

GLOBAL FESTIVALS THROUGH A NATIONAL PRISM

The Global–National Nexus in South Korean Media Coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games

Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire

Loughborough University, UK

Abstract This study investigates the global–national nexus in the media representation of the Olympic Games and examines the ways in which the notions of globalization and Korean nationalism are represented. Attention is paid to the South Korean media coverage of opening and closing ceremonies of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. While globalization was promoted through themes such as global friendship and fraternity, the media also framed the event with reference to anti-Japanese sentiments and an expression of unitary Korea nationalism – both of which are central elements of Korean nationalism. On this basis, it is clear that a complex interplay between the global and the national impetus is evident. The media coverage is investigated in a qualitative manner, and a thematic analysis is used. The research, from a process sociological perspective, offers a useful insight into understanding Korean national identity politics in the global era.

Key words • globalization • media • nationalism • Olympics

The relations between globalization and nationalism have attracted much academic attention (Bairner, 2005; Maguire and Tuck, 2005; Miller et al., 2001; Rowe, 2003). While some academics argue that fervent nationalistic expressions in a sporting competition repudiate the process of globalization (Rowe, 2003), other scholars contend that the interplay between global and national motivations are features of wider globalization process (Maguire and Falcous, 2005). In light of these two different interpretations of the nation in the global sporting arena, we examine South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Particular attention is paid to the way in which the nation is represented in the live television broadcasting of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games are, in many respects, the most globalized sporting event. It is widely acknowledged that the emergence of global competitions, such as the Olympic Games, was symptomatic of globalization processes more broadly (Maguire, 1999, 2005; Robertson, 1990). Similarly, Hargreaves (2000) argues that the Olympic Games promote and stimulate the processes of globalization. As many academics stress, the current development of global sport culture in general, and the globalization of the Olympics in particular, would have been

impossible without the media (Maguire, 1999; Miller et al., 2001; Moragas Spà et al., 1995). In other words, with the help of media, the Olympic Games have been recognized as a global sport/cultural event that people from all over the world can experience simultaneously, albeit differently. In addition, media reports on the Olympics include many pro-globalization narratives, making the Games an active globalizer, delivering messages to the entire world and, in doing so, audiences are reminded of globalization processes (Billig, 1995, Harvey, 1990). This article focuses on the way in which the media facilitate and accelerate the processes of globalization: here we consider this issue with reference to the South Korean media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Four sub-themes (the Olympics as a global festival, universal emotions, a global fraternity, and universal humanism) will be discussed in relation to the Olympics acting as a vehicle for promoting globalization.

In addition, and in what at first seems a somewhat paradoxical process, the Games also acts as a global nationalistic forum. Looked at more closely, the processes of globalization and nationalism are interconnected (Maguire, 2005). With regard to global sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular, the logic of the mediated Olympic Games operates in a nationalistic fashion (Tomlinson, 1996). Even though the Olympic Games are considered as a global festival, it is difficult to deny that the Games also act as a field of nationalistic representation due to the fact that the Olympics inherently involve nationalistic symbols such as national flags and national anthems. The media seldom fail to highlight nationalistic aspects of the Olympic Games. Thus, there is a tendency for the media to transform the Games into a national ritual; yet, the way they do so varies. While there are some common features to this, there are also quite specific elements at play (Moragas Spà et al., 1995). Attention will also be paid to how the South Korean media flagged up Korean nationalism.

The analysis being presented is informed by a process sociological approach to the study of sport, media, nationalism and globalization (Maguire, 2005; Poulton, 2004; Tuck, 2003). Given that globalization is an ongoing multi-dimensional process within which sport plays a not insignificant role (Maguire, 2005), process sociology provides a useful theoretical perspective to map out the complex relations between globalism and nationalism in the global sport arena. The process sociological approach is not alone in offering an explanation for the ambivalent relations between globalism and nationalism within the globalization process (e.g. Horne and Manzenreiter, 2004; Robins, 1997; Rowe, 2003). Other theories will also be discussed in the course of the analysis. The empirical data section that follows not only contributes to this debate but also aids our understanding of the characteristics of global sport culture more generally.

Global Sport and Nationalism: The Global–Local Nexus

It is difficult to deny that sport and politics, and nationalism in particular, have a close relationship, regardless of whether they imply positive or negative connotations. During some international sporting competitions the feeling of nationalism appears overwhelming. Nationalistic symbolism in international sport, such as a

national flag, a national anthem and the representation of the nation by athletes are sufficient to generate a nationalistic climate before, during and after the competition (Maguire et al., 2002). However, international matches are not the only place in which sporting nationalism appears frequently. Nationalistic emotions can also be found in domestic sporting practice of a particular country. For instance, Gaelic sports, such as hurling and Gaelic football, represent Irish nationalism within the Irish sporting community (Bairner, 2001, 2005). In consideration of such nationalistic characteristics of both domestic and international sport, it has been suggested that sport is an important cultural site in which the most intense forms of nationalistic emotions are generated in contemporary societies (Bairner, 2001; Hargreaves, 2000; Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Poulton, 2004).

