medical for one time advertising shot—a new domestic record; Mi Hyun: around 5billion contract with KTF and others

[2002] ‘Peanut’ Kim Mi Hyun, but her reward is ‘Kingkong’: signed for another 3 years for Sponsorship contract with KTF for 30 billion Won

[2003] Pro-golfer Park Gee Eun covers up for ‘a shampoo fairy’: makes a commercial for 3.5billion

Although the women golfers have challenged conservative and gendered marketing business sectors by attracting more sponsorship contract money than their male counterparts, and entering into business sectors that are traditionally considered male-preferred such as automobiles and high-tech communications, the business sector uses the women golfers’ feminine nature. For example, the KTF emphasizes small physical size, which is the favoured and adored female size (not sexualized but highly gendered), and Park endorses a shampoo company. Thus, Korean media deliver the marketing sectors’ intentions through their narratives.

4. US and US media: In Korean media, US media and their narrative productions are
often quoted as the authentic voice of storytelling about the women golfers. That occurs not only because the majority of the LPGA events are held in the US, but also because of the imperial power that the US exercises throughout the world. The authenticity of the US is further heightened by the hegemonic presence of the US in Korea, and US involvement in Korean economy, politics, international relations, and culture throughout postcolonial Korea. The LPGA tour is often called by Korean media a “dream stage” (DongA Ilbo, October 31, 2005), “big pool” (Chosun Ilbo, 1999), “dream of lofty ambition (JoongAng Ilbo, 1998), and these descriptions probably reflect how the Korean general public perceive the tour. Further, Korean media recognize the US media as authentic narrators of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. This point is discussed further in the Genres section.

5. Absent-presence of male golfers): Although Korean media produce narratives about the women golfers, those narratives frequently mention Korean male golfers in both overt and covert ways. The manner in which Korean male golfers are reflected in the storytelling about the women, I argue, is as a person with a shadow. In overt cases, the women golfers are the shadow, and in covert cases, the other way around. For example, in a covert case, as mentioned in the “Scientific/Advanced Mettle Training” section earlier, male golfers’ training methods are considered to be authentic methods, and therefore the athletic norm for developing high performance golf athletes in Korean media narratives. Further, in an overt case, Korean media often provide narratives to explain why there are not many Korean male golfers on the global PGA tour, compared to the number of female golfers on the global LPGA tour. The most persuasive logic for the Korean public is that Korean males have mandatory military service for about two and a half years when they are at their peak skills in their career. This logic operates not only in sport fields, but also in every possible aspect of the social system in Korea. Korean males who served in the military receive incentives over females in their job (career) promotions.
In this Korea-specific context, gender rhetoric about Korean professional golf in global context systematically internalizes male supremacy in sport (whether it is proved or not in reality), and further reminds Korean readers how Korean males are sacrificing themselves for their national safety whether the male golfers actually entered military service or not.

**Genres**

Semantic, grammatical and lexical features of the text are frequently employed at various levels of text organizations for representing the Korean women golfers. These text organizations function to imply objectivity of the media narratives and to maintain the impression of the reports as authentic knowledge. Among the various text organization genres, the following are frequently used narrative structures when the Korean media report on the women golfers on the LPGA tour: a) melodramatization (and scandalization); b) adopting a fairy tale narrative structure; c) employing the authentic voices—the US, US media, interviewing US golf journalist/s and non-Korean LPGA members, and picturing/interviewing Korean diasporan (golf) communities; d) periodization and the imperative of linear development.

1. **Melodramatization**: Drama, especially melodramatic plots that appeal to emotions and culture specific senses are frequently employed in Korean media around the women golfers. Words, images, and plots are used that are highly salient in Korean culture; they are memorable and emotionally charged. Victories, especially LPGA’s major tournament/s, and a golfer’s personal history are highly dramatized in the narratives. For example, Shin Ji Yai’s dramatic family story is retold in hyper-dramatized forms in Korean media. Part of her story is as follows:

   **2005**: The trophy is bathed in tears: [Shin Ji Yai] lost her mother by car accident, her father serves for her caddie (*Chosun Ilbo*. September, 12)

   **2009**: …then (2003) Shin Ji Yai’s mother died by sudden car-accident when she was
driving Shin’s younger siblings…Although she [Shin] was put through the hoops, Shin Ji Yai stood up again. “After my mom passed away we paid all the family debt with the death benefit insurance, and we had 17,000,000 Won in our hands” Shin Ji Yai starts, “then my father said ‘this is the money that [we] exchanged with mama’s life. I’ll use this money for your golf education, you should do well’ she said.” (Chosun Ilbo. April, 9)

In order to show how the beginning of Shin’s golf career was difficult, the storytelling highlighted her mother’s death and the money from the death benefit insurance. The mother’s death benefit insurance money which the head of the family [Shin’s father] decided to use for his daughter’s golf education, is tragically framed as an exchange for Shin’s mother. Lee Meena’s success story in Chosun Ilbo also shows how her and her family members’ lives around the LPGA tour are dramatic:

“Around last year [2005] May, we were almost giving it [competing on the LPGA tour] up and going back to Korea. [Because] our budget was hitting the bottom” … money remaining was only around 5,000 dollars. Through the family discussion, they [Lee’s family: Lee Meena, her father and mother] agreed to endure and stay another year [on the LPGA]. (Chosun Ilbo, July 28, 2006)

These melodramatic narrative structures appeal to the readers’ emotions and claim that these women golfers and their families went through hard times. The storytelling structure, however, reinforces someone’s sacrifice as necessary, and in the majority of the cases, the sacrificing someone is a father subject; therefore, the father subject is reconstructed as the hidden actor for the woman golfer’s global success.

2. Adopting a fairytale narrative structure: Along with the melodramatization, fairytale story structure, a ‘situated genre’—one that is tied to particular social practices or a network of social practices—is often adopted in Korean media around their portrayals of the women golfers.
A key female character from fairytales, both from Korean and American/European fairytale traditions, is often conflated with the events of women’s golf, and it resembles a fairy story in being magical, idealized, or extremely happy. One frequently introduced story structure is *Cinderella* (Western) and *ShimChungJoen* (Korean). The following excerpts are some examples using the word *Cinderella*:

[2005]: Early morning, July 7th in 1998. [Those] Korean citizens who have been hurt by financial crisis saw hopes through Pak Se Ri’s feet. …[It was a] defining moment when a golf *Cinderella* [Pak Se Ri] took her stage as a world star all at once. (*DongA Ilbo*, July 7. Special edition for the memory of the July 7th, 1998. my emphasis)

[2005]: Lee Gee Young, a birth of ‘the second Cinderella’ following An Shi Hyun (Kolon Elode) who gained ticket to the US by winning the 2003 season tournament [Korea Women’s Open]. (*DongA Ilbo*, October 31)


The popularity of the Cinderella story among Koreans makes it easy for the media texts to invite their readers to imagine the untold part of the women golfers’ life as if the rest of the women golfers’ success story follows the Cinderella plot. By evoking the Cinderella story, media metaphorically suggest that the women achieved success through the “feminine” virtues of beauty and kindness. It allows them to gloss over the fact that the predominantly “masculine” virtues of hard golf training and discipline are in reality the source of their success. Although these myth-making story structures diminish the real meaning of the women athletes’ achievements, the myth-making success is a frequently adopted genre in sport journalism in Korea.

With similar popularity, the Korean fairytale *ShimChungJoen* structure is a commonly
used genre. One of the widely circulated fairytales among Korean children (and to adults, as well), ‘ShimChungJeon’ is an idealized archetype of a relationship between father and daughter that promotes the value of filial piety: Long ago, there was a poor and blind man named Shim. He lost his wife just after she gave birth to their daughter, Chung. He took care of the baby by begging for other women’s breast milk in the community. Fifteen-year-old Chung decided that it was time for her to take care of her blind father in return by doing chores. One day, the father heard a story from a monk that if he donated 300 bags of rice to Buddha, he would see again. Without thinking, the father Shim promised the monk that he would send the 300 bags of rice right away. The filial daughter Chung sold herself for 300 bags of rice to sailors who were looking for a young damsel as a sacrificial offering for a safe journey. The sailors threw her to the sea, but the king of sea saved her for her piety, and later the king of the land married her. The story goes on till Chung finally meets her father again and lives happily ever after.

The fairytale reinforces the Confucian ideal of father and daughter relationship, and suggests that if a daughter behaves well and sacrifices herself for her parents who once sacrificed for their child/ren, she will eventually receive rewards. The tale moralizes Chung’s support of her father (even to death) and rewards her moral sacrifices by making her a queen. When Korean media tell a story about a woman golfer and her father, the style of story-telling and its structure resonate with the widely known fairytale: the father’s sacrifice for his talented daughter; the devoted daughter does not waste a minute but practices to be the best following her father’s almost inhuman level of strict training; and now it is the successful daughter’s turn to take care of the old and weak father.

Similar to the fairytale plot, Korean media often portray the women golfers’ success as a

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37 The literal translation of the title is ‘Story of Shim Chung.’ Others have translated the title into English as ‘The Father’s Pride and Joy’ (YBM Sisa dot Com published, year not available) or ‘Shim Cheong the Devoted Daughter’ (GENI CUBE published, 2007). See Appendix C for the full version of the story.
collaboration with her father, using a positive tone of report. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* published an article titled “The female golfers’ victories on the LPGA tour were groomed by their fathers” (September 25, 2001), and the special edition offered an in-depth analysis of how the Korean fathers have played a role in the young female golfers’ transnational success. In a similar vein, Korean media call Pak Se Ri’s father, Pak Jun Chul, a ‘forever mentor’ (can also be interpreted as teacher/trainer):

‘Forever mentor’ Mr. Pak Jun Chul, [He] handed golf clubs to his thirteen-year-old little daughter first, and led Pak Se Ri to the top of the world. (June 9, 2005)

Pak’s father was notorious in US media for being harsh and strict about his daughter’s golf training, and Korean media recognize those criticisms; however, Korean media portray the father’s way as essential for the woman golfer’s success. The thirteen-year-old little girl became the world’s top golfer because of her father’s mentoring. Further, the ways in which Korean media report on the women golfers’ fathers are supportive, and defensive against the frequent criticisms (mostly from the US media) about the fathers’ strict way of education and intense interference in their daughters’ lives. Regarding the criticisms, Korean media often offer an active vindication for the golf daddies, recognizing the public criticism about those too-enthusiastic fathers with a story structure that provides the logic for why and how it is understandable: ‘he does it for his daughter, not for himself.’

By adopting this Korean fairytale genre, the narratives easily transform the women golfers’ success into family-work and family success, and the narrative structure legitimizes the golf daddies’ strict/harsh way of training for his daughter. Further, the Korean media’s emphasis on the passionate golf daddy figure, and the father subject as a significant collaborator with the golfer, reflects the cultural discourse that the male head of the family determines his family’s current and future paths, and sacrifices himself (mostly in a covert manner) for the family’s
success. The following *Chosun Ilbo* narrative on Ji Eun Hee and her father is a good example:

It was when [Korea was boiled up with] a golf boom that we were driven by Pak Se Ri’s “bare-feet spirit” in August 1998. A 12-year old girl was hitting an iron-shot towards Chung-pyung lake in a water-skiing resort in Ga-pyung city, Kyunggi-do. … When the girl finishes hitting all the [20 floating] golf balls, someone dives into the water to collect the balls around the buoys. … It is the LPGA’s US Open champion, Ji Eun Hee’s ‘impossible golf-daddy,’ Mr. Ji Young Ki (54). … He started to say those old stories “well, it was because there were no [golf] driving ranges… what parents can’t do for their child.” … Mr. Ji was a strict teacher to his daughter. Sometimes scolded, and other times punished her with a stick. …like doing that, the two have made their path for 11 years.

(*Chosun Ilbo*, July 14, 2009)

In this structure, the woman golfer not only remains a marginalized being who does not participate in all aspects of her game, but also she is greatly indebted to her father for his sacrifices. The social expectation of the successful woman golfer, therefore, is to take good care of the devoted parents in return. The two fairytales are further discussed as an effective means to promote certain discourses in the following “Discursive Re/Constructions” section.

3. Employing authentic voices—the US, US media, Korean diaspora, as authentic resources: Another genre chain that is noticeable in Korean media around the women golfers involves the narratives, interviews, opinions, statements, evaluations, and so on, from US sport media and other various forms of reports (about Koreans/Korean women golfers) from the US. American narrations are often considered the most authentic and objective. The US media narratives that are frequently used as a reference in Korean media include praise, criticism, and jokes:

“In the whole world, the most superior emblem for golf is Kim and Lee family.” This is a
joke among Western golf journalists/reporters about the Korean athletes who overwhelm women’s golf. It is not wrong. *(JoongAng Ilbo, October 5, 2006)*

The economy of employing this narrative structure is that the *JoongAng Ilbo* narrator gains objectivity and trustworthiness for his statements simply by borrowing an external authentic voice. The voices are not usually challenged by Korean media. Korean media often deliver those narratives from a passive position in which the Korean messenger delivers it without offering any opinions on or criticisms of the narratives except to affirm them (as in the quote above). The following excerpt also demonstrates this uncritical referencing:

US media see the Korean phenomenon as: A woman golfer named “South Korean” are dominating LPGA tour like Tiger Woods does in PGA *(Chosun Ilbo, July 14, 2009)*

Interviews with non-Korean LPGA players are also frequently used to provide authentic voices in their narratives. Korean media often report non-Korean LPGA members’ statements/comments about the Korean golfers as a means of claiming objectivity. Further, Korean media often interview Korean diaspora communities, especially people from Korean American golf communities, as authentic messengers (see the following section on Korean nationalism).

4. Periodization and the imperative of linear development: Periodization of the women’s influx into the LPGA tour plays an effective role (as a discursive tool) to promote age hierarchy, one of the essential social orders in Korea. Along with a patriarchal gender order, the Confucian sense of birth order is an important social hierarchy not only within the family boundary but also the society in general (as noted previously). Further, periodization actively promotes a sense of linear development from one period to the next; therefore, the women golfers are subject to comparison in this development.

Korean media continually rediscover the complexity of old, first-wave, and next-
generation transnational movements in women’s golf. The media’s periodizations of the golfers’ flow to the US (and some to Japan) treat the women golfers’ movement as a flow of golf team, rather than an individual actor’s decision. By examining “origins,” “waves,” “cycles,” and “repertoires of the movement,” the media have further advanced to produce analyses of how the current waves are better than previous waves, and what new generations should achieve compared to the previous generations. The discussion of movement in terms of origins has occurred chiefly in relation to the national financial crisis (1997 IMF crisis), and it legitimizes the women’s transnational movement as inevitable. Since the nation state successfully emerged from IMF governance, and the Korean economy began to climb to pre-crisis levels in 2002, the media narrative on the development of women’s golf shifted focus to the golfers’ performance, such as on-green rates, putting average, and the number of wins in major tournaments. Further, the focus has recently also shifted to include the size and conditions of sponsorship contracts. These evaluative factors are used to ‘prove’ the development of Korean women’s professional golf.

**Style, Modality, and Evaluation**

The ways in which the women golfers are routinely constructed in texts have certain aspects of discourse that express recognizable attitudes, and offer evaluative statements and assumed values about the transnational women golfers’ influx to the US and their success on the LPGA tour. These are: i) treating the women golfers as the nation’s proud symbol; ii) idealizing neo-Confucian values (including family norms, normalization of parents’ strict controls, and reinforcing Confucian gender norms and values); iii) recognizing new capitalism and welcoming a flexible division of labour; iv) the ‘aestheticization’ of the women’s transnational life; and v) a passive stance on reporting conflicts in the US. The first three overlap, and are interrelated.
1. Treating the women golfers as proud symbols of the nation: The most common attitudes in Korean media texts involve celebrating the women’s golf with pride, as a source of satisfaction, and as a treasured national possession. Often a golfer’s individual success (or rather, collaboration with her father) is portrayed as the collective victory of Koreans in global competition. From the very beginning of the women golfers’ influx, winning in the US has been framed as the nation’s success, particularly in conjunction with economic hard times, which were believed by the Korean public to have been caused by the US (specifically by Wall Street and American capitalism), and politically unfair power dynamics between Korea and the US. Anti-American sentiments peaked among Korean public in late 1997, around the financial crisis; therefore, the unnatural combination of golf and Korean nationalism (Kwon, 2006) became a powerful and persuasive narrative frame. The ways in which media portray women’s golf as the nation’s proud symbol are: saviour of the nation (Joan-of-Arc in Korea, especially with Pak Se Ri); nation’s winning (Korean nangja [damsels] strike the LPGA—1999, Tae-guek combatants: ‘Korean wind’ never stops on LPGA—2002, A great ‘Korean typhoon’ blows the American green—2003, A woman golfer named ‘South Korean’ are dominating LPGA tour like Tiger Woods does in PGA—2009); nation’s symbolic commodity in the global market (Korea’s best export—1998, American golf stage, hurrah Korean women—1999, now there will be no LPGA, if there are no Korean athletes—2009); and nation’s source of satisfaction (Pak Se Ri drove us to being joyful—1998, nation’s darling, Kim Mi Hyun—1999). Apart from Olympic and Asian Games, it is rare for a woman “athlete” [my emphasis] to proudly be represented as a national symbol in media narratives during postcolonial Korean history.

2. Idealizing neo-Confucian values: Korean media often portray both the woman golfer and her father in their story-telling, and this set of narratives serves to promote nuclear family oriented Confucian norms and values. There are also frequent direct and indirect statements with
deontic modalities which contribute to evaluation (including ‘the values we believe in’). This style not only normalizes the parents’ strict and obsessive control in the name of education, but also utilizes the neo-Confucian familism and gender order that metaphorically and practically demonstrate the hierarchy and power structure. It is evident that Korean media naturalize Korean parents’ excessive monitoring of their child/ren and strict control of their child/ren’s golf training. Further, media idealize the training methods since the woman golfer produces the outcome (winning). Making a spectacle of being-good-daughter, “doing it for daddy” narratives are part of the idealizing process. In media interviews, Korean women golfers often say that they are happy to work hard for their sacrificing and supportive fathers:

…athlete Oh Ji Young revealed that the biggest reason that she practices golf hard is to please her parents. (Chosun Ilbo. May 20, 2009)

Korean media appear to insert a radical portrayal of a female value oriented to Confucian philosophy (practice golf hard [because her parents asked her to do so] to please her parents). This is accomplished by continuously producing positively nuanced stories about the golfers’ father-daughter relations, and evaluative statements about the relations as successful based on the evidence of the women golfers’ success.

3. Recognizing new capitalism and welcoming the flexible division of labour: Korean media actively promote new forms of global competition and capitalism in their narratives about women professional golfers on the LPGA tour. The narratives also welcome the new gendered division of labour. The traditional gendered division of labour involves the man as a breadwinner for the family, and therefore the head of the family, and the woman as a supportive caregiver for the head and the rest of the family. The transnational woman golfer’s case not only breaks the traditional gendered division of labour, but also the Confucian sense and structure of age-based profit-making. The female young adult is more able and capable of profit accumulation than the
male adult, the former breadwinner and head of the family. Media narratives quickly perceived this as an inevitable phenomenon since the ‘attack’ of global capitalism against the Korean economy, and the Korean government had to restructure the society’s industrial, financial, and governmental management systems along liberal free-market lines (Song, 2009). According to Song (2009), individuals, especially male breadwinners, were portrayed as victims of the social change at the macro-discursive level in Korea. The women golfers’ fathers were actively included in the group of victims, and praised as brave and sacrificing parents who do not care about losing face by doing women’s labour (e.g., cooking, laundry, ironing), and the young woman golfer becomes a female breadwinner for her family. Although the media welcomed the new division of labour, there are also twists. Media often also lament the broken labour divisions and structures.

4. Aestheticization of the women’s transnational life: It is important to point to a more pervasive ‘aestheticization’ of social life that combines the private lives of the golfers as consumers, as well as their public life as a transnationally productive elite. Aestheticization refers to representations of the golfers as an ideal of beauty and a desirable neo-liberal woman subject. The processes of aestheticization often overlap with the previous three discourses that construct the women as the nation’s proud symbol, as an ideal vehicle for promoting neo-Confucian values, and as rapid adopters of new capitalism and global-social changes. The media’s attitude toward transnationally mobile female athletes’ glamorous lifestyles operates through a complex set of discourses that both celebrate and undermine her (economic) independence and proficiency through her (golf) elitism. By using multiple sets of positive modal and evaluative terms and narrations, the complex discourses are mobilized. The elements that construct the aesthetic are: the young women’s unusually high income (significantly higher than average Korean males’ income) and their capacity for chasing global capital; the women’s
purchasing power (not only for themselves but also for parents and family); the women’s global citizenship status living here (Korea) and there (the US for their major tournaments, Australia or New Zealand for their non-tour-season training); speaking the global language (English); doing what they love (unlike most other workers); and, at the same time, the daughters’ often subtle subordination to her father on and off of the field, and so on.

5. Passive stance on reporting conflicts in the US: Korean media often take a passive stance reporting conflicts about the women golfers in the US, although the media actively quote the US media narratives. In the 2003 season, both nation-states’ media started to report issues of conflict involving Korean golfers and other LPGA players. For example, following Jan Stephenson’s comments (“Asians [Koreans] killing our tour,” 2003), instead of directly stating that the LPGA’s attitude to Korean players is racist, Korean media indirectly stated it through a quote from a Korean player. Another set of publicized conflicts were instigated by the LPGA’s language policy announcement (2008) that was widely believed to be aimed at Korean players. While other nation-states’ media, including the US and Canada, were highly critical about the policy as a racist quota system and produced a high volume of critical narratives, that criticism was not reflected or introduced in Korean media.

Throughout the narrative style, modalities and evaluations, the texts re/affirm those assumed values that what is desired (desirable) and what is undesired (undesirable) are those assumed values. I now turn to the ways in which Korean media represent difference, a characteristic that is also closely connected to the modalities and evaluations.

Difference

Representational politics of different race, nation, space, gender, and class in the depictions of the women golfers on the LPGA are evident in Korean media, with an emphasis on
certain socio-cultural and historical contexts in which they are located. Major accentuations of (social) difference/s in Korean media around the women golfers include the value-oriented differentiation of space (the US and Korea, and K/LPGA), the differences in attitude to professional golf by nation/race, and the emphasis on gender difference between Korean males and females.

1. Construction of less-developed here (Korea, KLPGA) and advanced there (the US, LPGA): As discussed in the Binary Dualism and Media Agenda sections (see 2. Winning in the US), Korean media polarize space as ‘here’ and ‘there,’ and the associated images of the two polarized spaces also operate by binary codes: less-developed, less-desired, periphery and local versus advanced, highly desired, centre and global. This construction, which may be seen as a postcolonial reproduction of colonialism in the (post) colonies, appears in the forms of appreciation of the US: in the media narratives, it appears in the form of internal(ized) hegemonic discourse, the US as “liberator-benefactor.” Korean media continue to mimic Western hegemonic culture and have reproduced a colonial pathology of self-denigration and self-marginalization that is continued through the Korean women golfers’ performance in the US tournaments.

2. Difference between Korean and American players: The structural narrative frame of the media portrayals frame the tour as competition between Korea and the US. By referencing what a US golf professional said, Korean media rationalize the strict career development in Korea as a norm:

…it is a well-known fact that Korean players on the LPGA come to the practice place the very first, and they leave the last. When they come back to hotel at night, they practice putting on the carpeted hotel corridor. … It is a very different mental attitude than American players. Kelly Robinson (USA) said in 2003, “golf is only a job. Work when
you have to work, then get rest when you can.” In 1997, she ranked third on the prize money winning, but now she is wandering around 141 ranking. (Chosun Ilbo. July 7, 2007)

The critical tone of the narration about Robinson and the information that Korean media provide (her ranking) have the effect of warning to the readers that if you do not take the job, golf, seriously you can end up like Robinson. The media did not provide any other information about the reason why Robinson’s ranking and her prize money dramatically decreased. Instead, the narrative differentiates the attitudes towards golf between Korean and American players, and reaches the conclusion that ‘not-taking-golf-seriously like Koreans’ was the reason Robinson lost her high ranking. This comparison and differentiation work not only to celebrate Koreans’ work ethic but also to rationalize Korean (father) style strict training methods, and counters (US) criticisms of harsh training-oriented Korean style golf.

Along with attitude difference, physical size is another frequent subject for comparison between Korean and American players. An article in Chosun Ilbo (October 27, 2000) included a picture that juxtaposes a Korean player and an American player. The title of the article was “‘peanut’ [ddang-kong] versus ‘King-kong’ [Jang Jeong versus Laura Davis]” The metaphorical comparison between a Ddang-kong and a King-kong was juxtaposed with a small, weak, seemingly fragile image of the Korean player versus a big, strong, seemingly invincible image of the American player. This juxtaposition further stretches the metaphor of power dynamics and the imbalance between the two nations. Unlike the political, economic, and cultural realities between Korea and the US where size matters, in golf the small peanut defeated the monstrous King-kong. On the last day of the tournament, Korean media celebrated the victory of the weak.

The difference in physique between Korean and American players, however, is emphasized within the boundaries of praising the US as the global superpower. Korean media
often report the Korean women golfers’ domination using their success in the LPGA as a metaphor for domination. An article about the 2009 *Evian Masters Tournament* presented a metaphorical power-map of the number of nations playing in the LPGA:

In the tournament that is co-organized by US LPGA and European women’s professional golf association, LET, entry players’ nationality obviously revealed the world women golf’s ‘power distribution.’ Among 90 entries, Korea (26) and the USA (20) were the two powers at the top. Sweden, UK, Japan had 7 players each, France and Australia had 4, and next was Thailand (3). (*Chosun Ilbo*. July 27, 2009)

It is essential to focus not only on which differences are emphasized, but also on the ways in which the differences are represented. In this regard, it is useful to adopt postcolonial feminist approaches to understand how the differences in gender, nation and sport are constructed around the transnational Korean women professional golfers in Korean media. Although Korea (Asia in general) is no longer under direct colonial domination, the ideas and understandings about Asian/s as one (mysterious) race and homogenous ethnic group (as Prasso (2005) pointed out, ‘Oriental’ and ‘Asian’ are often put into a same category in Western construction. pp. 18-27) continue to flourish in the West. A similar homogenous construction with, however, a different nationalist ideology also was produced by Korean media (for example, the ways in which Korean government and media have promoted the discursive concept of *danil minjok*, pure-blood race).

3. *Gender difference, and appropriation of/resistance to the gender norm*: Sport in general is a gendered social institution, and its operating ideologies favour male athletes, especially in the sport of golf. In Korean media, male professional golfers are present in either visible or invisible forms around the women golfers’ narratives (see the Social Actor section (5. Absent-Presence of Male Golfers). Korean media provide explanations and excuses about why
there are not many (or no) Korean male golfers on the ‘world top’ PGA tour: the mandatory, male-only military service, major differences in physiques between international male golfers, and Korean “racial” physique are offered as a serious disadvantage for the male.

There are, however, counter narratives about male domination, and male superiority in sport. One of the striking resistances to the gender norm was initiated by the powerful golf agent Pak Se Ri and her first gender-match at the end of the 2003 season. Although Korean media maintained their typical defensive tone about Korean male golfers, some media reported in a different tone of narrative. For example, *JoongAng Ilbo* published both defensive and counter-defensive narratives regarding the gender-match:

Yang Yong Eun (31), the longest [hitter] among the domestic male professionals and Shin Yong Jin (39), [1st ranked prize money winner in the season on the KPGA] came short of people’s expectations maybe due to the pressure of playing with Pak Se Ri, and finished first round. … As Pak Se Ri unexpectedly made a good fight, responses from people around crossed. A veteran KPGA golfer who did not attend the match said “there are many holes that the male golfers couldn’t hit driver [because it is too short to hit driver] but Pak Se Ri did … there is no way out in American tour” and criticized the too short course [that are purposely chosen for Pak]. A gallery [spectator in golf terms]; however, said “Pak Se Ri excessively played well” and “No matter how the course was easy, it is an evidence that Korean male professional golfers’ talent is relatively weak since Yang Yong Eun collapsed with 7 over-par” (*JoongAng Ilbo*. October 24, 2003)

The narrative also mentioned how spectators interrupted the male golfers’ game (but did not forget to provide excuses for the male golfers), while the media maintained balance by reporting two conflicting voices about Pak Se Ri’s gender match.
Intertextuality and its Assumptions in the Representation

The represented agendas, social actors, narrative genre; style, modality and evaluation; and difference discussed here are strongly intertwined with intertextual messages and assumptions. Further, there are overlaps between intertextuality and its assumptions in the representation and the following discourse analysis sections. Therefore, assumed texts between the lines in the representations are further discussed in the following discursive construction section.

This section has provided a map of representational strategies in Korean media portrayals of Korean golfers in the LPGA: the frequent accounts of media agenda, actors and genre; their reporting style and modality; the ways in which they report (racial) differences; and the intertextuality and its assumptions in the media narratives. These tightly interwoven representational strategies work in tandem with popular discourse about gender order, social (and international) relations, and available discourses about the women professional athletes that circulate in Korea. The following section presents further discourse analysis of Korean media, and offers an in-depth analysis of how the Korean women golfers and their performances on the LPGA tour are taken up by Korean media as a key site to re/construct Korean nationalism in the process of globalization and the political economy of neo-liberalism, and to reinforce neo-Confucian norms and values. Themes that emerged from the in-depth discourse analysis are a) re/constructions of Korean nationalism; b) re/constructions of neo-Confucian value and the women’s role; c) and constructions of a new female subjectivity in a neoliberal regime.

Discursive Re/Constructions and the Women Athletes’ Place

The strongest discourses that emerged from this analysis were those that helped to produce and reinforce Korean nationalism, and re/construct women subjects who are productive
and competitive citizens in the neoliberal market-driven nation-state while at the same time being loyal and faithful to the principle of neo-Confucian familism. As discussed in the Ambivalent Representation section at the beginning of the chapter, those discourses that are produced through representing the women golfers also are ambivalent and somewhat contradictory. They can be distinguished by considering conservative versus neo-liberal discursive practices. On the one hand, the women golfers are taken as a useful case for promoting a traditional Confucian social order in accordance with constructing nation-building discourse with an essentialized woman subject. On the other hand, the women golfers are a unique point of exemplary access for promoting the image of productive women citizens in the global era: the women golfers’ rapid correspondence with the flow of faceless neo-liberal capital (capital gaining and consuming power) along with their performance of (symbolic and real) global citizenship through professional golf. This section discusses how the ambivalent women subjects coexist through the discursive re/constructions of women’s professional golf.

**Re/Constructions of Korean Nationalism and the Global Elite Women**

The most frequent and active discursive productions around the women golfers in Korean media are first a spatial contextualization (the US) of the women’s presence, and second, claiming the women as a proud production of the nation. The location of the women in the US makes them a ‘hot’ news-item, and Korean media strong promote nationalist sensibilities around the women’s performance.

*The Women Athletes’ Presence in US and Nation-building Discourse:* Korean media interpretations of the golf events (especially about the women golfers’ success in the US) and other media agendas that women golfers participate in are predominantly linked with the narrative framework of Korean pride that instantly and constantly feeds the nation-building
discourse. Also, Korean nationalism and nation-building discourses that are highly promoted with and around the women golfers on the LPGA tour in Korean media are relational. What ‘relational’ means here is that Korean nationalism exists within the political, social and cultural contexts of Korean, Japanese and US relations around women’s professional golf. Further, the reality of the complex imperial (and semi-colonial) relations between Korea and the US has also shaped nationalist rhetoric around the women golfers’ game on the LPGA tour, which promotes “restoring Korean pride.” The issue of re/building national pride, especially in relation to the US, became crucial to state nationalism in Korea, due to the Asian debt crisis which the Korean public perceives as being caused by faceless global capital originating from Wall Street. Prior to the emphasis on restoring national pride to the state, the only priority of nationalist rhetoric was given to the issue of national defense due to popular recognition of neo-colonial aspects of the US military and their strategic dominance in Korea, as well as Korea’s technological and economic dependence upon the US and Japan (Moon, 1998).

With respect to the close tie to the former colonizer (Japan) and the current power figure (the US) in state nationalism in Korea, the entry of women into the nation-building arena is only a very recent and partial endeavour. As Moon (1998) pointed out, state nationalism in Korea contains androcentrism, militarism, and anti-democratic traditionalism (p. 51) which is highly male-elite centric. She argues that the “main architect of official nationalism” (p. 34), President Park Chung Hee, in his US-sponsored military dictatorship, used traditional Korean Confucian patriarchy to construct modern Korea as an androcentric, military dictatorship, male-hegemonic nation. According to Moon, the nationalist view of women, therefore, suggests that women’s only contribution to the creation and building of the Korean nation was either the provision of a proto-nationalist womb or being supportive of the male warrior (pp. 40-45).

Women’s marginal place in state nationalism is not unique in Korea. In other work
theorizing gender and nation, Yuval-Davis (1997) argued that the hegemonic theorizations about nations and nationalism have ignored gender relations as irrelevant, and that the literature on nationalism does not usually relate to women (e.g., Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Kedourie, 1993; Smith, 1995). Further, women as key agents have been excluded or hidden from the discursive arena of nation-building. Some scholars have offered explanations for this. Pateman (1988) explains the phenomenon using the classical theories of “the social contract.” In the public/private division of the social contract, women are located in the private domain. Grant (1991) explains this using both Hobbes (the aggressive nature of men) and Rousseau (the capacity for reason in men). Women are not part of this process, and therefore are excluded from the social, and remain close to “nature.” West (2005), on the other hand, urges more attention to the “process perspectives” of nation/alism, and asks for more careful consideration of consensus and common ground between males and females, rather than the assumption of struggle (p. 145).

It is therefore important not only to emphasize the women’s entrance into nation-building discourse, but also to pay special attention to the ways in which Korean media frame the women golfers’ international success within state nationalism. The Korean women golfers’ rise to transnational stardom attracted unprecedented interest on the part of Koreans. South Korea is one of the major golfing countries. Of 50 million South Koreans, 2.5 million play golf, and the country is fifth behind the US, Japan, the UK, and Canada in the total number of active golfers (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Korea, 2006). Despite the high level of golf participation, public reactions in Korea to golf as a sport are not generally favorable. As An and Sage (1992) point out, golf had (and still has) negative connotations as being Chaebol’s business with Korean government support, and as being only for upper-/middle-class males and their families. Therefore, the conjunction of the sport of (women’s) golf with the discourse of the Korean nation

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38 Large corporation or conglomerate in Korea
(as in the following) is unusual (Kwon, 2006), but present nonetheless.

A number of scholars of sport have argued that competitive, elite sport serves as a key site that supports national pride and imaginings of national identities (e.g., Jackson, 1998; Miller et al., 2001; Silk & Andrews, 2001; Silk, Andrews, & Cole, 2005). For example, Jackson (1998) argues that “sport is assumed to act as a vehicle for confirming a sense of citizenship, fostering social bonds and serving as an unashamed celebration of nationalism and patriotism. As such teams and even individual athletes are assumed to represent, and in many respects become extensions of our national identity” (pp. 229-30). Nation-building discourse in sport also depends on the type of sport. A number of Koreans play in European professional soccer leagues and in US professional sports such as soccer, baseball, and golf. Further, the multinational players and the fields they are competing on operate as a site around which Korean nationalist discourses are rearticulated (J.W. Kim, 2010). Further, in her article titled “(Trans) national pastimes and Korean American subjectivities: Reading Chan Ho Park,” Joo (2000) analyzes how discourses about US professional sports, particularly Major League Baseball, have recently become one of the most powerful contact zones of Korean nationalism for both Korean Americans and Koreans in Korea.

Women’s professional golf, however, has played a major role in generating an unprecedented interest on the part of Koreans, and Korean Americans in US dominated sports institutions and mass mediated sport. Because of the ‘individual’ nature of the sport of golf, when women golfers win, the logic of nationalist discourse easily works as the Korean nation’s winning; when a Korean player on a European soccer team or a US baseball team performs well, the winning or the performance goes to the team’s success. Therefore, the logic of Korean nationalism works less well in a trans- and multi-national ‘team’ sport than it does in an individual sport. Also, unlike the historical relationship between European countries and Korea,
inequalities between the US and South Korea have been reified through global capital relations instantiated through histories of war and US military occupation, imperialism and neo-imperialism, development, immigration and trade. Thus, individuals who achieve economic and cultural success in the West (particularly in the US) are symbols of the nation’s progress (Joo, 2000; Wang, 2004). This can be interpreted to suggest that global capitalist development creates social changes, in particular, the movement of Korean women golfers from the KLPGA to the global LPGA. Although the Korean women golfers have entered Korean nation-building discourse, and the media narratives recognize the female (sporting) agents as active participants in nation-building discourse, differing gender traditions based on neo-Confucian patriarchy are still on-going.

In Korea, within the boundaries of cultural, political, and economic imperialism involving the US, the women golfers’ presence and their strong performance in the US troubles and challenges the socially constructed and engendered notion of a national identity. To better understand the changes and challenges, the relationships and intersections between/among colonialism, imperialism, nationalism, and patriarchal masculinity “our challenge is to consider the reciprocal construction of practice, gender, ethnicity, race, class, and nation in processes of capital accumulation.” (Ong, 1999, p, 5). From this perspective, the social construction of gender does occur in complex interactions with race, ethnicity, class, biology, culture, and economies—local, national, and globalized. Korean media actively construct Korean pride in conjunction with the hegemonic power of the US and the presence of Korean women golfers, and how the powerful LPGA in US would not function if the Korean women were not present. An article titled “The LPGA will not exist, if there are no Korean golfers” states:

Korean women golf subjugated the world top stage LPGA tour. Korean golfers occupy the top range of the leader board in the LPGA tour. If you see the leader board only, you
almost have no idea if it is a domestic Korean tour or the LPGA tour. Now, Korean women golf is the “number one of the world.” You can not even imagine the LPGA tour without Korean athletes. (JoongAng Ilbo. September 27, 2009)

The narrative emphasizes Koreans’ presence in the world’s best sport competition field, and does not hesitate to claim that “we” are the “champion” of the women’s golf world.

Similarly Chosun Ilbo published a picture of Jang Jeong posed with her White-American (male) caddie. The caption stated, “rough and tough Korean.’ The golfer Jang is well-known for short height (one of her nicknames is ‘new peanut’ which refers to Kim Mi Hyun’s short height and nickname). In the picture, Jang looks even shorter compared to her tall caddie, but her pose shows her confidence. She is also well-known for carrying the Korean national flag in her golf bag, and the photographer did not forget to capture the flag in the frame. In Korean media, some of the women golfers’ performances are represented by androcentric discourse tinted with militarism.

*Mobilized Identities Intertwined in the Construction of the Pride:* Korean media constructions of national pride happen at various levels. Transnational Korean women golfers are taken up by many marketing sectors, and the women have entered sectors traditionally considered as male (e.g., automobiles). It is important to note the identity markers that intersect in the narratives. Chosun Ilbo published an article about how Kim Mi Hyun chose a domestic car, but more interestingly the supporting themes in the article concern her marital desire as a heterosexual young female whose economic power is strong, and who is also equipped with a warm heart for service to the needy (her heterosexual feminine identity and her willingness to marry intersects with her powerful transnational middle-classness:

The US LPGA (women’s pro-golf) tour player ‘super-peneat’ Kim Mi Hyun (27) recently purchased Hyundai’s luxury model Equus…“[it was my] first time riding Equus. I loved
it. In America, I used to drive foreign cars, but I think Equus is at the highest levels in terms of smoother ride and interior.” Though people around her advised to buy imported cars, she hung on to the big size EQUUS. (Chosun Ilbo. January 29, 2004).