In the latest phase of globalization the relationship between sport and nationalism has become more complex. Many researchers have investigated sporting nationalism in relation to globalization (Bairner, 2001, 2005; Hargreaves, 2002; Maguire, 1993, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2005; Maguire and Poulton, 1999; Maguire and Tuck, 1998; Rowe, 2003). While there are differences of emphasis, there is agreement that globalization does not reduce the degree of sporting nationalism. Nationalism in global sport never disappeared: what needs to be assessed for a more accurate picture of nationalism expressed through and by sporting contests is the historical and political context of the nation in question. This Korean case study allows for such an assessment.

Global sporting events such as the Olympic Games offer a useful place in which sporting nationalism can be investigated. Global sporting competitions are often praised for their function in promoting a sense of internationalism by their organizers. However, critics often point out that, strictly speaking, these events are not global but international events; accordingly, one can find nationalism in those events as opposed to globalism (Bairner, 2001; Rowe, 2003; Tomlinson, 1996, 2004). Maguire et al. (2008) argue that what is globalized through global sport events, and campaigns such as Celebrate Humanity, is not mutual understanding between members of global society, but consumption and capitalism more broadly. Despite, for example, what the Olympic Charter suggests, global sporting events seem to play little positive role in building a harmonious global community.

Several research projects carried out from a political economy and a cultural studies perspective examine this interplay between the national and the global. With specific reference to global mega events, Horne and Manzenreiter (2004) argue that economic interests of various agencies such as sponsor companies and media institutions promote globalization while branding a specific event in a nationalistic fashion. Rowe (2003) asserts that media portrayals of global sporting events are so replete with nationalistic expression that the discourse of harmonious global community is a myth, and stresses that media representations of sport are, in fact, a 'repudiation of the global'.

Similarly, Tomlinson's (1996) research into the opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games highlights the paradoxical nature of global and national discourses around the ceremonies. He argues that the nationalistic component is such an integral part of the ceremonies that the host organizations seem to abandon a global view of the event. While such research provides useful insights, it

tends either to lay too great a stress on the economic dimension or to neglect the globalizing social current facilitated by these sporting events. The global and the national are not mutually exclusive processes. In order to draw a more accurate picture of the interplay between global and national elements within a global mega sport event, therefore, it is necessary to adopt a more multi-dimensional and less deterministic approach. In this respect, emphasis is placed on the utility of process sociology.¹

Maguire (2005), drawing on aspects of a process sociological approach, argues that although global sporting contests inspire nationalistic fervent, it is problematic to conclude that the current sporting culture only intensifies nationalism *against* globalization processes. Nationalism and globalization are intertwined. In this connection, the term global–local–national nexus is particularly useful in order to capture such a complex interplay between global and national identity politics in global sporting culture. The global–national nexus implies that, due to double-bind tendencies of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties of global culture, national and local identities experience processes of transformation (Maguire, 2005). In this regard, Maguire and Falcous (2005: 26) suggest that:

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

In consideration of the changes in identity politics that the processes of globalization induce, Maguire et al. (2002) suggest that the inflow of global sport cultures can strengthen, pluralize or weaken the recipients' national, cultural and local identities. In the global era, it is clear that various local and regional identities have recently emerged. These phenomena can be interpreted in two ways; strengthening identity as resistance to globalization, and pluralizing identity as the result of globalization (Maguire, 1999). Various sport cultural icons, such as Michael Jordan, also contribute to building multi-cultural identities. Thus, within the nation, a national identity supersedes various cultural identities. In addition, a pan-regional identity is also observed. According to Elias (1991: 206) within the very long-term civilizing processes, '[t]he emergence of the European states as we-units happened gradually and in stages'. In a similar vein, even though such pan-regional identity in sport, such as pan-European identity in the Ryder or Solheim Cups, is weaker than a single nation's identity, the emergence of such an inter-continental sporting competition has a potentially significant implication with regard to global identity politics. With respect to this, Maguire (2004) points out that not only are the people interested in their own cultural circumstance, but they are also increasingly aware of the growing integration of the world. Exploration of these interlocking trends needs to be conducted in conjunction with an investigation of the degree to which the primary legacy of global sport, as part of broader globalization processes, is to extend, or contract, emotional identification between members of different societies.

In the global sporting arena, nationalism and national identity are still the most powerful identities. However, the recent development of global sports also shows pluralized forms of identity as well as a weakened national identity. This

implies that identity politics are contoured and shaped by a set of multiple dynamics. In other words, while sport reproduces and reinforces the idea of nation and nationhood, it also provides various political and cultural identities which have the potential to transcend national border lines. Thus, both global and national impetuses co-exist. In order to provide a more adequate account of national identity issues in the global sport arena, therefore, the global–national nexus must be taken into account.