The narrative emphasizes that Kim Mi Hyun purchased a home-country-made Equus [car] for the time when she stayed home [Korea]. The narrative accentuates the women golfer’s national identity through corporate marketing strategy that is intertwined with a young woman golfer and a ‘made-in-Korea’ luxury automobile. As Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe (2001) recognize, women athletes, like men, certainly have an iconic role in nation-building discourse through state-directed campaigns (p.2). The ways in which women athletes are represented as national icons is: i) feminization of athletes: gender marking and gender divide, women’s muscles and masculine qualities are symbolized as sexual attractiveness and beauty rather than power (Carty, 2005. p. 146); ii) female beauty: traditional notions of femininity are celebrated and rewarded in terms of dress and appearance; iii) female accomplishments: female accomplishments exhibit a trend of appropriate images of women in sport as sexy and seductive. Within the nation building discourse, the women athletes are produced in the feminized location, however, the women golfer’s case with the corporate nationalism shows different location of women athletes in the discourse. The woman athlete are located in the discourse of corporate nationalism without feminizing (or effeminizing) her female identity, and are represented as a proud symbol of nation.

The LPGA tour is a symbolic and imaginary space where current US-Korea power relations can be disregarded, and the power hierarchy can be rebuilt by imagining the superior position of Korea/ns over the US through experiencing the women golfers’ winning against the White American players. The Korean women golfers’ performances, therefore, becomes the battle ground on which the unequal power relations can be reimagined and subverted. For that
imagination, the women athletes’ status has to be raised to that of hero who fights against to the US; however, that promotion in status directly challenges the traditional Korean gender order. The gendered politics in Korean nation-building discourse is, therefore, closely tied to and supported by Korean media constructions of Korean cultural tradition around the women’s golf phenomenon. These are inevitably connected to the next theme, construction of neo-Confucian values. This conservative tendency to revive the ideas of ch’ung (the nationalist discourse that emphasizes loyalty to the nation-state) and hyo (filial piety to the parents) was especially strong in Korean media.

**Re/Affirming Patriarchal Gender Relation and the Productive Good Daughter**

The Korean women golfers’ presence on the US LPGA tour and their strong performance in tournaments demonstrate various reversals of a conservative social order, in particular that concerning gender relations in Korea. The conservative Korean gender politics, especially based in a Confucian gender ideology, functionally divided women and men to the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of the household (Moon, 2005), and normalized the social and the domestic spheres as male and female domains respectively (e.g., E.S. Kim, 2004; Martin-Jones, 2007). Some scholars argue that these conservative politics of gendered spaces were radically challenged by the IMF crisis (e.g., Kim & Finch, 2002; Song, 2006a) and one of the obvious reversals was the presence of Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. The golfers’ strong performance and their relations to other male figures (supportive father figures and male caddies they employed, for example) reverse the conservative outside/inside, public/private gender domains. In the conservative Korean media, therefore, multifaceted negotiations of the gender reversals and the ambiguities of the public/private sphere became the basis of active discursive practices.

One of the discursive negotiations of the gender reversals in the context of public/private
gender domains involved pairing the woman golfer with her father: the pairing, as represented in Korean media, often conformed with Confucian gender and family values. Korean media’s ideological constructions of the women golfers’ transnational success as the triumph of a co-project between a stoic father and his dutiful daughter celebrate and reinforce neo-Confucian values. Korean sociologist Chang Kyung-Sup (1997) described how neo-Confucianism continued to have hegemonic influence in Korea. Around the mid-17th century, Chosun scholars revitalized old Confucian philosophy into a comprehensive set of norms, laws and customs for prescribing political rule and social relationships, and the patriarchal family played a central role. When Korean society entered the modern industrial era, Chang argues, Korean elites did not make any serious attempt to remove the patriarchal family-centered neo-Confucian tradition. Instead, neo-Confucian values were integrated into public education and political discourse as ‘legitimate cultural heritage’ (pp. 24-25). Further, Chang argues that the realities of Korean families rapidly nuclearized and individualized but the neo-Confucian virtues of familial solidarity, filial piety and self-sacrifice, creating harmonious and stable support among family members, are still expected. Chang calls contemporary Korean society a ‘unique marriage between neo-Confucian ideology and the functionalist theory of the nuclear family’ (p. 24). The results of the marriage are that people are under strong moral and political pressure to sacrifice their individual interests for unconditional family unity, to confine familial problems within the family, and to abstain from resorting to social or governmental measures to solve family needs (Kim, 1990; Chung, 1991).

The neo-Confucian ideology of the ‘dutiful daughter’ in family and gender relations was one of the strongest discourses continuously re/produced and popularly circulated by Korean media taking up the transnational women golfer’s story. Korean media praised dutiful daughter behaviours in response to their fathers’/parents’ invaluable sacrifices and endless supports, and
the traditional Korean fairytale, *ShimChungJeon*, is used to fill out the unspoken stories about the
golfer and her father. Although families are not uniform social entities, the stories about golfing
families created by Korean media over the time periods depict a monotone, singular form of
family: a (relatively) poor family that does not have enough money for (proper) golf lessons for
their talented daughter, yet somehow a head of the family (all the presented cases were fathers)
finds a way to support his talented daughter through extreme sacrifices. If the case does not
involve sport (typically, for example, music or art talent development), usually the mother in the
family sacrifices herself for her talented child/ren. In sport, however, the women golfers’ fathers
are essential agents in achievement of the golfers’ success, both domestically and transnationally.

Commonly praised filial behaviours that are reported in media are as follows:

Then national golf representative Shin gave up the entry of 2006 Doha Asian Games,
turned into a pro. Because she felt more pressure to be concerned about money as a
‘sonyo gajang’ [girl-breadwinner] than to gain honour. For two and a half years since she
debuted in 2006 she won a total of 16 domestic [KLPGA] championships, and it brought
her 14 billion Won. If she adds the bonus money from her sponsoring company Hi-mart
and international tour prize money, she won more than 30 billion Won. With the money,
she purchased a 50 square meter luxury apartment in Yong-in city, and a foreign luxury
sedan [for her family]. (*DongA Ilbo*. August 5, 2008)

Shin’s role as a young breadwinner for her family is praised in a manner which suggests that it is
her time to pay back her father for his sacrifices.

Neo-Confucian virtue also extends to social relations, and has implications for a
discourse of loyalty about the women golfers. In 1999, Korean media reported a transnational
women golfers’ sponsorship incident as follows:

[HB Telecom’s CEO] Han exploded a bombshell that he will release [Kim Mi Hyun’s]
sponsorship contract with no condition, but he couldn’t hide his discontent [because he did not really want to release her]…Kim Mi Hyun says “I can’t forget the way you helped me like an uncle when I was in hard-time” and she goes with shedding tears “please do not get rid of me from Han Byul-family [HB Telecom]” Around 200 attendees witnessed the scene that showed a relation between a true professional and a real sponsor. (Chosun Ilbo. October 20, 1999)

This example shows how the sport marketing field also operates according to neo-Confucian virtues. In the narrative, the business relationship is an extended form of family structure and relation: Kim calls the company a family. Although Kim Mi Hyun had a chance to obtain sponsorship from a larger corporation, she [and her father] declined the chance, and Korean media reported it as a true and real relationship. Further, the attendees applauded her and the sponsoring company for her loyalty. Kim and Finch (2002) discuss how the traditional Confucian ideas about social stability and hierarchy continue to structure various aspects of work, gender relations and family life in Korea. For example, Confucian ideas take the family as a microcosm of society, and Confucian organization of work is reflected in the ideology of the company as family, with employees obligated to defer respectfully to their superiors and management obligated to show paternal concern for workers (see p. 122). Although Kim and Finch argue that these obligations are gendered in the corporate world, and usually only involve men, as the media narrative shows, in the case of golf they also apply to women; therefore, there are discontinuities and disruptions in the discourse.

Family is a profoundly patriarchal institution, particularly with the support of neo-Confucian values in contemporary Korea. Heterosexuality is assumed, and all are expected to marry. The LPGA tour and the Korean women golfers’ presence along with their sacrificing fathers have provided a rich discursive contact zone for the Korean media to promote neo-
Confucian family values. The young women show their respect and comply to the male heads of family, and their ‘good daughter’ behaviour makes them successful, even globally. Further in neo-Confucian ideology, the family is considered to be a microcosm of society, Confucian values within the patriarchal institution of the family are often expected to be performed beyond the golfers’ family, such as in relationship with the sponsoring companies, and with respect to the nation. In addition, the good-daughter behaviour of the golfers is expected to continue in relations with her future husband. Celebrating and ensuring these storylines in Korean media are deeply intertwined with maintaining the Confucian gender order.

While it is valid to interpret gender relations around the women golfers and their fathers as a reaffirmation of Confucian values, other views of patriarchal gender relations in post crisis Korea offer another sound interpretation. Some Korean studies scholars argue that the (public) images of the Korean father have actively changed since the financial crisis (Kim & Finch, 2002; Koo, 2007; Song, 2006a). Before the financial crisis, the father figure was typically not portrayed as caring, soft, or more willing than his wife (the mother figure) to sacrifice in order to support his family. The active/frequent presence of the golfers’ fathers cooking and doing laundry for their daughters, and cleaners, drivers, travel-managers, caddies, and other tasks, many of which were traditionally portrayed as the mother’s work, were now being described as the best thing that a father could do for his daughter. Further, the tone of the portrayals emphasizes paternal caring, and a father quitting-his-job/career in order to support his daughter is even regarded as a wise step. Further, Korean media represented the father’s sacrifice as one of the major factors in the women golfer’s transnational success. Korean media representations of the golfers’ fathers can be interpreted within this post-crisis construction of a new paternal figure who is flexible enough to change his gender role to keep his family together while his wife (the mother figure) is not capable of offering such help under the economic hard times. The Korean studies scholars
noted above argue that this new representation of the father figure in the post-crisis time period can not be simply reduced to a Confucian interpretation of the gender order.

While this approach demonstrates the explanatory power of the media construction of new father subjects in the post-crisis period, it does not take into account the male dominated sport culture in general, and paternal involvement in women’s golf in particular. As number of sport studies scholars demonstrated, women’s socialization into golf and their career development are mostly initiated and sustained by male members of their families (Crosset, 1996; Kim, 2006; Theberge, 1977, 1981). In the case of Koren women golfers, the fathers had been there with the women golfers since they were young girls, from the beginning of their golf careers, and those caring characteristics were accentuated in the transnational context where he (the father figure) was the only family member who could take care of the tasks necessary to support his daughter’s career.

In sum, Korean patriarchy and conservative gender relations were reaffirmed by Korean media through the women golfers’ presence and their strong performances in the US, although their presence in public sphere was a radical case of gender reversal. The father figure accompanied the women golfers in the public sphere, performing non-traditional male roles, yet still portrayed as a keeper of a family. Reaffirming the centrality of the family and the construction of the father as a nurturing and maternal caring figure can be seen as the discursive construction of gender reversals under the neoliberal world reform. The aspect of the past that apparently cannot be changed is the need for family kinship. In spite of the gender reversals, the media depicts the continuation of family kinship. Though there may be other patriarchal ideologies that are mobilized in Korean media, in the case of women’s golf, the neo-Confucian ideology was actively mobilized to make sense of the gender reversals.
Neoliberal World Order and the Constructions of New Female Subjectivity

Neoliberalism as a hegemonic social ethos in Korea brings the transnational Korean women golfers into the public discursive sphere, and takes them up as exemplary citizens in a neoliberalizing world. The young women professional golfers on the LPGA tour have been actively portrayed as self-governing agents, and further as ideal self-entrepreneurs in the neoliberal era. The media’s active discursive recognition of the women golfers as the breadwinners of a family, employers of transnational English-speaking male caddies, their economic capability and purchasing power, their glamorous global lifestyles, running their own related businesses such as golf academies—all of these are representative examples of the women as self-entrepreneurs. Further, media recognition of the women athletes’ subjectivities is evident in their promotion of the “stoic,” “a roly-poly [a self-righting toy. read: resilient],” “hard-working,” character of women golfers that actively suggest that they are independent, self-motivated, persevering, and strong women subjects.

The presence and performance of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour, therefore, seemed to be perceived and positioned quite differently from the traditional Korean female subject in the public sphere. The women golfers are welcomed and celebrated in Korean media as models for young women in a global and neoliberal world. The women golfers’ (economic) upward mobility through their sporting talent (not through their success in school), establishing their careers in the English-speaking first world, traveling around the world as part of their work, and their capacity to accumulate a great deal of economic profit were often portrayed as highly desired for new female subjects under neoliberal reform in Korea.

These female subject positions conflict with traditional images of Korean women and female subjectivities in public sphere—such as women as mothers (Kim & Choi, 1998), women as whores in a postcolonial military dictatorship (Choi, 1998), self-sacrificing and dedicated
women devoted to their husbands and sons (Hun Ok Park, 1998), voiceless but indispensable participants in political struggle (You-me Park, 1998), industrial warriors for national growth and dutiful daughters for their male family members (Hyunmee Kim, 2000), and women as spiritual/past/east compared to material/modern/west/men (E.S.Kim, 2004). Korean nationalism under the rhetoric of globalization and the imperative of recurring Korean patriarchal gender relations continuously represses the ambivalence of women’s subjectivity as a type of dutiful daughter for their nation, their parents, and the corporation. The conflicting images of the Korean women golfers’ subject positions, therefore, have to be recognized as a revealing the possibility of women’s multiple subject positions in the public sphere.

One may, however argue that this recognition of women’s multiple subjectivities is too hasty. The media constructions of the new autonomous/empowered female subjectivities are often characterized as incomplete, and in terms of the Cinderella fairytale. The empowered woman is often portrayed as the one who is facing her real goal in life: finding a good husband. Similarly, the Cinderella fairytale does not offer Cinderella any independent/autonomous female subject position. Based on the story structure, the female golfer subject is locked into the role of the passive, beautiful and kind Cinderella who is destined to be saved by her Prince Charming (a good husband). The Korean media construct the transnational entrepreneurs—strong, financially independent and productive, and who enjoy a glamorous lifestyle—as incomplete females, waiting for their Prince Charming to complete her as a female by returning her lost slipper. The limited story-telling repertoire in women’s sport might lead to framing independent female subjectivities into the classic fairytale plot.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has analyzed and discussed the ways in which Korean media represent the
transnational Korean professional women golfers on the LPGA tour. One of the key representational modalities in Korean media, and the narratives about the women golfers’ presence and success in the US involves the representation of the women golfers as Cinderella and their story often follows the Cinderella fairytale plot. There are also new representational trends for the characterization of the women golfers. Although the typical gendered and sexualized representations of women athletes are still dominant, Korean media started to change. Instead of using the classic ‘adjectives’ that refer to feminine values in sport narratives, there is a growing use of ‘nouns’ that are typically used to describe men/manly values in narratives about the women athletes was an example. The attitude of the narratives toward women’s economic power and global success operates through a complex set of discourses that both celebrate and undermine her various forms of power. With respect to the space limitations of this chapter, what has been presented are selected dominant discursive productions among many other discursive practices in Korean media: namely, the reproduction and reformulation of Korean nationalism, neo-Confucianism, and the promotion of neoliberal productivity. Confucianism does not have a tangible presence today, but rather manifests itself in the media narratives. The women’s golf phenomenon is effectively taken up to contain and to reimplement favoured Korean virtues under a rapidly changing global and neoliberal world order.

Although, the women’s strong performance and continued presence on the LPGA tour is eagerly consumed to promote/mobilize Korean nationalism and rearticulate neo-Confucianism, the unseen labour associated with the transnational women golfers (which I refer to as “the family’s small business”) and their struggles in US, are not recognized. Further, the results show the ways in which the media, nation, and capitals take/use the women golf celebrities. On the one hand, the capitalist-state ideological apparatus (being productive citizens, young and able) operates to influence the content and style of media narratives when representing the women
golfers; on the other hand, the rather traditional, neo-Confucian gender norms and values are internalized through the media representations about the transnational women golfers. Within the umbrella discourse of the heterosexual masculine domain, Korean nationalism and neo-Confucian values and norms are produced by rather ambivalent and contradictory terminologies. The unifying impulse of the masculine nationalist discourse with traditional neo-Confucian values homogenizes the nation and normalizes women’s advancement over their male counterparts in transnational professional golf and the women’s victories in the US so that they (the women golfers) properly belong to the Korean patriarchal order. The patriarchal ideology confers neither anti-imperial revolutionary agency nor autonomous subjectivity to women. The narratives are drawn and the terms set by conservative male media and masculine journalism, so the women golfers are relegated to the status of voiceless auxiliaries by mostly male attitudes. The selective “national imaginary” in Korean nation-building discourses around the women golfers have been constructed; however, these representations simultaneously interlock those grounded in a longstanding discourse of “nuanced forms of patriarchy” and a “transnational and neoliberal productive citizenship discourse.”

These, the new subjects, are indeed “women.” Korean media attempt to find a mutually comfortable way in public discourse to locate these contradictory, rather unusual, but vocal and present Korean women in the imperial space (the US). Further, the ambivalent attitudes to White privilege and racial hierarchy in Korea are embedded in golf narratives in conjunction with spatial politics of the US and Korea as global versus local, centre versus periphery, and West versus Orient comparisons.

In Korean media, the increased coverage of Korean women golfers forms a double-edged sword. Women athletes are more visible in major newspapers, even when it is not an Olympic season, the media exposure ensures better sponsorship for the women golfers, and the women
golfers’ success appears to motivate many young talented girls to pursue a sport career. The press coverage, however, also reinforces neo-Confucian Korean patriarchy and male-centred militaristic Korean nationalism. To form a better and healthier media environment not only for women athletes, but also for all athletes, especially in a transnational context, it is important to identify and challenge the mediated ideological constructions of the athletes.
CHAPTER VII. Discussion and Conclusion

My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger. (Foucault, 1980, p. 343)

The arrival of highly skilled Korean women golfers in the transnational LPGA tour helps to challenge assumptions about race, gender, and nation, as well as notions about White global supremacy. The Korean women professional golfers’ presence and their success on the transnational golf circuit have become an opportunity to stage debates about something other than their professional golf success. The LPGA tour and the women golfers became the grounds for other kinds of conversations that disclose what is at risk—the conceptual order of race, gender, nation, class, citizenship, belonging, etc. under the rapid globalization and transnational processes. The LPGA tour and the women golfers have, therefore, become an interesting discursive contact zone for contestation and re/formulation of the conceptual order of things. In this sense, both Korean and US sports media are actively engaged in strategies of containment vis-à-vis the Korean women golfers; therefore, they have provided an opportunity to investigate the discursive mechanisms that enable containment to take place. Thus, this study attempts to examine how Korean and US sports media interpret these women’s presence in a transnational space, and what the women’s presence on the transnational circuit signifies. Further, the study is an attempt to map the historical, political, economic and cultural logics that shape the transnational migration of women golfers in the process of sports’ globalization.

There has been a dramatic emergence and steady increase in media portrayals of Korean women golfers in U.S. and Korean sports and, to a lesser extent, mainstream media since 1998, and this study recognizes the proliferation of media coverage of high performance women
athletes. Along with this celebration of growing media coverage, my ethico-political choice was, as noted in the quote Foucault above, to determine the ideological constructions of the Korean women golfers as the main danger, especially since the LPGA tour has become a discursive contact zone that actively reflects imperial and patriarchal power relations and their changing dynamics of race, gender, nation, and culture. As much as I enjoy the popular media’s increased coverage of Korean women golfers’ transnational performances, success, and transformed family life, I am also aware of the dangers of the media’s discursive construction of the women. In media in both nation-states, the transnational women golfers hold a troubling status in the political economy of representation. My hyper- and pessimistic activism, therefore, urges me to take a critical position—the media narratives about Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour are to be closely monitored and criticized in order to achieve better cultural sense-making of women athletes of colour in transnational contexts.

The first section of this chapter discusses the women athletes’ transnational migration in the globalization process. Then the second section provides a synthesizing discussion and conclusion to chapters five (the US media representations) and six (the Korean media representation of the women golfers). The section provides a space to synthesize the two nation-states’ cultural signifying processes with regard to the women’s golf phenomenon through media narratives, and juxtaposes the systemic nature and character of the discursive productions. The chapter concludes by suggesting the contributions to research made by the study, the limitations of the study, and suggestions for further study.

Transnational Sport Migration and the Emerging Asian Women Elites

In Chapter four, I demonstrated the historical, politico-economic, and cultural contexts, along with the globalization of sport, that have shaped the Korean women golfers’ transnational
migrations, and that have led them to the US professional golf circuit. For the study, I employed Giulianotti and Robertson’s (2007) notion of transnationality that emphasizes its conceptual relations to globalization. They refer globalization with particular reference to the ‘duality of glocality,’ while the concept of transnationality is used to refer to the socio-historical aspects of connectivities, with particular reference to its antonym, ‘disconnectivity.’ Initiated by the economic imperatives of the late 1990s, talented Korean women golfers were socially dislocated more rapidly and abruptly than their male counterparts in Korean professional golf circuits. The relocation of the talented golfers to the economically, culturally, and politically more attractive US LPGA tour was led by the support of a Korea-based transnational mega corporation—Samsung—as a key corporate actor, along with the transnational corporation’s spatial reach to the US. The corporate engagement with national sensibilities (Silk, Andrews, & Cole, 2005), and its interplay through a sport marketing strategy with Pak Se Ri and national loyalties, helped to consolidate capital accumulation within the geographic location of the US. The most critical actors in the relocation, however, are the women golfers with their competitive skills and their willingness to play in the already well-established transnational connectivities of professional golf circuits of Korea, Japan and the US. The hegemonic power of the US throughout the world and the social, institutional mechanism that maintains the LPGA’s leading status among the global golf tours were another attraction for the Korean women golfers’ migration into the US. Whether they are welcomed or not, some of the Korean women golf migrants have reached transnational stardom, and these women occupy a new subject position for Asian woman in a transnational context: a glamorous transnational elite. I would argue, however, that those women golf migrants are glamorous sojourner migrants—constantly moving migrants with high risk of vulnerability to dislocation of their career membership/s, cultural membership (cultural belonging through their gender, age, marital status, athletic skills), and legal membership (visa-
status and citizenship). In terms of research design, it is difficult to capture the sojourner migrant status without a transnational lens giving a particular emphasis on connectivities of various contexts.

Chapter four adds not only “Asian” “women” professional athletes’ emergence and performance to the globalization and sport migration literatures, but also brings attention to the analytical capacity of transnationality with its emphasis on postcolonial power relations in sport under globalization. It is striking that Korean women professional golfers have found their place in sport, and that sports are one of the professions in which they have been able to establish a career in both/either Korea and the US, and elsewhere. This is a striking case because high performance women athletes are almost invisible in sports’ globalization and transnational talent migration from most countries. Not only is the presence of Asian women professional athletes unusual in global circuits, and their continued migration for more than a decade with ever increasing numbers evidently a unique occurrence in sport migration literature, but the Korean women golfers’ migration also challenges the traditional “push-pull,” or “sending-receiving” model of sport migration. The case of the Korean women golfers suggests that there are more complex and messy conditions and connectivities associated with their transnational labour migration: globalization and neoliberal capitalism; patriarchy; colonial and imperial relations among Korea, the US, and Japan; and economic links among professional golf circuits all shape the women golfers’ transnational migration roots and routes.

The results of this research emphasize the need for an in-depth historical account, especially a colonial and imperial account, in the East Asian context. The women golfers’ migration conditions are also part of, and partial reflections of historical relations between Japan, Korea, and the US. For further research, it is essential to note here the importance of capitalism as a foundational category in structuring the world system (Dirlik, 1994), and that the landscape
of skilled athletes is often restructured by economic power. Athletes’ migration, however, as Maguire and Falcous (2010) argue, is a multilayered, shifting set of interdependencies that incorporates not only economic, but also political, historical, geographical, social and cultural factors. Similarly, the Korean women golfers’ transnational migration roots and routes can be explained by the global economy of the professional sport market. However, as shown in chapter four, this offers only a partial explanation. What is revealed as a major gap in the sport talent migration literature are the cultural and historical accounts of the migration roots and routes; colonial and imperial accounts are especially undertheorized in sport studies.

The results also shed light on multiple colonialisms in East Asia, and challenge the skewed concerns on European colonialism in theory. With recognition of the specificities of colonial history in Asia, we may better understand how the power dynamics have been produced and reproduced, and how they work in new subject formations and conditions. For future study, the undertheorized colonial/imperial account in sport should take seriously the criticism of some colonial thinkers. For example, Kim and Choi (1998) pointed out that majority of the work on gendered colonialism and its legacies concerns European colonialism, and that there has not been much work on multiple colonialisms in East Asia. Similarly, Shohat (2002) pointed out the limitations of postcolonial theory, and that is a significant point in this study. She argues that postcolonialism is useful and relevant for women of colour and Third World women, however problematic. It is problematic because its very assumptions suggest that “theorizing and theories are a Western monopoly, a view that would inscribe in reverse a colonialist vision of the West as theoretical mind and the non-West as unreflecting body” (p. 71). Challenges by postcolonial thinkers to the binary distinction of the West and the Rest, therefore, do not capture the complex historical, cultural, and political contexts in which the Korean women’s professional golf phenomenon is embedded. Such thinking does not capture the dynamic nature of Japanese
colonialism in the relationship between Korea and Japan, and colonial and imperial relations between Korea and the US. These historically and politically specific contexts, therefore, were considered for this study; however, the discussions and analyses that I have offered and challenged in this project should not be dismissed merely as being country-specific, or as exclusive subjects of area studies, as Kim and Choi argue. Instead, they should be connected to problems of the capitalistic world system, and the postcolonial/imperial hegemony that underpins it. At the same time, although some may say that the women golfers’ migration path duplicates the former colonial paths such as from South to North, from East to West, and from Poor to Rich, the transnational flow should be examined in a much more socially and culturally nuanced manner.

Further, the Korean women golfers’ emergence on the transnational golf circuits that are headquartered in the US, and their strong performances against White American players, are new conditions that defy the conventional images of Asian women, not only in the US but also in their home country. In addition, the Korean women golfers’ presence and their performances destabilize the already established race/gender/national matrix of domination. If we agree with Grewal and Kaplan (2000) that new conditions have produced new subjects, the women golfers’ transnational tour membership and their performances might produce new subjects. Inspired by Grewal and Kaplan, these are further questions that I consider in the following discussion section: what constitutes these new subjects for Asian women?; how do US and Korean media construct the “transnational Koreanness” (and further, Korean womanliness in transnational space)?; how does each nation-state view the Other?; how do these subjects differ from historical constructions of Asian women tied to nation and empire building, as submissive, sexually available lotus blossoms and geishas, conniving and immoral dragon ladies and prostitutes, complacent and inconsequential wives and daughters, and pitiable sex slaves and concubines
The following section discusses the ways in which the new Asian woman subject positions are represented in both the US and Korea.

**Synthesis/Juxtaposition of the Two Nations’ Media Representations**

The main interest of this section is not to compare US and Korean media results. Framing the LPGA tour as a discursive contact zone, the social space where the US and Korean women’s professional golf culture meet, clash, and grapple with each other, both nation-states’ media representations about Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour are a product of the contact zone. The tour is heterogeneous on the reception end as well as the production end, as Pratt (1991) defines the nature of the contact zone. It reads differently to people in different positions in the contact zone, because it deploys Korean and American systems of meaning making, not only through its different language but also the different symbolic structures embodied in genres, ways in which the media agenda is delivered, discourses, and so on.

As noted in the introduction, the intent of dividing the chapter and media representations by nation-state is not to compare or judge which nation-state is doing “better” representational work. My structural reasoning is as follows: First, because of the transnational nature of the sport of golf, and my understanding of transnationality, the nation-state tends to stand out more; and media tend to focus more on national identity when covering transnational sport events and sporting agents than in local and national events. Second, the media representations I have studied are produced in different languages. One is quoted directly as it is in the language of this dissertation and the other is filtered (translated and possibly interpreted) through the translation policy in the research design. I have attempted to avoid any potential complications that may result from mixing knowledge that are produced by different sign systems and signifying practices. Ultimately, it would be interesting to compare the two nation-states’ media
representations; however, that will be a future research project.

The Systemic Nature of the Representations

The ways in which the Korean women golfers are constructed in media in the two nation-states have significant similarities in their systemic nature: ambivalence; binary distinction; and intersectional representations that are exclusive and discriminatory cultural representations. Table 7-1 juxtaposes the systemic nature of the two nation-states’ media representations of the women golfers.

In both the US and Korean media, ambivalent representation of the transnational women golfers was constantly evident not only over the different time periods but also within the media productions of discursive constructions. In both media, the ambivalence is characterized by: a) employing contradictory terminology; and b) both de-sexualized and hyper-gendered representations as discursive politics, depending on (particular) discourse/s that the narrative aims to promote. The Korean media’s ambivalent representations of the women golfers are, however, within the boundaries of hetero-masculine patriarchal discourses, while US media construct the women ambivalently within the racial and cultural boundaries of us-Other discourses. The causes and consequences of the ambivalence, however, seem different. In Korean media, the systematic nature of ambivalent representation is taken up to mobilize a seemingly conflicting discursive portrayal: the woman, on the one hand, as winner and symbolic icon of Korean nation under the Western forms of globalization, and as keeper and performer of Korean traditional values, on the other. In US media, the ambivalent representation emerged because the Korean women golfers on the LPGA are perceived differently over the time periods as either opportunity or threat, and widely circulated discourses about Asian women in the US also support the ambivalent construction of the women golfers.
Table 7-1. The System of Media Representation in the Two Nation-states

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>US media</th>
<th>Korean media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent representation (throughout the four</td>
<td>Periodization and dis/appearance of the female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time periods)</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambivalent representation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- employing contradictory terminology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- de-sexualized and hyper-gendered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binary dualism and absence-presence of the US</td>
<td>Binary dualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intersectional structure of the representations</td>
<td>Intersectional structure of the representations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sport media studies, ambivalence is often described as a framing technique that uses positive and trivial descriptions and images simultaneously, particularly for women athletes (Christopherson et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Vincent et al., 2002; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). These studies problematize the media’s ambivalent framing for denying appropriate recognition and prestige of women and women of colour. While it is a valuable argument, what this study adds is that the ambivalence of media representation has its discursive mechanism for maintaining the discourse as “truthful.” Along with Foucault’s (1981) assertion of disunity within unity, and Said’s (1979) idea of flexible positional authority, ambivalence is an inevitable condition for a discourse to gain the power as knowledge.

Within the ambivalence of media in the two nation-states there are similar time-lines that direct the media representations. The horizontal overview of the media’s representational systems may be better understood alongside the longitudinal time periods over the decade-long history of the Korean golfers on the LPGA tour. I juxtapose the timelines based on the number of Korean women’s victories, and especially their wins in major tournaments in Table 7-2. I do not suggest here that the Korean women’s success is the only factor that has escalated the media’s attitude toward the women golfers as problem or threat. It is, however, surely a factor. The frequent reporting on the Korean women in media because of their winning is one. Further, the significance of the major tournaments is marked not only by the amount of the prize money but
Table 7-2. Juxtaposition of the Time Periods in Two Nation-states Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Korean success</th>
<th>US media</th>
<th>Korean media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>11 wins (1 Major) (won by 3 players)</td>
<td>The Start Period</td>
<td>The Start Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>18 wins (1 Major) (won by 5 players)</td>
<td>The Welcoming Period</td>
<td>The Going Global Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>31 wins (3 Majors) (won by 15 players)</td>
<td>Crisis I: Dislike Period</td>
<td>Explosion Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>25 wins (5 Majors) (won by 14 players)</td>
<td>Crisis II: Blaming Period</td>
<td>Post-SeRi: SeRi Kids’ Period</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

also the emotional attachment and sense of ownership by the American public.

The 1998 and 1999 seasons were the Start period of the media coverage initiated by Pak Se Ri. This period begins with Se Ri Pak’s debut when Koreans were not dominating the LPGA tour in terms of numbers, but were nonetheless a sensational and exotic news item in the US that enriched the varieties of their golf narratives. Pak’s winning was also sensational news to Koreans, and her debut was perceived (by media and by government) as a new start for Koreans to leave behind the economic crisis, and to embrace the new millennium without the bailout humiliation.

The period from 1999 to 2002 was categorized as The Welcoming period in the US and The Going Global period in Korea. In this period, the women are not (yet) perceived as a problem, or a threat of the LPGA institution. Although the number of wins by Korean players rapidly increased, those non-major tournaments were won by two or three star players such as Pak Se Ri or Grace Park. US media represented the women as an opportunity for the women’s golf industry in the US, stemming from the globally perceived economic rise of “Asia”; also, Asian (Korean) women’s “differences” were desirable and even required to promote the LPGA’s global face. Further economic and marketing benefits occurred when Asian broadcasting
companies, including the Seoul Broadcasting Station, started to purchase television broadcasting rights to the LPGA. In Korea, this is the period when the transnational mega corporations such as Samsung started to systematically sponsor young Korean wo/men’s golf to support potential L/PGA golfers. In addition, other Asian broadcasting companies started to purchase television broadcasting rights from the LPGA.

The period from 2003 to 2006 was the first crisis period, when the US media expressed dislike of the Korean women golfers, and anti-American sentiment peaked in Korea. In the US, this period is when the tension and controversy between American/Western and Korean players grew more intense, and the US media pointed to the cause of the tension as mainly being the Korean players’ consistent success and their lack of English language skills. In Korea, on the other hand, this is when anti-American sentiments flared. Although the sentiments occurred in local contexts, and the incident that caused it may not have had a direct influence on the Korean media’s representation of the women golfers on the LPGA tour, the historical and political contexts supported the media construction of the women’s frequent wins by various players as an “explosion” of Korean (women) power in the middle of US territory. This fed the Korean public’s imagination, in contrast to the imperial realities between the US and Korea. These conflicts in both Korean and US media seem to frequently promote binary oppositions in media representations of the women golfers.

The years 2007 to 2009 cover the second crisis period, when the US media blamed Korean women golfers for the tour’s downturn, while a new generation of Korean players started to win more major tournaments. The LPGA and the White, English speaking players had long complained about the Korean players’ lack of English language skills. The peak moment of the tension came with the LPGA’s public announcement of its so-called “language policy for international players” in 2008. In Korea, this period is characterized as the “post Se Ri period” or
“the Se Ri Kid’s period.” Frequent media coverage of the first generation of Korean women golfers, including Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun, passed to the next generation of golfers, including Shin Ji Yai and Hong Jin Ju, the so-called “promising young rookies.” The *Se Ri Kids* are so-named by Korean media in reference to the fact that most of the new generation golfers started playing golf when they saw Se Ri Pak on television, especially when she won the 1998 LPGA championship tournament. The Korean media seemed to blame the new generation for not being as newsworthy as the previous generation of golfers in both Korea and the US.

The ways in which binary dualisms emerge are systematic. They are achieved through representations of hyper-homogenized women golfers, in conjunction with racially/culturally homogenized women subjects, who are further patriotically/chauvinistically regulated as a monotone subjects, such as “Seoul sisters” in US media and “Tae-geuk Jamae [sisters who represent Korea]” in Korean media. The homogenized and essentialized subject making allows the narrative structure to easily build the opposite sets of subjects: gender, race/ethnicity, nation, class, age, (heterosexual) marriage status, and so on that operate by the logic of distinctive and hierarchical dichotomies. When these homogeneities are hyper-emphasized, the risk is that they may easily oppress diversity within, and promote exclusion of the differences of others (Peterson & Runyan, 2010).

The multiple sets of discriminatory and exclusive binaries often work in tandem in most narratives. Both nation-states’ media representations show the intersectional structure of representational narratives. In both nation-states, gender is the principal identity marker that structures the society, and gender politics provides the structural model of dominant-subordinate relations; therefore, in both nation-states’ media representations, gender plays a crucial role in the cultural sense-making processes about the Korean women golfers’ transnational emergence and performance. In the narratives, however, other social identity markers often intersect with
gender, and aid the signifying processes. While gendered race operates as a principal intersectional identity at local (sport media) and national (general/mainstream media) levels in the US, gendered nation operates as a principal identity at local and national levels in Korea. Further, the media in both nation-states are viewing the women’s presence and their strong performances at moral and emotional levels, rather than legal and financial levels. This feminized narrational gaze not only devalues the highly skilled women athletes’ success, but also misses the women’s roles or their impacts on both the LPGA/KLPGA and women’s golf in general. As MacNeill (2009) points out, media analysis should pay more attention to the gendered and racialized narrational gaze in order to reveal the intersecting relations of patriarchal and colonial power.

Intersections of multiple identity markers permit various arrangements of story-telling in media narratives and help to reproduce the stories in ambivalent forms. The intersectional structures of media representations are, however, not always visible, nor do they show obvious similarities/differences between the US and Korean media. Further, there is no tendency in media representation for the triad of race, class and gender to always intersect. One or a set of identity markers appears more visible and salient than the others. Scholars, therefore, need to reconceptualize power dynamics and oppression/domination by uncovering the connections and interactions among race, class, gender, and nation as categories of analysis. For example, a number of scholars have pointed out that the ways in which an individual participates in sport, and comes to dominate sports in spectacular fashion, cannot be explained by a single factor such as race. Athletes’ preferences, concentration, or dominance in a particular sport has more to do with the economic, political, cultural, and social conditions that promote or make possible their participation in a sport rather than any inherent talent they may possess based on ethno-racial characteristics (Armour, 2000; James, 2005; Kell, 2000; Nakamura, 2005; Varpalotai, 1996).
The media in both nation-states, however, tend to treat the Korean women’s golf phenomenon, and their achievement in the US, as a matter of race, gender and culture-specific attributes, and these intersectional structures of sense-making in media, indeed, have fuelled the dynamics of the discourses on difference. The problem and danger of these is that it contributes to the various sets of “conceptual orders” (Goldberg, 1993); therefore, it can further rationalize unequal treatments and invisible oppression from the constructed difference.

**Political Economy of Story-telling about the Transnational Women Elites**

Fairclough’s (2003) guidelines for analyzing strategies of media representations make this synthesis possible. In this section, I synthesize the following analysis check lists: media agenda; frequently portrayed social actors; story-telling genres; representational styles; modalities; and evaluations. This synthesis permits me to see the media’s different/similar, if there are any, strategies and styles of story-telling, favoured news-items, and evaluations of the news-items that are ultimately geared to the deliberation of the media’s target discourses. Further, the synthesis allows me to discuss what is silenced/excluded and what is vocal/included in the two nation-states’ media by juxtaposing them.