Global Sport and South Korean Society

In making sense of Korean media coverage of the 2004 Olympic Games it is fruitful to examine it in light of the 2002 FIFA Football World Cup Finals held in South Korea (co-hosted with Japan). Three main points can be made regarding how the co-hosting FIFA World Cup initiated and reinforced broader globalization processes at work in Korean society. First, as more than 30 international teams played the matches across the country, with their own fans following the teams, the tournament provided an opportunity for a wide range of Korean people to encounter foreign nationals and experience diverse cultures. Lim (2002) argues that through this short but intensive encounter with foreign people and their cultures, South Koreans were able both to gain a deeper insight into living in a global community and to greater recognize cultural differences.

Second, the World Cup Finals provided a context in which various national identity politics were expressed (Lim, 2002). When South Korea met Italy in the second round of the finals, South Korean supporters decorated one end of the stadium with a huge banner that contained the message ‘Again 1966’ which referred to North Korea’s World Cup victory over Italy in 1966. By referring to North Korea’s successful World Cup campaign South Korean football fans attempted to unify, at least symbolically, the two Koreas in the context of the football stadium. Hence, an element of a unitary Korean nationalism could be detected (Kim, 2002). In addition, as the Korean national team approached the semi-final match of the World Cup Final, Korean soccer supporters declared that the Korean team is the ‘Pride of Asia’. Such an assertion implied though in preliminary form, that a pan-Asian identity had emerged in South Korean people’s minds (Kim, 2002). For Koreans, however, any pluralization of national identity politics stemming from the impact of the tournament and wider global processes is still in the incipient stage. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that Korean society appeared more open to recognizing and respecting more diverse national discourses and identities (Choi, 2004).

Third, a strengthened Korean national identity was also expressed through the FIFA World Cup (Choi, 2004; Lim, 2002). The behaviour of the Red-Devils, official fan club of the South Korean national team, clearly expressed a reinforced form of Korean nationalism during the football tournament. Regarding this Choi (2004: 143) noted that:

Chanting *Dae-han-min-guk* (Republic of Korea) in unison to the beat of the traditional Korean drum, and singing ‘*Oh Pilsung Korea* (Victorious Korea) loudly through the streets, the

spectacle was indeed fabulous. The bleachers of the stadiums during the games were a sea of red amidst the waving Korean flags . . . [T]he Red devils were patriotic, celebrating their Koreanhood with cultural symbol like the flags, the Korean language, and the traditional musical instruments.

Such patriotic expressions of Korean culture verify the argument that the global sporting arena is a place in which a concreted form of national identity can be constructed and displayed (Maguire et al., 2002). Based on this backdrop, the present study attempted to investigate the way in which the media reinforce and reflect the notions of globalization and nationalism by looking at the mediated version of the 2004 Athens Summer Olympic Games.

Methods

This article outlines the empirical findings from an analysis of the opening and closing ceremonies at the 2004 Athens summer Olympic Games broadcast by the South Korean media. Both the public (Korean Broadcasting System, KBS) and commercial (Seoul Broadcasting System, SBS) broadcasters were investigated.² Special attention is paid to the ways in which narratives of globalization and nationalism are constructed and disseminated by the media. The two broadcasters televised the opening and closing ceremonies on a real time basis: both the KBS and SBS programmes were videotaped and the spoken commentaries transcribed.³ The analysis mainly focused on verbal components; the visual elements were excluded as they required a different type of analysis such as semiotics, which lies beyond the scope of this article.⁴ The coverage of the Olympic ceremonies included several relatively short documentaries, normally less than five minutes, about past Olympic Games and Korean Olympic athletes. These were inserted in between the live broadcasting. Technically speaking, these are categorized as different media genre to the live broadcasting of the ceremonies themselves (Gillespie and Toynbee, 2006). However, these documentaries accounted for such an integral part of the media event in delivering the localized version of the Olympics to Korean audiences that neglecting them could lead to an incomplete analysis of the media event. Thus, attention was also paid to these documentaries.

The data were examined in a qualitative manner using a thematic coding method (Mayring, 2000). Thematic analysis provides a systematic way of data coding and is widely used in qualitative media content analysis (Jensen, 2002). This method is particularly useful when the texts are categorized by an inductive manner (Flick, 2002). In this exploratory research to establish different themes about globalization and nationalism, thematic analysis offered an appropriate research tool. Regarding this, Deacon et al. (1999: 169) suggest that thematic analysis 'helps to make a media text cohere – it orients a text around a central theme or strand of related themes running throughout a story'. This method also allows the researchers to interpret the data throughout the research process (Jensen, 2002). Using this method, therefore, several themes regarding the global–local nexus and the Olympic Games were systemically categorized.