**Key Ingredients of the Story-telling and the Media’s Engagements**

The social events—transnational women’s professional golf, in this case—that media recognize as news-items and the ways in which media identify the emergence of the social events, are important to note here. As shown in Table 7-3, the repeatedly and frequently portrayed news-items are different, especially in the varieties of media agenda that are covered in Korean media, although the striking focus on the women’s victories and their success stories are similar. There are social and cultural contexts that actively promote success/winning stories. In
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 7-3. Media Agenda and Representational Genre in the Two Nation-states</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>US media</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Media Agenda** | 1. Winning/success  
2. Cultural accounts  
3. Relationship of Koreans with others  
4. English and language policy | 1. Intense media attention  
2. Winning/success in the US—a reminder of relations between the two nations, and amplification of Korean pride  
3. Family  
4. Sponsorships/contracts are surprising news-items  
5. Professional golf as women’s (short-term) career  
6. Athletic performance  
7. Neo-Confucian values and middle classness  
8. Sport talent as a means for upward mobility  
9. Scientific/advanced training, and mettle |
| **Social Actors** | 1. Se Ri Pak and the rest  
2. Young and sexy Americans and the Kims  
3. The Korean father as problem | 1. Pak Se Ri, the most powerful golf agent and the other women golfers  
2. Golf daddies  
3. Sponsoring companies  
4. US and US media  
5. Absent-presence of male golf(ers) |
| **Genres** | 1. Binary comparison narrative structure  
2. Unspoken but spoken: indirect delivery of message  
3. Introducing a “seriously authentic” Korean voice to American readers | 1. Melodramatization  
2. Adopting fairytale narrative structure  
3. Employing authentic voices—the US, US media, Korean diaspora, as authentic resources  
4. Periodization and the imperative of linear development |

the Korean contexts, since the late 1990s, along with the Asian financial crisis, the following key words are popularly circulated in the globalization and neo-liberalization rhetoric: competition; efficiency; development; becoming global (Song, 2009). Within a social environment where competition and being number one are considered virtues, and when an individual’s value is measured by excessive use of ranking and grading systems, the women golfers’ victories, especially on the “global” stage, became an essential components to feed the social ethos. Further, along with the emphasis on discourses of competition and winning, there are socially shared perceptions that the Korean women golfers are the nation’s proud exports to North America (Kwon, 2006), and there are assumed expectations that the exports will enhance the
national image and therefore, they will boost economy. As a result of these escalated perceptions and expectations, it is rare to hear (almost any) criticisms of wrongdoing and problems in women’s professional golf. Further, no one challenges the problematic aspects of the Korean golf structure (both amateur and professional levels) and career development systems, and those problematic status quo practices are not corrected easily. The success- and competition-oriented story-telling in Korean media continuously advocates/supports “Korean style” golf training, a form of training, that is risky because of its potential side-effects; criticisms of father-daughter relations that are often expressions of success-or-die approaches and distorted expressions of familial love are also concealed by the media. In US media, on the other hand, there are continuous criticisms about the Korean style career development and performance within the winning/success stories. However, the criticisms are often geared to construct the binary of us-them, West-East, sovereign-veiled, modern-tradition, progress-backward, civil-primitive, and legitimate-oppressive distinctions.

While both nations’ media allocated much space to portraying the women’s winning and their success stories, Korean media had a greater variety of issues on their agenda, from family stories to Korean training methods. Compared to Korean media, the US media’s agenda and social actors are rather limited except for one outstanding similarity in the portrayal of social actors. That involves the hyper-homogenized subject positions of Korean women golfers in both nation-states’ media narratives. The women golfers are represented as a collective symbol of Korea and Korean women in a global competition, and for a long time, Pak Se Ri was the name of the group of women. Homogenized and essentialized women subjects easily allow the media narratives to compare between us-Other, American-Korean, men-women, and so on, and efficiently keep the reader locked into those dichotomous choices and value-judgments (right/wrong, rational/emotional, strong/weak, etc). These fixed, timeless, and context dependent
subject positions, however, are alterable to suit the interests of those with power (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). For example, the collective subjectivity is effectively used for Korean and American nation-building discourses.

An interesting major difference that is worthy of note here is the Korean media’s ongoing recognition of sponsoring companies as important actors for the women golfers’ transnational success, while US media do not. Also, there is evidence of the same events being interpreted in different ways by Korean and US media. For example, the Korean fathers’ strict training methods are interpreted and constructed as unusual, and even abusive in US media, but are celebrated in Korean media as unique and rather creative Korean training methods. These are indications of how race and culture are used to explain the athletic interests, socialization into sport, talent identification and development, and capabilities to reach the high performance athletic career and maintain it. The socially constructed racial stereotyping reinforces cultural beliefs, ideas, and behaviours of individuals (Harrison et al., 2004; Sailes, 1991). The discursive mechanisms in US media that explain the Korean women’s athletic superiority are not constructed in terms of racial superiority, rather they are used to justify racial and cultural inferiority. Framing the women athletes’ career development process as unusual and abusive led the narratives to concluding remarks that the culture specific training methods are, after all, an inferior system. The discursive construction, therefore, reinforces stereotypes and racial inferiority of Asians/Koreans.

Those key ingredients—frequently portrayed media agenda, social actors, and genres employed—are manufactured by particular representational styles and modalities along with the journalists’ evaluation practices about the key ingredients. Although the landscapes on those key ingredients engaged by media in the two nation-states are different, there are also similarities in terms of the repetition of certain agenda with similar representational styles (though the
Table 7-4. Media Representational Styles, Modalities, and Evaluations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>US media</th>
<th>Korean media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Style and modality about the “increasing number” of Korean players</td>
<td>1. Treating the women golfers as proud symbols of the nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Report on controversy/conflict situation/s</td>
<td>2. Idealizing neo-Confucian values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The notion of cultural diversity</td>
<td>3. Recognizing new capitalism and welcoming the flexible division of labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pro-ams and the conflicts</td>
<td>4. Aestheticization of the women’s transnational life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cultural anomalies (emphasis on deviance)</td>
<td>5. Passive stance on reporting conflicts in the US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Korean fathers’ location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

evaluations are different). Table 7-4 synthesizes the themes that emerged from the analysis. The representational styles, modalities and evaluations of the media in two nation-states are similar and different depending on their use of the ingredients and their target discourses through the story-telling. Different styles and modalities seem natural, however, similarities are not. One of the reasons that the similarities emerge, I argue, is because of the imperial relations between Korea and US. It was evident that interactions and communication traffics between the two nation-states’ media were one-directional: there was a high volume of traffic from the US to Korean media, with Korean media often referring to US narratives, but little traffic in the other direction. In addition, Korean media are sensitive about US media attitudes toward the women golfers, therefore they continuously monitor US media comments. Further, although the US media continuously questions the cause/origin of the excellence of the women golfers, and Korean journalists have produced their reason for Korean women’s excellence in golf, the Korean narratives often are not cited, and it seems that this is not because of the language barriers to knowledge transformation.

**Silence/Exclusion versus Vocal/Inclusion**

It is also important to emphasize here the issues of presence/absence, silence/vocal, and active inclusion/exclusion practices in media representations in the two nation-states. The
Silent and Vocal Parts in US Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Silence</th>
<th>Vocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Golf in general</strong></td>
<td>- US, the LPGA as the centre of global golf (America’s game)</td>
<td>- Changing dynamics of golf under globalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Training methods</strong></td>
<td>Advanced or scientific training process</td>
<td>Family-based non-scientific, and culture specific training methods were emphasized and essentialized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women’s golf support system</strong></td>
<td>Other potential forms of supportive culture of female golf in Korea (i.e., KLPGA)</td>
<td>Pathologizing the relationship between Korean father/daughter as dependent and oppressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Supporting agent/s</strong></td>
<td>Golfer’s mother</td>
<td>Golfer’s father including other male family member, sponsoring corporation/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other/s</strong></td>
<td>Individual subject</td>
<td>Collective, group identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnic/national identity</strong></td>
<td>Asian/Korean</td>
<td>Asian/Korean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphasis on silence and vocal aspects can show the two nation-state media’s direct and indirect interests and focus with regard to the transnational women golfers. Significant silences and explicitly vocal contents and expressions emerged by juxtaposing the two nation-states’ media, both within a national media and between the nations’ media. These are summarized in the Tables 7-5-1 and 7-5-2. Although these are distinguished in a dichotomous manner for the sake of comparison, those silence/vocal distinctions are often indistinct, simultaneous and mutually intertwined. I, therefore, hope that the silence/vocal distinction in this section is not interpreted as evidence of a binary. The key comparison categories I emphasize in this section are general media attitudes to golf, training methods, support systems for women’s golf, the way the media treat Other/s, and nationhood.
First, US media explicitly treat golf, including US golf institutions, their tournaments (both men’s and ladies’) as the centre and standard of global golf. This attitude leads the story-telling to the narratives of crises/opportunities in US golf under globalization processes. There is also active story-telling about Korean golf training methods, and these are often essentialized and represented as family- (father-) based training methods that are a unique Korean cultural way. Its suggestive meaning is that the Korean father’s—no expert in golf—training methods, are primitive and not scientific, and the US media’s silence about and exclusion of Korea’s advanced and scientific training methods and career development process support the story-telling. Also, while the US media emphasize the Korean player’s close relationship with her father as a major factor for the golfer’s success, the golfer’s mother is not present. Korean and/or Asian women’s collective identities are often vocal, while Korean/Asian women’s individual identities are silent. The frequent use of collective Asian identities is often taken up when the US media deliver
stories about conflicts between American players and Korean players or sensitive issues within the LPGA institution. Within the context, however, it is obvious that the Asian refers Korean.

In the Korean context, one of the major noticeable silences and exclusions in media representations of the transnational women golfers is the Korean public’s negative perceptions of golf. Golf has predominantly been considered as an upper middle class sport since the 1970s and 1980s. With the exception of women’s golf on the LPGA tour, the Korean media have represented golf as a noble and upper middle class male sport. The Korean publics’ negative perception of the sport of golf is captured in Kim Ji Ha’s famous poem, “Five Thieves,” which precisely captures the public attitude:

One day, to celebrate their 10th anniversary in business together which had begun with a solemn blood oath, they gather together and agreed to pit their finely-honed skills against each other, with 100,000kgs of pure gold as the prize, and place high a placard on which is written “THEFT CONTEST.”

It is a pleasant spring time with a breeze and light clouds overhead. All of them in turn boast of their secret skills, dandily holding golf clubs in their hands.

The first contestant is the sonuvabitch thief named Plutocrat. Everything he has is decorated with gold: he parades about in his gold clothes, gold hat, gold shoes, gold gloves, gold watch, gold ring, gold bracelets, gold buttons, gold tie pin, gold cuff links, gold buckles, gold teeth, gold fingernails, gold zippers, and gold watch chains. …

Kim Ji Ha was well-known as the people’s poet in the 1980s. He briefly captured the symbolic connections between the ‘sonuvabitch’ Chaebols (large conglomerates) and golf in Korea. 'Five Thieves' appeared in the May issue of 'Sasanggye [Thought World]' in 1970 (May, Vol. 205). 'Five Thieves' was a bitter satire about the depravities and corruption of the ruling class including business giants, assemblymen, high-ranking officials, ministers or vice-ministers, and military
generals. Up to now, as the satire states, the sport of golf has been perceived as the luxurious habitus of the ruling classes, and negative images among the Korean public are still pervasive. In the early 1990s, a national survey revealed those negative perceptions of golf, and the golf club construction boom in Korea. More than 80% of the public expressed opposition to the boom in golf course construction (JoongAng Ilbo, October 8, 1991; An & Sage, 1992). Further, an alliance of 36 citizen organizations was formed to oppose golf course construction. This alliance petitioned the National Assembly for a cessation of golf course construction because it fostered social disharmony and caused massive environmental destruction (An & Sage, 1992, p. 379).

Kwon (2006) also points out the contradiction between the Korean public’s negative perceptions of golf as the sport of the upper middle class and/or Chaebol’s luxurious sport versus the media’s construction of Korean nationalism around the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour.

This contradiction has regularly been portrayed in Korean media as a positive change in the public’s perception of golf. According to various Korean media, the negative perceptions of the sport were changed by the women’s arrival on the LPGA tour:

Effects that Pak Se Ri gave to the [Korean] citizens: There are still many people who believe that golf courses are a wrong (iniquity) meeting place between politicians and business leaders. Former Prime Minister Lee Hae Chan withdrew his service because of [playing] golf. Environment community criticizes that golf is a major reason for land pollution. Having golf course membership is a symbol of wealth, and golf is a noble sport in Korea. The strongly negative image of golf in this way, [has changed.] Even elementary school student now know the word ‘LPGA’ since Pak Se Ri started to win [championship/s] in the US professional golf tournaments (Chosun Ilbo, June 14, 2007)\(^{39}\)

While the narrative does not exactly state that the women golfers’ presence on the US tour has

\(^{39}\) As stated in Method’s Chapter, Chosun Ilbo is one of the conservative/right wing newspapers, and these right wing newspapers have interest in supporting the interests of the ruling elites, and that more progressive/left wing newspapers do not continuously cover golf.
changed the public’s perception of golf, it recognizes the fact that golf now became a popular sport in Korea even to those Koreans who do not (yet) participate in golf, such as elementary school children. Unlike the highlights of the women golfers’ contribution to the change, the institution where those women originally played is not recognized by the public. Although Korean media are vocal about every aspect of the transnational women golfers, the women’s golf institution, KLPGA, has not received much attention compared to recognition of the Korean nation and culture as a major driving force for the women’s talent development. In general, Korean media recontextualized the view of golf with certain networks of social practices and actors which tend to favour particular inclusions and exclusions of media agenda as well as characteristic ways of arranging, explaining, legitimizing and evaluating the agendas.

Second, both US and Korean media are very vocal about the women’s golf training methods; however, the Korean media’s approach is contrary to the US media. The different attitudes about the training methods are discussed in the key ingredients of the story-telling section above.

Third, societal and institutional support systems and supporting agents for women’s golf are also vocal and silent narrative subjects. Korean media are very vocal about male agent/s and masculine capital (i.e., the father figure, sponsoring corporations, and the Korean nation) for explaining the transnational Korean women golfers’ success. Further, although the golfers’ mothers are often present at tournaments and some players’ mothers follow their daughters without their husbands, Korean media are silent about the golfers’ mothers, and exclude any construction of a mother figure. There are historically and economically grounded ideological appeals for active subject portrayals of Korean male figure/s around (young) woman athlete’s success (Lee & Kim, 1996). After the financial crisis in 1997 when many of male breadwinners lost their jobs and could not function in their “head-of-a-family” subject position, there was
discursive urgency to contain the hierarchical male subjectivities. This pervasive urgency in Korea may have resulted in the vocal presentation of golf-supportive fathers and the absence of mother figures. The absence of mother figures is also a necessary condition for portraying shifts in the sexual division of labour. The way the shifting sexual division of labour is used and highly vocal in Korean media was as a visible parameter that shows the father’s sacrifice and love for the daughter. However, it can also be explained by the “malestream” nature of golf culture. Most the Korean women professional golfers were socialized into golf by male member/s of their family, mostly their father; therefore, the dominant presence of the golfers’ father is another cultural reflection of the male sport of golf. Korean media also cover issues that are not quite spoken in the US media, such as the women golfers’ caddies who are often (White-/African-/Latino-) male Americans.

The women’s agency is also actively recognized by the two nation-states’ media; however, it is often a collective, essentialized agency. The media express a great deal of envy of the women athletes and their emergence to transnational stardom. The two nation-states’ media representations also demonstrate gender/race imperatives with regard to the women golfers’ performance and success. For example, Korean male professional golfers’ absent-presence in Korean media almost always provides narratives accounting for why there are not many Korean male professional golfers on the PGA tour. Similarly, the US media constantly make comparison between the Korean women golfers and the White American women players.

Those key ingredients of story-telling in the two nation-state media, the ways in which the media use those ingredients, and the active inclusion and exclusion of media agendas and social actors in the narratives all work in tandem to disclose what is at stake—the conceptual order of gender, race, nation, class, citizenship, and belongings in a rapidly changing neoliberal world.
Discursive Practices of Difference and Imposed Transnational Moral Economy

In media representations of the Korean women golfers in the two nation-states, the emphasis on difference and defining/maintaining conceptual orders based on the differences are key (see Table 7-6). The discursive practices of difference constructed through centre/periphery, global/local, men/women, American/Asian/Korean, etc., and the discursive mechanisms, basically work through polarization of the different subject positions of the women golfers, and further, by comparing the poles overtly and/or covertly.

Constructions of Difference through Centre/Periphery and Intersectionality

Both US and Korean media actively constructed various forms of differences through centre/periphery, global/local, male/female, and West/East dichotomies, and the binary often intersected with other identity markers. Difference has been politically emphasized through various stereotypes of gender, race, nation, class, and other identity markers. In this way of stereotyping, discursive stereotypes “blame” individuals for their “failures” to be independent, free, mature women and to distract attention from institutionalized practices and social structures that shape everyone’s personal abilities, social opportunities, and realization of preferred objectives. The centre/periphery distinctions are given concrete form in terms of difference between the self and the Other. The representative entity outside the self—outside one’s own gender, race, class, nation, culture—is the Other, and the Korean women golfers are used to set the boundaries of the self and the Other in both US and Korean media. In US media, American Orientalism, along with a neoliberal orientation to the world order, on the one hand permits the Korean women’s US (sporting) citizenship legally through issuing LPGA membership while, on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>US media</th>
<th>Korean media</th>
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</table>
Polarized racial differences

Discursive Shifts of difference

1. Construction of biological facts about an ‘inferior’ culture
2. Construction of Asian women as body (not mind), and the body as machine
3. Construction of Asians as subjects for education/emancipation

1. Constructions of less-developed here (Korea, KLPGA) and advanced there (the US, LPGA)
2. Difference between Korea/n and America/n players
3. Gender difference, appropriation of/resistance to the gender norm

The other hand, the women professional golfers are culturally treated as the Other. Thus, the ideology accomplishes the hegemonic positions of the centred self and peripheral Other and maintains the global matrix of US dominance.

Construction of the dyad centre/margin appears in both nation-states’ media representations of the Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour. The discursive constructions of difference, and the politics of difference in the media narratives, continuously show the dyad relations: in US media, the nation and the LPGA tour as they relate to women’s world professional golf circuits are constructed as the centre and global; the Korean nation and the KLPGA are constructed as margin/periphery and local. In US media representation, alienation is used as a context for nationalist struggles. Korean media representations, where the major discursive theme is the construction of Korean nationalism, tend not to use the concept of “alienation” for the nationalist frames. In the US, nation-building discourse led the media narratives to the recognition that minority populations are arriving, even though the minority populations have already arrived and contributed to the definition of what constitutes the global LPGA. In the Korean case, claims of the authenticity of women’s golf and cultural nationalism have fueled the sense of Korean pride. Deleuze and Guattari’s (1986) discussion on major-minor literature may provide an explanation for this case. They argue that “a minor literature doesn’t come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language” (p. 16). The one-directional communication traffic from US narratives to Korean
media may reproduce the centre-periphery distinction within Korean media. By occupying the centre in US media, the Other is inevitably alienated from the centre and major, and the minoritized perspectives in Korean media are contained within the dominant centre, the US. Ahmed (2000) terms this, ‘embodied Others’ in her postcoloniality discussion, and she warns that the minor’s inherent complexity and multiplicity is ignored by the embodied Otherness.

Although there is evidence that Korean media reproduce the minor narratives through the embodied Other, it should be emphasized here that the notions of global-local and centre-margin are blurred around the LPGA tour and the Korean women’s presence on the tour. Nevertheless, the nation is a key marker for establishing the borderline between the centre and the margin. Further, as stated previously, unlike the classic claims of globalization, nations tend to be more emphasized under globalization processes (see Berlant, 1997). It was evident in both Korean and US media that narrow vested national interests were amplified by the rhetoric of globalization and nationalism in both Korea and the US.

The subjects that are different from “us” are the subject for thought, surveillance, evaluation, judgment, marking, training, governing, and changing in the media’s discursive constructions. The thoughts and marks on the differences prove the trustworthiness of the construction through binary distinctions along with ambivalent and multiple forms of stories that are supported through intersectional structures. These ideas about us and Other, therefore, gain power as knowledge. In order to suggest de-Orientalizing, de-nationalising, and de-gendering discourses and narratives in both Korea and the US, it is essential to engage the power relations based on the binary distinctions and intersections.

*Transnational Moral Economy*
Transnational feminist scholars have pointed out how a transnational moral economy involves putting family first in that transnational social field, and how that influences the construction of gender, race, and class in both homeland and in the host society (e.g., Ballard, 2001; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). Further, several scholars have pointed out that among the transnational practices of family and kin connections, gender distinctions and gender relations are sometimes reinforced and more rigid than in the homeland (Espiritu, 1992; Itzigsohn & Giorguli Saucedo, 2005). The dominant discursive framework emphasizing family and kin connections around the transnational women golfers were evident in both US and Korean media. In US media, the Korean family connections and kin relationships are effectively used as part of the discursive mechanisms that transform the emphasis on family and kin relations as a distinctive marker of Korea/n as culturally more primitive than America/n. In Korean media, gender hierarchy and family values were at risk, especially because the male and female members of a golf family do not enjoy equal access to information in the transnational social field, and often the migrant woman golfer becomes the breadwinner. The women golfers in transnational space, therefore, have become an opportunity for debating Korean nationalism and neo-Confucian values under neoliberal globalization processes. Emphasizing the value of family and kin relationships has played a role to maintain male-centred Korean values, and it have imposed neo-Confucian sense of gender morality on those Koreans in the transnational social space and on the Korean public.

Unlike other mega- and international sporting events where an athlete’s victory becomes an emblem of national reconciliation and a celebration of the nation’s identity, the transnational women golfers are positioned in a further intersectional discursive space. The Korean women golfers on the transnational golf circuit have been marked as representatives of a nation, but this is not a primary use of the women in media. The women athletes have become a discursive
formation grounded in the rapidly changing dynamics of global race, gender, class, and nation that sets the media representation of the women golfers apart from that of other women athletes.

Drawing on a postcolonial and transnational feminist analysis, this study discussed how the crisis of a growing population of Korean women professional golfers and their success in the US was managed through the discourses of American Orientalism, Neo-Confucianism, and Korean nationalism to maintain the nation-state system, and to sustain national identities. Specifically, the study attempted to show how dominance is produced through ambivalent and multiple constructions of Korean women athletes as variously: nation’s hero, mobile elites, patriarchal victims, and keepers of tradition and culture that are obscured by American Orientalism, nationalism, neo-Confucianism, and globalization discourses. The social and discursive categories of “Asian women” are contested and reformulated in the unique discursive contact zone of the LPGA, where the global matrix of domination is challenged and the historical, political economic and cultural hierarchies between the US and Korea are/were at risk. Through the discursive practices, the media in both nation-states’ have a tendency to naturalize what is, homogenize difference, domesticate resistance, and stigmatize tradition: golf skills are naturalized, the women golfers’ subject positions are homogenized, the women golfers’ agency is domesticated, and culture and tradition are stigmatized and pathologized. Burawoy (1998) warns that theory is also a circulating discourse that brings social reality into being, framing what we can see and express, constituting subjects as particular types of objects—“Oriental (in my case),” “Native,” “Homeless”—often the better to control them (p. 16). He urges us to embrace anomalies, not only as a means to advance theory but also as a powerful negativity that challenges normalization. In order to recognize non-exclusive and non-discriminative differences, and allow the differences to coexist, we need to frame race, gender, and national relationships in the diverse representational tools, and to embrace and celebrate anomalies in
close proximity to curiosity.

**Contributions to Research**

By highlighting how the constructions of Asians within race relation, gender, class, sexuality and nation are represented in the media in the home country and the US, this study makes a contribution to sociological, transnational, postcolonial and critical sport studies in several ways. First, it draws attention to Korean/Asian women athletes in sport studies and diaspora studies. The lack of studies of Asians, especially studies of US media representations of Asians in sport, constitutes a major gap in the sociology of sport literature, which this research project helps to fill.

Second, the presence and the performances of the women golfers represent significant dislocations. They challenge the taken-for-granted order of things in both nation-states. The results of the study illustrate the ways in which media make sense of the newly emerged transnational women elite subjects, and the representational tools that the media use to reveal the dislocations/challenges to the order of things to the Korean/American publics. The results of the study can be used to show the discursive production of Othering between race/ethnicity, nation, citizenship, gender, class, and sense of belonging systems. The results also point out the existing forms of hierarchy, racism, sexism, and patriarchy within the discursive productions around the women athletes on the transnational golf tours, and highlighted the interlocking systems of oppression in sport narratives that reflects unequal power relations between the nation-states, gender, race, and so on. These results can lead us imagine an ideal where women athletes may exist in deracialized, degendered, and deimperializing forms in public media.

Third, in terms of methodology and research design, this research makes a unique contribution to the body of knowledge in terms of interrogating various discourse resources
around Asian gender, race, and nation within unequal power relations in a transnational frame. Although there are a number of studies of women athletes’ presence in popular sport media within a national frame, women athletes’ presence within a transnational space and the ways in which these women are represented within a transnational frame are undertheorized. The focus of the study is on the construction of images and scripts as truths (see Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p.67). Yeğenoğlu (1998), drawing from Said (1979), reasons that:

…if we admit that the power of Orientalism does not stem from the “distortion” of the “reality” of the Orient, nor from the dissemination of “prejudiced” or “negative” images about other cultures and peoples, but from its power to construct the very object it speaks about and from its power to produce a regime of truth about the other and thereby establish the identity and the power of the subject that speaks about it, then it becomes a peripheral concern whether the images deployed to this end are “positive” or “negative.” (pp. 89-90)

Said further explains that, “In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand” (1979, p. 7). Thus, this study works with concepts such as Said’s flexible positional superiority rather than those of fact versus fiction and negative versus positive.

Fourth, in pursuit of social justice and as a form of postcolonial feminist activism, this study challenges the stereotypical representations of racial minority women and women athletes, and deconstructs hegemonic cultural normativities and patriarchal hierarchies in media narratives. In addition, this study is intended to stimulate discussion of issues regarding gender and race equity in the sports world, to show what challenges racialized women athletes have faced, and to narrate how these women athletes struggle for global visibility.
Fifth, the social implication of the study is that the study raises the possibility that transnational mobility and its associated processes have great liberatory potential for undermining various types of oppressive structures in the world. The media in both nation-states began to construct the newly emerged Asian women elite subjectivities in ambivalent, but no less damaging, discriminatory terms. The transnational contact zone, however, has the potential to shift our imagery away from the negative, discriminatory, exclusive stereotyping and differentiations of gender, race, class, nation, and so on.

**Limitations**

In this section, it is important to clarify the limitations and boundaries of the study. First, from the research design perspective, the title of the study indicates that the discussions of transnationality/transnationalism around the Korean women professional golfers are an essential part of the study; however, I intentionally delimited the discussions of Korean diaspora in North America for two reasons. First, analyzing two nation-states’ media narratives from 1998 to 2009, produced in two different languages was almost unmanageable in terms of the size of data set. It was, therefore, inevitable that I excluded Korean diaspora (i.e., Korean-American) media representation of the women golfers. Although it was excluded, the ways in which Korean diaspora community in North America make sense of the women golfers’ presence and performance on the transnational golf circuits, and the ways in which their media contain the dynamics of race, gender, and nation in the narratives are important in order to better understand both US and Korean media representations, since there are communication traffics amongst US-Korean-Korean diasporan media. Regarding the size of the data, however, it may better to consider the Korean diaspora media in another research project.
Second, during the course of discourse analysis for both US and Korean media, there were obvious differences in the way that Korean-American players are constructed. Due to the already large size of data set from a decade-long time span, this study excluded those narratives, although the Korean-American women subjects actively interact with Korean women subjects in the transnational space.

Third, regarding the source of data, when analyzing Korean media representations the conservative sport media were chosen for the study. This is because golf narratives have been produced by conservative media continuously since the start of the women golfers’ influx into the US, whereas coverage in more progressive media has been quite limited. On the one hand, this is a reflection of Korean society in which the sport of golf is favoured by the dominant (conservative) daily newspapers. On the other hand, the fact that the sport media itself is usually conservative is a research limitation. The consequence of using conservative media sources is that they are more likely to produce traditionalist and conservative discourses, and their political tendency sets the tone of the narratives about the women golfers.

Fourth, the analyses of media narratives from both nation-states only included text-based narratives and excluded visual images. However, a number of visual images appeared along with text narratives and guided my interpretations (and were available to my back-translator and the other translation committee member) of the text. Excluding my self-reflection on and analyses of the use of visual images has to be recognized as another limitation of this analysis.

**Future Studies**

With the limitations of this study in mind, I offer further questions that need to be addressed in socio-cultural studies of sport, especially media representations of women athletes who are located in transnational (sporting) space, and sport talent migration, especially female
sport migration, and sport labour relations in transnational context.

First, for transnational accounts, future studies need to raise further questions that address specific issues of transnationality, particularly within the Korean diaspora population in North America. The research design for this study did not include the Korean diaspora media in the US and their narratives about the Korean women golfers. This study pointed out the importance of transnational space to both nation-states’ media where the women golfers are located and where the women athletes’ skills are performed. Because of the women’s presence and their performance in transnational space, the women become the basis for active conversations about gender, race, nation, class, citizenship, and belonging. In the results of the study, I also pointed out that Korean diaspora newspapers tend to reproduce US media representations about the women golfers rather than referencing Korean media narratives, although the diaspora narratives strongly support Korean nationalism. The ways in which Korean diaspora media interpret the women’s presence in transnational space is another critical piece needed to comprehensively map out the media’s engagements with the women golfers’ presence and the ways in which diasporic media construct gender, race, class, and nation in the particular space.

Second, connected to the first point but more focused on subject matters, in the research design of the US media representation, I excluded media narratives about Korean-American players, such as Michelle Wie, Christina Kim, Pearl Shin, and others. Both US and Korean media tend to treat Korean-born Korean women golfers differently from US-born Korean-American women golfers. Some previous literature reported that the media portrayals of Asian American athletes differed from coverage of Asian nationals (see Kim, Walkosz & Iverson, 2006; also Mayeda, 1999), and that the media portrayals of Asian nationals in the US differs among Asian nations (Mayeda, 1999). Alternatively, Wang (2004) argues that there is slippage between Asian and Asian-American that echoes the multiculturalist ideology of the American
dream (p. 257). In my first-round ‘skim-through’ of the US media that also contained articles about Korean-American players, my first impression was that the US media treat Korean nationals and ‘the hyphenated Koreans’ differently. For future research, it will be important to delve into the differences, if they exist, especially with regard to the politics of citizenship, a sense of belonging based on the citizenship, and with regard to cultural socialization in terms of media representations.

Third, the approach to intersectional analysis that was taken for this study is a constitutive and dynamic model of intersectional analysis—intersections that are conceptualized as axes of difference, especially within cultural discourses (see Razack, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006)—and the results of the intersectional analysis in the study showed the usefulness and analytical potential of the model in comparison to additive/multiplicative model (see Crenshaw, 1991) for analyzing cultural discourses in general, and media representations in particular. In this study, however, because of its focus on two nation-states’ media, and the size of the data set, my analysis did not pay much attention to the “conditions” of the intersection in media narratives. Along with the patterns of intersections on which this study had focused, there are other aspects that are essential for understanding intersections. The other key issue concerns the conditions under which gender, race, nation, and other identity markers are, either/or alone/together, activated as a salient organizing principle in the media representation and under what conditions it may be less salient. These are important questions, especially since the identity markers are not automatically additive; some intersections have clearly been accentuated, and the intersection/s effectively function to emphasize conceptual order/s, along with each identity marker’s existing hierarchies within the marker.

Fourth, for further transnational sport migration research, we need to be equipped with theoretically sound tools for explaining sexual division of (sport) labour. Transnational feminist
scholars have pointed out “the feminization of migration,” and have emphasized the need for theoretical and analytical tools that go beyond the study of sex roles (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, & Pessar, 2006). This study briefly addressed the shifting sexual division of labour,—not only the Korean father’s performance of female gender roles, but also the shifting roles of female athletic performer and male supporters (e.g., male caddies)/career in professional golf— and discussed how the media (particularly Korean media) frame the shifts as fraternal love and sacrifice. This will be explained in a more in-depth and nuanced manner if we interpret the data with theoretically sound explanatory tools.

Fifth, as Duncan (2006) pointed out, there is a great deal of research that needs to be done with regard to what audiences make of sports media messages. The research design of this study did not include the readers’ receptions/perceptions on the media narratives; therefore, it is not known how the discourses produced about the women golfers make sense to their readers.

Sixth, women golfers are increasingly visible in media, particularly as heroic female athletes become more a part of the cultural landscape in Korean media. It will bridge a large knowledge gap if we answer how the shifting opportunity structure and cultural imagery of post “women golfer’s arrival into the US” made changes (if any) in the media landscape. Further, comparison studies between media representations of domestic women golfers (KLPGA) and inter-/trans-national golfers (e.g., LPGA and/or JLPGA players) in Korean media would also be important work. Some Korean feminist scholars have pointed out that the radicalization of women as revolutionary subjects does not emerge from desexualized motherhood but from the experience of migration from home and community as colonized women (Choi, 1998).

Seventh, in order to perform anticolonial research and be mindful of ethical practices, original data treatment and transformation, especially language translation, should be given priority. Language translation as a methodological issue for rigorous research practices is
undertheorized, especially from non-English into English language.

Eighth, in analyses of media narratives, one should recognize the double-hermeneutic aspects of analysis in the study. There are at least two layers of interpretations of the actual practices of the golfers. First, the journalists produce media narratives about the Korean women golfers through their own filtering practices and self-censorship; analysis of this requires production ethnography based of field research with the journalists. Second, those journalists’ interpretations were then subject to interpretation themselves through this academic research process. There is also a need for a primary ethnography with the Korean women golfers who are experiencing their lives both as lived experiences and through the media narratives. The women golfers’ interpretations of the media narratives, therefore, would provide a more comprehensive picture of the women athletes’ transnational experiences.

Ninth, as pointed out in the limitations section, inclusion of the analysis of visual images along with text-based analyses is needed for the future studies.


Christopherson, N., Janning, M., & McConnell, E.D. (2002). Two kicks forward, one kick back:


University of New York Press.


Kim, S.K., & Finch, J. (2002 b). Living with rhetoric, living against rhetoric: Koran families and
the IMF economic crisis. *Korean Studies, 26 (1).* 120-139.


Lather, P. (2008). (Post)Feminist methodology: Getting lost or a scientificity we can bear to learn from. *International Review of Qualitative Research, 1*(1). 55-64.


Maguire, J. (2008). ‘Real politic’ or ‘ethically based’: Sport, globalization, migration and nation-


Park, H. (2010). The stranger that is welcomed: Female foreign students from Asia, the English language industry, and the ambivalence of ‘Asia rising’ in British Columbia, Canada. Gender, Place and Culture, 17 (3). 337-355.


Prins, B. (2006). Narrative accounts of origins: A blind spot in the intersectional approach?


Schultz, J. (2005). Reading the catsuit: Serena Williams and the production of blackness at the


Song, J. (2010). ‘A room of one’s own’: The meaning of spatial autonomy for unmarried women in neoliberal South Korea. Gender, Place and Culture, 17 (2). 131-149.


Washington, M.A., & Lehr, C.A. (198?). A sociological profile of participants in the 1983 NCAA women’s golf championship. I couldn’t get the journal title yet.


APPENDICES

Appendix A: Glossary I. Select Abbreviations and Golf Terms

ALPGA: Australian Ladies Professional Golf Association

Birdie: a score of one under par on any given hole

Caddy: a caddy (or caddie) is the person who carries a player's bag and clubs, and is the only person who can give advice on the field regarding overall yardage, pin placements and club selection and so on in the PGA and LPGA tournament.

Gallery: a term that is used in golf tournaments that indicates a group of spectators in golf performance/competition.

JLPGA: Japan Ladies Professional Golf Association

KLPGA: Korea Ladies Professional Golf Association

LET: Ladies European Tour

LPGA: Ladies Professional Golf Association

Match play: Unlike stroke play, in which the unit of scoring is the total number of strokes taken over one or more rounds of golf, match play scoring consists of individual holes won, halved or lost. On each hole, the most that can be gained is one point. Golfers play as normal, counting the strokes taken on a given hole. The golfer with the lowest score on a given hole receives one point. In a tournament event where the score is all square after the last hole, usually 18 or 36, the players will play on until a player wins a hole (sudden death). In the Ryder Cup and other similar team events, the match is not finished this way, and the teams each receive a half point. In such events there are points accumulated over several days, playing different formats, and the total determines the winner.

Women's professional golf had no event directly comparable to the Accenture Championship until the HSBC Women's World Match Play Championship was introduced in 2005. After it was canceled in 2007, the LPGA was without a match play event until the Sybase Match Play Championship was started in 2010. Women's golf also has the biennial Solheim Cup staged between two teams, one including USA-born players and one including players born in Europe. From 2005 to 2008, women's golf held the Lexus Cup, an event pitting an International Team against an Asian Team. The U.S. Amateur Championships for both men and women are conducted with two rounds of
stroke play to cut the field to 64, and then proceed to a single-elimination match play tournament. All elimination matches are 18 holes except for the final, which is 36 holes.

**Putt/Putting:** The putt is used for putting the ball in the hole or closer to the hole (as in lagging) from the green or the fringe of the green. The putter is used for the putt.

**Stroke play:** Stroke play is an opposed scoring system for golf in which the total number of strokes is counted over one or more rounds of 18 holes.

**The Women’s World Golf Ranking System (Rolex Rankings):** The rankings are based on performances on the five major tours (LPGA, ALPGA, JLPGA, KLPGA and LET) and the Future Tour, the official developmental tour of the LPGA, over a two-year period. The system for calculating the rankings is similar to that for the men's Official World Golf Rankings. Players receive points for each good finish on the relevant tours, with the number of points available in each event depending on the strength of the field, as determined by the competitors' existing rankings (when the rankings were introduced in 2006, rankings were calculated for earlier periods; indeed the first ever set showed notional changes since the previous week).

**Tour/s (tour/s):** when I use “tour/s” in the body text, I mean a circuit of (a series of) golf competition/s and competitive events that are hosted/organized by bodies of (professional) golf institution/s such as K/L/PGA, and L/PGA

**Tournament/s (tournament/s):** when I use “tournament” in the body text, I mean a particular golf competition and competitive event hosted/organized by bodies of (professional) golf institutions/s
Appendix B: Glossary II. Select Korean Words and Phrases

Ch’ung (충): the nationalist discourse emphasized loyalty to the state
Chaebol (제벌): big corporations or conglomerates
Cheyuk teukgi (체육특기자): literally, talented athlete. In this research, the term is used in specific condition: talented athlete who holds a special admission for university entrance, and sport scholarship
Dongpo (동포): brethren, fellow countrymen
Han-il dae-hang-jeon (한일대항전): Korea-versus-Japan (team) match
Hyeondaewha (현대화) project: Korea’s modernization project that are initiated in the 1960s under the military administration (from 1963 to 1978)
Hyo (효): the filial piety to the parents
Kirögi families (기러기 가족): families in which children are studying overseas (in the US or (mostly) in other English-speaking countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) and their mothers accompany them to take care of these children, while fathers remain in Korea and send money to their families
Maengho Medal (맹호장): 2nd highest among the five level Order of Sport Medals that reward athletes who enhance Korean national prestige in sport fields, second level next to Chungryong Merit (청룡장)
Nang-ja-gun (낭자군): a group of unmarried young girls or damsels in distress, shielded only by her sacred garments.. Linguistically it is not a used word
Sômin (서민): working poor; working class citizen
Sonyô gajang (소녀가장): (little) girl-breadwinner
Tae-geuk (태극): shape of the entity of cosmos that is used in Korean national flag
Tae-geuk Jamae (태극자매): sisters who represent Korea
Tae-geuk-ki (태극기): Korean national flag
Appendix C: Introductory Email

The following email was sent out in Korean and/or English versions to Korean women golfers who compete on the LPGA tour with the request that it be forwarded to other Korean golfers who hold the same membership. Due to the nature of the email, it will not be possible to put this text on university letterhead.

Dear Professional [Name],

My name is Kyoung-yim Kim and I am graduate student at the University of Toronto. I am studying the Korean professional women golfers on the LPGA tour for my PhD research. As part of this research, I would like to interview individuals who have played on the LPGA tour more than one season. I am interested in hearing your media interview experiences with both Korean and US/North American media, and your brief experiences of the K/LPGA tournaments since you debuted on the LPGA. The interview would take approximately 30 to 40 minutes, at your convenience in person or via telephone or e-mail.

If you are interested in being interviewed or would like more information, please contact me at ky.kim@utoronto.ca or at 1-416-978-5548.

Thank you and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Kim, Kyoung-yim
Doctoral Candidate
Faculty of Physical Education and Health
University of Toronto
Appendix D: Information Letter

FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Project Title: Producing Korean Women Golfers on the LPGA Tour: Representing Gender, Race, Nation and Sport in a Transnational Context
Investigator: Kyung-yim Kim (PhD Candidate, Faculty of Physical Education and Health)
Supervisor: Dr. Peter Donnelly (Professor, Faculty of Physical Education and Health)

Dear Korean women golf professionals,

I am a PhD. student in the Faculty of Physical Education and Health at the University of Toronto. Under the supervision of Dr. Peter Donnelly, I am conducting a qualitative research study on Korean professional women golfers who compete on the LPGA tour. I am interested in media representations on Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour in both US and Korean media, and the ways in which the women golfers negotiate both sides’ media representations. Although it has been more than a decade that Korean women golfers have played on the LPGA tour, there is almost no research written about Korean women golfers on the LPGA tour, and their experiences on the global and transnational golf worlds. Thus, this project will bring many interesting issues to light.

I am inviting you to assist me by agreeing to participate in this study if you are a Korea-born woman golf professional, and compete on LPGA tournaments as a full-seeded player.

Your participation would involve one interview taking place in or out of regular tournaments in either the 2009 KLPGA or LPGA tournament season at a convenient location and time for you. With your convenience, you can choose either phone interview or in-person interview. Each interview will take approximately forty-five minutes. All interviews will be digitally (audio) recorded, unless requested otherwise, and you will have an opportunity to review the transcript, make corrections, withdraw or add comments and use a false name.

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

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

Confidentiality
Data (audiotapes, transcripts, consent letters, discs and notes) will be locked in a secure place at the researcher’s home. Only the supervisor and I will see the data and drafts of the report. Computer data will be password protected. In case you want to keep anonymity, false names will be used throughout the final draft and obvious identifiers of the name (and your sponsorship company) and the research site will be changed, and only those transcript excerpts that have been approved by you will be used in future presentations or publications. In case you want to reveal your real name (and your sponsorship company), I will follow you public announcement guideline. Transcripts and interpretations will also be available for you to read, in order to confirm accurate transcription, representation and interpretation. You may request a copy of the findings or final report at any time. All data will be destroyed approximately ten years after the research has concluded.
Risks and Benefits

There is a potential risk that anonymity cannot be completely assured because (1) the Korean professional women golf community on the LPGA tour is small and (2) there will only be fifteen interviewees. Thus, those in the professional women golf community may recognize some of the experiences described. However, when portions of the research are published or presented, the location of the research will be changed and false names will be used. Because of this minimal risk, it is important to emphasize that participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time.

Although the findings in this study will not benefit you directly, your participation will add to existing research, and potentially inspire other questions for researchers to pursue in the future. You may gain some satisfaction in furthering knowledge, and from the opportunity to share and reflect upon your experiences. Your stories will add to our understanding of women’s experiences in professional sport of golf, the changing dynamics of Asian women and sport in both US and Korea, and Asian women athletes’ transnational experiences and struggles in rapidly changing global world.

After you have approved all transcript excerpts and the final draft is complete, I would be happy to provide you with a summary of the findings from the study, and you may, of course, attend the PhD defense, as well as access the entire report, once it is published.

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

Sincerely,

Kyoung-yim Kim
Principal Investigator
1-416-978-5548
ky.kim@hotmail.com

Professor Peter Donnelly
Supervisor
1-416-978-5071
peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca
Appendix E: Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION & HEALTH

Project Title: Producing Korean Women Golfers on the LPGA Tour: Representing Gender, Race, Nation and Sport in a Transnational Context
Investigator: Kyoung-yim Kim (PhD Candidate, Faculty of Physical Education and Health)
Supervisor: Dr. Peter Donnelly (Professor, Faculty of Physical Education and Health)

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your reference, is part of the process of informed consent. The information letter that accompanies this form provides a detailed overview of what the research is about and what your participation involves. Please feel free at any time, to ask questions if you need clarification or more information. Please take the time to read this carefully.

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

I understand that, as a participant in this study, I will take part in an approximately one hour long interview, and that I will be asked questions about my golf career experiences in KLPGA and LPGA tournaments.

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

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

__________________________________________________________
Signature of participant

__________________________________________________________
Signature of Researcher

__________________________________________________________
Date

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

Kyoung-yim Kim, Principal Investigator
1-416-978-5548
ky.kim@hotmail.com

Professor Peter Donnelly, Supervisor
1-416-978-5071
peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca

55 Harbord Street, Toronto, ON M5S 2W6 Canada
www.utoronto.ca/physical
Appendix F: Approval of Research Ethics

University of Toronto
Office of the Vice-President, Research
Office of Research Ethics

PROTOCOL REFERENCE #24254

July 17, 2009

Dr. Peter Donnelly
Exercise Sciences
40 Sussex Dr.
Toronto, ON M5S 1J7

Ms. Kyoung-yim Kim
Exercise Sciences
2-472 Dupont St.
Toronto, ON M5R 1W6

Dear Dr. Donnelly and Ms. Kim:

Re: Your research protocol entitled “Reading Korean Professional Women Golfers on the LPGA Tour: Discursive Production around Transnational Korean Athletes in US and Korea”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ETHICS APPROVAL</th>
<th>Original Approval Date: July 17, 2009</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Expiry Date: July 16, 2010</td>
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<td>Continuing Review Level: 1</td>
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We are writing to advise you that a member of the Health Sciences Research Ethics Board has granted approval to the above-named research study, for a period of one year, under the REB’s expedited review process. Ongoing projects must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

The following consent documents (received July 3, 2009) have been approved for use in this study:
- Introductory email
- Research information letter
- Participant consent form

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report at least 30 days prior to the expiry date of your study.

If your research has funding attached, please contact the relevant Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

Daniel Gyewu
Research Ethics Coordinator

McMurrich Building, 12 Queen’s Park Cres. W. 3rd Floor Toronto, ON M5S 1S8
TEL: 416-946-3273 FAX: 416-948-5783 EMAIL: ethics.review@utoronto.ca
Appendix G: Semi-structured Interview Guide

A. Career Development

- Tell me briefly about your (your daughter’s/ your golfer’s) debut history in KLPGA and LPGA
- Tell me about your (your daughter’s/ your golfer’s) motivation to come to the LPGA tour.

B. Sponsorship

- How many and what kind of sponsorships do you (your daughter’s/ your golfer’s) have in the season 2009?
- Are there sponsorship differences between the US and Korea? [e.g., types of corporations, amounts and kind of funding, expectations of the sponsors, etc.]
### Appendix H: Information Regarding Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Occupation (?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Gha</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>KLPGA member, former women’s national team coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Former staff member of Samsung’s Se Ri Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Da</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Coach for a Korean LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean LPGA golfer’s Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Sema Sport staff, management company for a Korean LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>KPGA teaching professional, former men’s national team coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aha</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Golf equipment company’s staff for women’s division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Caddie for a Korean LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cha</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean-American</td>
<td>Coach for a Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Caddie for a Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Caddie for a Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Go</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer’s Father</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Manager for a Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Sponsorship team manager for a Korean company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ro</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean-American</td>
<td>LPGA Korean (heritage) staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bo/So</td>
<td>M,M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer’s Father, uncle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Oho</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cho</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Golf journalist for a daily newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Golf journalist for a daily newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tho</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Caddie for a a Korean K/LPGA golfer</td>
</tr>
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### Appendix I: Korean Golfers’ LPGA Tournament Wins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winner</th>
<th>Tournament</th>
<th>Wins (USD)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Ku, Ok-hee</td>
<td>Standard Register Turquoise Classic</td>
<td>$52,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Ko, Woo-soon</td>
<td>Toray Japan Queens Cup</td>
<td>$105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Ko, Woo-soon</td>
<td>Toray Japan Queens Cup</td>
<td>$105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>McDonald's LPGA Championship</td>
<td>$195,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>U.S. Women's Open <em>(M)</em></td>
<td>$267,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Jamie Farr Kroger Classic</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Giant Eagle LPGA Classic</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinn, Pearl</td>
<td>State Farm Rail Classic</td>
<td>$105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>ShopRite LPGA Classic</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Jamie Farr Kroger Classic</td>
<td>$135,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>State Farm Rail Classic</td>
<td>$116,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Samsung World Championship of Women's Golf</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>First Union Betsy King Classic</td>
<td>$108,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>PageNet Championship</td>
<td>$215,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>Kathy Ireland Greens.com LPGA Classic</td>
<td>$112,500</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>Safeway LPGA Golf Championship</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>YourLife Vitamins LPGA Classic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>The Office Depot Championship</td>
<td>$123,750</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Longs Drugs Challenge</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Jamie Farr Kroger Classic Presented by ALLTEL</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Weetabix Women's British Open <em>(M)</em></td>
<td>$221,650</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Park, Gloria</td>
<td>Williams Championship</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>AFLAC Champions Presented by Southern Living</td>
<td>$122,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>The Office Depot Championship Hosted by Amy Alcott</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>McDonald's LPGA Championship Presented by AIG</td>
<td>$225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>Giant Eagle LPGA Classic</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Gloria</td>
<td>Sybase Big Apple Classic Presented by GOLF MAGAZINE</td>
<td>$142,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>Wendy's Championship for Children at Tartan Fields</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>First Union Betsy King Classic</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Mobile LPGA Tournament of Champions Presented by Ultimate Software</td>
<td>$122,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>Sports Today CJ Nine Bridges Classic</td>
<td>$225,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>CISCO World Ladies Match Play Championship</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Safeway PING Presented by Yoplait</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Chick-fil-A Charity Championship hosted by Nancy Lopez</td>
<td>$202,500</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>Michelob Light Open at Kingsmill</td>
<td>$240,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
<td>Sybase Big Apple Classic presented by Lincoln Mercury</td>
<td>$142,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
<td>Wendy's Championship for Children at Tartan Fields</td>
<td>$165,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Jamie Farr Kroger Classic Presented by ALLTEL</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahn, Shi-hyun</td>
<td>CJ Nine Bridges Classic Presented by Sports Today</td>
<td>$187,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>Kraft Nabisco Championship <em>(M)</em></td>
<td>$240,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>Michelob ULTRA Open at Kingsmill</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
<td>Safeway Classic Presented by Pepsi</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kim, Christina</td>
<td>Longs Drugs Challenge</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Grace</td>
<td>CJ Nine Bridges Classic Presented by Sports Today</td>
<td>$202,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Kang, Jimin</td>
<td>LPGA Corning Classic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Winner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim, Birdie</td>
<td>U.S. Women's Open Championship conducted by the USGA (M)</td>
<td>$560,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee, Meena</td>
<td>BMO Financial Group Canadian Women's Open</td>
<td>$195,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jang, Jeong</td>
<td>Weetabix Women's British Open</td>
<td>$280,208</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kang, Soo-yun</td>
<td>Safeway Classic Presented by Pepsi</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
<td>Office Depot Championship at Trump National Golf Club Los Angeles</td>
<td>$195,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, Lee-young</td>
<td>CJ Nine Bridges Classic Presented by Sports Today</td>
<td>$202,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim, Christina</td>
<td>The Mitchell Company Tournament of Champions Presented by Kathy Ireland</td>
<td>$138,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kim, Joo-mi</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Lee, Meena</td>
<td>$165,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Yim, Sung-ah</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Lee, Seon-hwa</td>
<td>$225,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>$270,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Jang, Jeong</td>
<td>$270,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Han, Hee-won</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>Hong, Jin-joo</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kim, Mi-hyun</td>
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<td>2007</td>
<td>Kim, Young</td>
<td>$195,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Pak, Se Ri</td>
<td>$195,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Lee, Seon-hwa</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Lee, Seon-hwa</td>
<td>$390,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Ji, Eun-hee</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Park, Inbee</td>
<td>$585,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Lee, Seon-hwa</td>
<td>$255,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Oh, Ji-young</td>
<td>$255,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$314,464</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2009</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$1,000,000</td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>Oh, Ji-young</td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Kim, In-kyung</td>
<td>$255,000</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>Yi, Eun-jung</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Ji, Eun-hee</td>
<td>$585,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Hur, M.J.</td>
<td>$255,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Shin, Ji-yai</td>
<td>$270,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Choi, Na-yeon</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Choi, Na-yeon</td>
<td>$255,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The events listed are for the years 2006 to 2009.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tournament</th>
<th>Prize Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Song, Bo-bae</td>
<td>Mizuno Classic</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wie, Michelle</td>
<td>Lorena Ochoa Invitational by Banamex and Corona Light</td>
<td>$220,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*M* = Major tournament
Appendix J: Number of Professional Golf Tournaments in Korea

Table 4-3-1. Number of Professional Golf Tournaments and the tour members throughout the Five Political Regimes in Korea (Korea Golf Association, 2009; L/PGA websites on statistics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political regimes</th>
<th>year</th>
<th># of tournaments</th>
<th># of members (Ladies)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The 1\textsuperscript{st} &amp; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Republic Period (1948-1962)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 3\textsuperscript{rd} &amp; 4\textsuperscript{th} Republic Period (1963-1980)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 5\textsuperscript{th} &amp; 6\textsuperscript{th} Republic Period (1981-1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Participatory Government Period (2003-2007)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix K: Extended Agenda Elements of Korean Media Narratives in the Time Periods

Table 6-1-1. Agenda Elements of Korean media narratives in Each Time Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Time period</th>
<th>Major Events that are reported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1998 | The Start: The Se Ri Period (Kim, YS presidency: ’93-’98) | - Yellow squall in the White field  
- A ‘rose’ [Pak] blooming in a garbage-can [read it as a metaphor of Korea’s economic crisis, messy political conditions, and poor golf infrastructure]  
- ‘2nd Pak Se Ri’: junior golfers are growing well: Samsung company’s strong support program for golf juniors  
- ‘Pak Se Ri [Economic] Effect’ good for 6 billion dollars  
- former president Chun Doo Whan gave an incitement call, but Pak Se Ri declined to prepare for her next tournament |
| 1999 | (Kim, DS presidency: ’98-’03) | - with no sponsors, Kim Mi Hyun travels the US with her father (51) and mother (46) with a second-hand van, cook and eat their meals on the road. But she has no complaint, just waits for the day she will climb to the top  
- Kim Mi Hyun left [Incheon] airport to her grandmother’s (78 years-old) home to greet her, and ran directly into her regular [Korean style] sausage place, finishing off rice-sausage and sausage soup [iconic dishes for lower working class]  
- Peanut Kim Mi Hyun—Refusal with tears: sponsor HB Telecom suggests she finds a bigger corporation (without any condition, they will release the sponsorship [it was considered as an exploding bombshell]), but Kim refused because of her gratitude to the company  
- President Kim [Dae Jung] awarded Kim Mi Hyun the *Maengho* Medal [the Order of Sport merit awarded to athletes who enhance Korean national prestige in sport fields]  
- New-generation golfer Lee Jeong Yeon signed a contract with HanKook Tire for 4years with just over a million USD ($1,060,529)(W1,260,000,000) |
| 2000 | The Going Global Period | - Pro golfer, Kim Mi Hyun accepted for Seong-Kyun-Kwan University as a varsity athlete [no entrance exam, with benefits that regular students do not get]  
- “The millennium queen design to be present”: Park Gee Eun official pro-debut  
- MBC TV dispatched 10 reporters for relay broadcasting for a LPGA tournament. It will be aired live for four days  
- Park Gee Eun combines magnificent looks with talents, becomes popular among Americans as well  
- Korean damsels are fully mobilized for the Longs Drugs Challenge  
- ‘Peanut’ [Kim Mi Hyun], a beautiful fighting spirit: ranked within top 10 though she is on acupuncture therapy  
- ‘Roly-poly’ Jang Jeong ranked 13th  
- ‘primal rival Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun’: LPGA aware of local Koreans’ interests, organize Pak and Kim into a group |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/Remarks</th>
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</table>
| 2001 | - ‘Super peanut’ Kim Mi Hyun visited her hometown Pusan, she will open fan-service, golf clinic, fund-raising for future-hope of golf talents, meeting with her golf-mentor.  
- Golf Daddy: There were daddies behind the female golfers’ championship on the US LPGA  
- Park Gee Eun donated in total around USD77,533 (W90,000,000) to the Red Cross for aiding deprived people. [The donation came out of a KLPGA daily event, Nine bridge Skins Game in JeJu Island, and the amount was the sum of her] entry premium, prize winning money, and her daily sponsorship expense of 2 million provided by a company named SPECO. |
| 2003 | - “Super peanut’s warm winter”: following on the 30 billion Won re-contract with her main sponsor (KTF), Kim Mi Hyun snapped up with clothing [Kim Young Ju Fashion] and golf equipments [Honma, Japanese golf club maker] and brought a fairly good income.  
- Park Gee Eun got credit for three championships on the LPGA, and was awarded the sport medal, *Maengho*, by Kim Seung-jae, the minister of Culture and Tourism.  
- “I [Pak Se Ri] would learn a game from men”: Pak entered yesterday for the gender match |
| 2004 | - Kim Mi Hyun purchased a domestic [car] Equus for the time when she stays home [Korea]  
- Park Gee Eun got her first LPGA major championship, [and] there are 6 Koreans among top 10 [at Kraft Nabisco Championship] (JoongAng Ilbo. March 30)  
- Pak Se Ri earned qualification for ‘Hall of Fame’: for the first time among Asians  
- Ahn Shi-hyun, ‘pinky smile’ [she often wear pink top, bottom, and cap]  
- Pak Se Ri came out second best: Is it a sign for escape of the two-month slump?  
- Kim Cho Rong [Christina Kim] smiled at last: her first hurrah since she debuted (DI. 30/9) |
| 2005 | - Enthusiastic first victory of Jang Jeong [at the British Open]  
- Missy-golfer, Han Hee-won dedicated her championship cup to her father-in-law for his birthday present; because she competes in the US, she couldn’t perform her role of daughter-in-law properly (DI. 5/10)  
- The trophy is bathed in tears: [Shin Ji Yai] lost her mother by car accident, her father serves for her caddie (CI. 12/9)  
- A 16-year-old girl [Michelle Wie] ran into jungle (CI. 7/10) |
| 2006 | - Kim Mi Hyun returned to the top after 45months (DI. 2/5)  
- Along with Pak Se Ri’s come-back [at the McDonald Championship] after two years, CJ [Pak’s sponsorship company] stood strong as well (JI. 13/6)  
- Jang Jeong, Wegmans LPGA Championship, after the final, she attended the memorial ceremony for the [American] soldiers in the Korean War in the nearby Rochester National Cemetery. …she heartily
accepted the invitation, and people gave her a round of applause [for the acceptance] (DI. 27/6)
- [Hardship journey] a borderline between income and expense on the LPGA tour is annual prize winning of 50 (Cl. 28/7)
- ‘Birdie-queen’s return’: Park Gee Eun ranked top on the first day [of the opening tournament of LPGA, SBS Open]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/Player</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| 2007 | Post-SeRi: Se Ri Kids’ Period | Pak Se Ri was in tears [when she lost the] ‘Grand slam’ chance (JI. 3/4)
- Become ripe peanut: Kim Mi Hyun got victory from an extended match with Ingster at the SemGroup Championship (DI. 8/5)
- [I, Kim Mi Hyun] OK to be wet all over [sexualized report with a pic] (Cl. 8/5)
- Korean damsels, much-waited good news [Kim Mi Hyun’s championship on SGC] (Cl. 8/5)
- A bigger victory that Kim Mi Hyun showed: [she] cut half of the prize money [the SGC prize] and donated—[she] carved an image of ‘beautiful Korean’ [among Americans] (Cl. 10/5)
- ‘Big 3’: Pak Se Ri—Kim Mi Hyun—Park Gee Eun, ‘Green Damsels’ Chat: Marriage, donation [Kim donated $11mil for Tornado Victims in the US], other donation (they will donate for the victims of Virginia Tech gun-fire…) (DI. 11/5)
- Pak Se Ri, stood aloft on the Hall of Fame…”my dream now is grand slam” (JI. 8/6)
- Park Gee Eun, selected [by Golf dot Com] as eight female golfers who are sexy (Cl. 15/6)
- Three consecutive victory…‘Shin Ji Yai Typhoon’ on Korean green: first time since Pak Se Ri and Kim Mi Hyun (Cl. 25/6)
- 12 Korean players among the top 19 [on the US Women’s Open] (JI. 2/7)
- the best dinner for me [Min Na On] is the foods that my father cooks
- At last, ‘bare feet fighting spirit’ Pak Se Ri named on ‘Golf Hall of Fame’ (JI. 14/11)

| 2008 | | Shin Ji Yai, first expedition to Japan was ‘good shot’ (Cl. 24/3)
- ‘The most revered Korean’ Shin Ji Yai became ‘the world most revered’; got victory with 18-under-par at the British Women’s Open (DI. 4/8)
- ‘Pak Se Ri Kid’ Park In-bee is the first teenage ‘major-queen’ from the US Women’s Open (JI. 1/7)
- ‘Domestic Majesty’ Shin Ji Yai, accession to the ‘World Major Queen’ (Cl. 4/8)
- Shin Ji Yai British Open ‘big-bang’: [she] executed [a sweeping triumph] in a major…a complete victory (JI. 4/8)
- World amazed by the ‘final queen’ Shin Ji Yai (Cl. 5/8)
- “They are coming in crowds”… [Americans are] shiver about the ‘Pak Se Ri Kids’ (JI. 5/8)
- “Did it again!”: Shin Ji Yai, got the Mizuno Classic championship (DI. 10/11)
- Who will be the ‘million-dollar Cinderella’? ADT Championship…half of the final entry is Korean (Cl. 24/11)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</table>
| 2009 | - “Though LPGA lost Sorenstam, [they] will earn Shin Ji Yai” [referred NYT article on Nov.26] (CI. 28/11)  
- In the US yesterday, today is in Japan, Shin Ji Yai aims at tri-national major V (JI. 27/11)  
- ‘Logoless cap’ Shin Ji Yai, “[I’m] doing my best…”: ‘empty-handed Cinderella’ condition [because of the] non-successful sponsorship contract (CI. 4/2)  
- ‘Final queen’s’ (Shin Ji Yai’s nickname) resurrection: HSBC Women’s Championship (JI. 9/3)  
- Golf will return to the Olympics after 112 years in 2016 Olympics: there are thick layers of potential medalists among Korean women golfers  
- women pro-golfers marching to JLPGA  
- Korean Sisters on the LPGA: ‘the continental U.S. is also our land!’ |
### Appendix L: Extended Elements of Social Actors in Korean Media in the Time Periods

Table 6-2-1. Frequently Represented Social Actors (Quotes are titles and/or sub-titles of newspaper articles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th><strong>Naming of the social actor/s (nickname, synonym, ways that they are recognized)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1998 | - Splendid, Se Ri!  
- Pak Se Ri drove us to being joyful  
- Pak: Korean mettle  
- Pak: Korea’s best export  
- A morning star from the Orient  
- Bare-feet combative spirit  
- Little pepper tastes more spicy [than big/tall pepper]  
- Queen of green raised rigid (tiger-like) paternity/fatherhood  
- Pak: Samsung’s Viagra  
- LPGA=Dream of lofty ambition |
| 1999 | - American golf stage, hurrah Korean women!  
- ‘peanut [read: small]’ Kim Mi Hyun, but her talent is ‘big’  
- former ‘Little Miss Korea’ wants to be a professional golfer  
- When Se Ri says ‘NO’: she made it clear that she will decline those media that force her too much  
- “Sorry daddy. But now I [Kim Mi Hyun] got confidence. Soon I will give you the championship cup”  
- Kim Mi Hyun’s father Kim Jung Kil and HB Telecom owner Shin Min-gu shake hands after signing the contract.  
- Korean nangja [damsels], strike the LPGA  
- A little girl Kang Ji Min [19 year-old] left for the US to learn golf in a ‘big pool’ [read: LPGA]  
- Kim Mi Hyun, a man of mighty sinews, ranked 4th  
- Kim Mi Hyun, her ability at crisis management is also the best  
- ‘Peanut [read: small]’ Kim Mi Hyun but her good conduct is ‘giant’ [Kim opened a charity golf clinic for children in hospital]  
- Nation’s darling, Kim Mi Hyun |
| 2000 | - ‘Amazing Grace’ [Park Gee Eun’s English name is Grace]: The era of Park Gee Eun in full bloom  
- ‘New peanut’ Jang Jeong’s sharp latent energy  
- ‘Rough and tough Korean’  
- Three Korean women ranked in a line ‘top 10’  
- Guardian angel: ‘short/small golfer’ Kim Mi Hyun’s big love—she expressed her will to donate 3million for 3 sick-kids  
- Kim Mi Hyun: English interview is harder than putting  
- ‘peanut’ [ddang-kong] versus ‘king-kong’ [Jang Jeong versus Laura Davis] |
| 2001 | - Glamorous appearance with sexy outfit: Park Gee Eun, her ‘marketability’ is also the best  
- ‘Super-ultra peanut’ Jang Jeong: people gave her the nickname because she is smaller than Kim Mi Hyun  
- Kim Mi Hyun “recapture the top”  
- ‘A commanding’ Korean women golf  
- Se Ri: 4billion sponsorship contract with Kwang Dong Medical for one time |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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</table>
| 2002 | - 9th ranked Kim Mi Hyun, a ‘hope’; 20th ranked Pak Se Ri, a ‘disappointment’
       - ‘Super peanut’ now turned to ‘Super contender’
       - ‘Korean wind’ never stops on LPGA: Tae-guek Combatants [literal meaning of ‘tae-guek’ is ‘the entity of the cosmos,’ but in this case, it refers to the name of the Korean flag, Tae-guek-ki]
       - Sizzling reversal victory, “I [Pak Se Ri] am the champion”
       - Women golf “golden-trio” make a rally: Pak Se Ri, Kim Mi Hyun, Park Gee Eun attend Osaka competition for Korea against Japan
       - ‘Peanut’ Kim Mi Hyun, but her reward is ‘Kingkong’: signed for another 3 years for Sponsorship contract with KTF for 30 billion Won |
| 2003 | - Hole-in-one on her debut stage, LPGA got ‘Kim Young shock’: Rookie Storm
       - A great ‘Korean typhoon’ blows the American Green
       - Kim Cho Rong [Christina Kim] warns ‘Green Revolt.’ She is equipped triple time: Stamina, long-hit, audacity
       - Korean Squall
       - ’14-year-old Typhoon’ [Michelle Wie]: “the real ‘female Tiger-Woods’”
       - ‘Birdie-queen’ Park Gee Eun has her first victory of the season
       - Darn teenagers: [elder] Sisters, strain!” [14 Korean teenagers received an entry for the US Women’s Open]
       - Korean squall is wild even in amateur stage in the US
       - LPGA requested “do not speak Korean during the tournament”
       - The ‘US’ Women’s Championship or ‘Korean’ Women’s?: [Koreans] sweep away the US Amateur Championship qualifying round
       - Pro-golfer Park Gee Eun covers up for ‘a shampoo fairy’: makes a commercial for 3.5billion
       - Se Ri “[I’m] glad that I hit an even-par as I targeted”: the first gender match among Koreans (JoongAng Ilbo. October 24, 2003)
       - Park Gee Eun (24) selected as a [non-voting right] board member of the LPGA, she is the second Korean board member next to Pearl Shin (36)
       - Pro-golfer Kim Mi Hyun hooked on snowboard: “golf is work, ski is rest” |
| 2004 | - Pak Se Ri, the first Asian Hall-of-famer
       - What’s wrong with Pak Se Ri: a bumpy score at the Canadian Women’s Open (JI)
       - Korean Squall
       - US Women’s Open: A Korean Feast
       - Park Gee Eun: putting practice in hotel room for two hours before going to bed (CI)
       - Pak Se Ri was looking for her ball of the 9th hole [read: she is doing worse] |
| 2005 | - Super teenagers, 15-year-old longest [hitter of driver] Michelle Wie and 18-year-old high-school student pro Choi Na Yeon, [are getting] ‘Hawaii big-bang’
       - Six Korean Amazon [heroine] “Go Top10!”
       - Pak Se Ri, will she come out of her ‘long hibernation’?
       - Park Gee Eun, ‘no one would block her winning streak’
       - Kim Mi Hyun, will she slake her thirst for wins?
       - [people are] great on her [Pak Se Ri] escape from the slump
       - the accession of ‘little-giant’ Jang-Jeong into the Major-queen
       - Jang Jeong accomplished her dream by making through the short stature, 151cm
       - Jang Jeong’s ‘computer shot’ |
- ‘Clear the deck, [elder] sisters!’: the two high-teens [Shin Ji Yai & Kim Song-hee] are taking up the running.
- Super-rookie Lee Ji Young; ‘Smile-queen on the field’; ‘the birth of 2nd Cinderella’ next to An Shi-hyun [because she got a ‘Non-Member Win Category’ priority status from the LPGA. With the priority status, she can attend in all the LPGA tournaments with no official LPGA membership in both 2006 and 07 tour seasons.]

2006

- Michelle Wie’s father is talking about “my daughter, Sung Mi” [Michelle’s Korean name]: absolutely Korean, only her passport is American (CI. 21/4)
- “Since I [Kim Mi Hyun] got this championship, I’ll now get married” (DI. 2/5)
- Kim Mi Hyun, changed everything except her lover [read: she’s tried everything to overcome the slump] (CI. 2/5)
- Pak Se Ri, “here [LPGA Jamie Farr Classic] is my backyard” [homeground] (JI. 15/7)
- The peanut was hard [strong]: Kim Mi Hyun was not shaken, got victory from the extended bloody fight against Gulbis [American player] (DI. 18/7)
- “I [Kim Mi Hyun] didn’t want to sink down like this”: [she] blew out her jinx of extended game through fierce physical training (DI. 18/7)
- Kim Mi Hyun, her second zenith: “I didn’t want to be a forgotten golfer” (JI. 18/7)
- Korean [blood-tied] sisters
- Big sisters’ victory chat (CI. 18/7)
- In order to supply tour expenses, [you should be] within top 50 of prize money ranking. [If you] accompany with parent/s, the expenses are beyond 2 hundred million dollars (CI. 28/7)
- Women golfers’ ‘two-job marketing’ (CI. 28/8)
- Only a rookie [Shin Ji Yai], but breakthrough [around] $167,000 (CI. 9/9)
- Excellent-looking Hong Jin-joo, “skills are excellent, as well” (DI. 18/9)
- ‘Golf-moms’ chitchat’: [Kim Mi Hyun and Michelle Wie’s mother bat the chat about their daughters’] from ‘suitable match for their daughter’ to university entrance exam (CI. 16/10)
- Young & able: the KLPGA players are getting younger and stronger. Among the 12 winners of 15 tournaments last year, four are teenagers. Leading the way is 18-year-old Shin Ji Yai… (Hankook Ilbo. 31/12)
- Dol-bu-cheo [stone carved Buddha that refers to being emotionally stable in any given crisis and calm personality] Lee Sun-wha
- Is there anyone who would see me [Pak Se Ri] as ‘woman’? (Ilgan Sport. 7/11)

2007

- I [Kim Mi Hyun] want to get married and enjoy my second zenith of my life: “is there any man who will cover a bridal veil [for me]? A tall person is my ideal” (DI. 8/5)
- Pak Se Ri in the Korea Section at Washington Smithsonian Museum, “I always carry a Korean flag, Taegu-ki on my shoes and golf-bag, because I am proud of my country” [a caption under Pak’s picture in the museum] (JI. 8/6)
- “The slump [that I got through] taught me ease”: Pak Se Ri got championship [at the Jamie Farr Classic] without faltering at her competitor’s hole-in-one (JI. 17/7)
- Golf princess Se Ri
- Shin Ji Yai, ‘19 year-old the Most Revered’ (CI. 26/11)

2008

- Shin Ji Yai “watch me for my oversea’s first victory!” (JI. 31/1)
- Shin Ji Yai “all tied up”: attended six tournaments in last two months (CI. 28/3)
- “Thanks to Se Ri sister who made me what I [Park In-bee] am now” [interview after her US Open championship] (JI. 1/7)
- Pak Se Ri Kids’ ‘unbelievable’ power: Pak Se Ri’s barefeet fighting spirit inspired [the
- kids], hooked bunch of them into golf (JI. 1/7)
- [The power of Shin Ji Yai style golf] strong mentality, competitive spirit, devotion…a reversal victory at the British Women’s Open, as well (CI. 5/8)
- ‘Mighty sinews’ Shin Ji Yai… subjugated tragic family history, armament her mentality with ‘my-way’ (JI. 5/8)
- StarWars: ‘the Most Revered’ [Shin Ji Yai] versus ‘Genius’ [Michelle Wie]
- Hawaii Big Bang: Shin Ji Yai versus Michelle Wie
- Korea Nang-ja [damsel, virgin] Group
- LPGA Tae-geuk Sisters

**2009**
- “US LPGA, receive the new queen” [either Shin Ji Yai or Michelle Wie] (CI. 29/1)
- Pak Se Ri Kids
- Designer Pak Se Ri opened her second chapter in her life: was invited to design an 18-hole golf course in Malaysia
- US media see the Korean phenomenon as: A woman golfer named “South Korean” are dominating LPGA tour like Tiger Woods does in PGA
- Kiroki daddy Park Gun Kyu (CI. 27/6)
- US media report, “Koreans rule LPGA”
- Carrying bags, collecting balls, grilling [their daughters]…there are certainly father[s] behind the [women golf] champion[s] (CI. 14/7)
- Now there will be no LPGA, if there are no Korean athletes
- Korean Sisters
- Se Ri Kids broke Se Ri: ‘A beautiful disciple outshining his master’
- Korean troops
- Mommy-golfer, Han Hee-won
Appendix M: Korean Fairytale, *ShimChungJeon* (full English translated version)

*ShimChungJeon*

(retold by Kang, Yoon-jung. Published by Language Plus, 2009. Series of Korean Traditional Stories for Children-08)

Long ago in a small seaside village
Lived a blind man and his devoted daughter, Chung.
Chung’s mother passed away when she was only three days old,
So her father did his best to take care of Chung.
He went from house to house to feed Chung milk.
“Please feed my baby some milk,” he begged.
The neighborhood ladies felt sorry for little Chung
And fed her milk.
With her father’s love and care,
Chung grew up bright and healthy.
She was now fifteen.
Chung was always grateful to her father, so she did her best to take care of him
She did chores around the neighborhood
And got food and clothes in return.
Everyone spoke highly of Chung.
“Chung is such a diligent girl,” said one lady.
“And a devoted daughter,” said another.
There was one lady who adored Chung very much.
She was very rich and did not have a daughter.
One day she called for Chung and said,
“Be my daughter and come live with me.”
But Chung could not.
“Thank you for your kindness.
But I cannot leave my father. He needs me,” she said.
The lady nodded and said,
“You are truly a devoted daughter and your father is truly a lucky man.”
One day there was a big feast at a nearby village.
Chung went there to work.
It was getting late, but she did not return home.
Chung’s father got worried
“Why is she so late?” he thought.
He decided to look for her.
He took his cane and went outside.
He came upon a stream and tripped.
He fell in the water.
SPLASH~~~
“Help! Help! Somebody help!
I cannot swim! And I cannot see!” he shouted.
A monk was passing by.
He heard the cry and jumped into the stream.
He saved Chung’s father.
“Thank you. Thank you so much,” Chung’s father said repeatedly.
“If only I could see, I would repay you.”
“You don’t have to repay me.
But if you wish to see, I know of a way,” the monk said.
Chung’s father could not believe his ears.
“How?! You know of a way?” he shouted in surprise.
“Please tell me!”
The monk told Chung’s father to donate 300 bags of rice to Buddha, and he would then see. Chung’s father promised to send the 300 bags of rice right away. That night, Chung returned home very late. “I am sorry, father, but the feast ended very late. Did you have dinner?” she asked. Chung’s father did not answer. He just sighed out loud. “Where can I get 300 bags of rice?” he thought. He realized that he had made a false promise. From that day, Chung’s father just sighed all day. Chung had no idea why. She got worried. “Please tell me what is wrong, father!” she asked again and again. He finally told her about the monk and his promise. Chung was excited. “FATHER! Is it true?!” “Is it true that you will see again?” she shouted. But her father sadly answered, “Where can we get 300 bags of rice?” Chung comforted her father. “Don’t worry, father. I will get the 300 bags of rice SOMEHOW! I will make you see again!” But she too had no idea how. A few days passed. Chung heard the neighborhood ladies talk. “Sailors are looking for a young maiden” said one lady. “They will throw her to the Sea King in return for a safe journey,” said another. “They will pay 300 bags of rice,” said the third. Chung could not believe her ears. “Now my father can see again!” she shouted to herself. She went straight to the sailors. “Are you really going to pay 300 bags of rice?” she asked. “Yes. But who are you?” they asked. “I am Chung. I will go out to sea with you,” she said. Everyone looked surprised. “Are you sure?” they asked. “I am sure,” Chung answered. That night, Chung told her father a lie. “Father. I will send the 300 bags of rice to the monk soon,” she said. “But how?” her father asked. “A rich lady wants to make me her daughter. She promised to give me 300 bags of rice in return,” she said. Chung’s father was happy for Chung. “Now you don’t have to do other people’s chores. You will eat delicious food every day. I am so happy for you. But I will miss you,” he said. “Don’t worry father. She lives not far away. I will come often. And when you open your eyes you won’t need me,” she said. Tears rolled down Chung’s cheeks. But of course, Chung’s father could not see this. Today was the day that Chung followed the sailors. “Father, I must go now. Please open your eyes and be happy,” she said. Chung started to cry.
But Chung’s father did not know the real reason for her tears.
The sailors came to take Chung.
“Follow us!” they said.
“DON’T GO CHUNG!!! Don’t go!” cried all the neighbors.
Chung’s father heard the noise and ran out.
“What’s going on? What’s wrong?”
“Chung is going out to sea with the sailors!” the neighbors cried.
“They’re going to throw her to the Sea King!”
Chung’s father shouted, “Don’t go my dear!!!
What’s the use of seeing without you?”
But it was too late.
Chung got on the boat with the sailors.
They came to the middle of the sea.
It was time for Chung to jump into the water.
“Be happy, father. And please open your eyes,” she prayed.
She looked down into the sea.
The waves were high.
She was so scared that she closed her eyes.
She pulled up her skirt to cover her head, and jumped into the sea.
“SPLASH!”
Suddenly the waves calmed down.
When Chung opened her eyes again
She was standing in front of the Sea King.
“Why did you jump into the sea?” he asked.
Chung told him about her father.
“You are truly a devoted daughter. Go back to your father,” he said
and sent her up on a big lotus flower.
The lotus flower floated up on the sea. “What is a lotus flower doing here?” wondered a fisherman.
He thought it was strange and took it to the King.
The flower petals opened up in front of the King.
Chung was inside.
She was so beautiful.
The King fell in love with Chung at first sight
And made Chung his queen.
Chung was very happy.
But she always worried about her father.
“I wonder if he is alright.
I wonder if he can see how?” she thought.
The King saw Chung’s worried face and got an idea.
He opened a big feast for all the blind people in the country.
If Chung’s father was still blind, he would come too.
Blind people from all over the country came.
But Chung’s father did not come.
“Today is the last day of the feast and my father still has not come.
Maybe he really did open his eyes,” she thought to herself.
But just then she saw someone come in through the gate.
She went closer.
It was Chung’s father.
“Father! Is it really you?” she shouted.
“Who is calling me father?” he asked, “My daughter is dead.”
“It’s me, CHUNG, your daughter.” She cried out loud.
“Are you really Chung? I wish I could see you just once,” he cried.
Just then a miracle happened.
Chung’s father opened his eyes.
He saw his daughter for the first time.
“You are truly beautiful, my dear,” he said.
“Father, you can see me? Chung asked in surprise.
“Why yes! I can see! I can see”
The two hugged each other in joy.
The whole kingdom celebrated.
From that day on,
Chung and her father lived happily ever after.