This article, as noted, is focused on the contents of South Korean media portrayals of the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2004 Athens Olympic

Games in order to discover the way in which the media reflect and reinforce the notion of globalization and nationalism. However, in a broader analysis, it would be necessary to investigate the underlying production process and the audience’s perception of the media texts so that a more comprehensive account of the socio-cultural dynamics of the Korean media could be discerned (Wenner, 1998). In this respect, while the results of the current study offer some useful data that indicate the role of the media within the process of globalization, they should not be seen as a complete picture of the global–national interplay represented thorough the media around the Olympic Games. In spite of such limitations, the findings provide some significant insights for understanding global sporting events broadcast via the media.

The Findings

The analysis reveals that the South Korean media representation of the opening and closing ceremonies contained both globalizing discourses and nationalistic narratives. This tendency seems to suggest that the global–national nexus is at work in the Korean media portrayals of the Olympic Games. In respect to this two broad themes and several sub-themes were identified. While the media, to some extent, celebrated global unity and fraternity, they clearly distinguished Korea from other nations with numerous patriotic expressions. The research found that the media used nationalistic expression more frequently during the opening ceremony. In addition, no meaningful differences in broadcasting the events were detected between the public and commercial television companies. Figure 1 shows the thematic structure of the media representation of the ceremonies. The dual interpretation of the ceremonies is discussed in detail in the following sections.

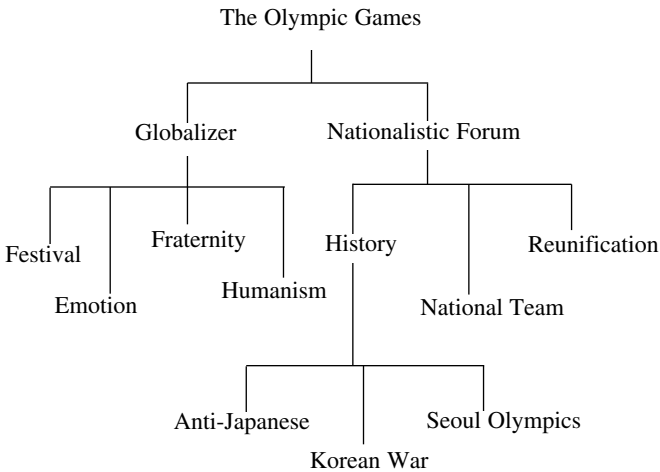


Figure 1 Thematic Structure of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies

The Olympics as a Vehicle for Promoting Globalization

In examining the Olympics as a vehicle for promoting globalization, four distinctive sub-themes emerged: global festival, human emotion, global fraternity and universal humanism. In considering each of these we ground our observations in extracts drawn from South Korean television. First, the South Korean media tended to frame the Olympic Games as a global festival which attracted people's attention at a global level. Both television companies, the KBS and the SBS, showed a similar tendency. Concerning this, In-Suk Jeon, the KBS commentator, announced that 'all members of 6 billion global families will pay their every attention to Athens soon. The global festival . . . will start again shortly' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). Likewise, at the beginning of the opening ceremony, Jae-Ick Song, the SBS commentator, exclaimed that 'the 2004 Athens Olympic Games are the supreme sport festival in the global village. It has launched at last!' (SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). Similarly, at the very beginning of the opening ceremony, the KBS observed that:

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

By highlighting the scale of the Olympics and audience size, the media seem to confirm the status of the Olympics as a global festival. Not only did the media recognize the Olympics as a supreme global event, but also described the Games as a historical incident in order to enhance the importance of the Olympics in global society. Young-Joo Choi from the SBS claimed that 'the Olympic Games, the festival of the global village, will live forever! . . . We promise to see you [audience] again in Beijing after four years' (SBS, 29 August 2004, the closing ceremony). In a similar vein, the KBS also mentioned that 'now we have gathered together here again, pledging that we are going to meet again after four years' (KBS, 29 August, the closing ceremony). Furthermore, the media promoted both the notion of the ongoing tradition of the Olympics and its significance for unifying the people. The KBS reported that:

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

This extract clearly highlights the claimed longevity of the Olympics and its importance in human history. It also presents the Games as a vehicle by which the audience can conceptualize a global society. As such, the media tend to represent the Olympics as a global carnival which has historical validity and continuity. Consequently, the media reminds the audience that they glimpse the notion that they live in the global society every four years. Therefore, the processes of globalization can be potentially facilitated by such media representations.

Second, the media also highlighted the universal aspect of human emotions

(Maguire et al., 2002). The South Korean media often referred to the idea that both the spectators and the competitors experience sentiments that are shared universally through the Olympic Games. This feature allows investigation of what we noted as an important feature of global sport events: the degree to which the primary legacy is to extend, or contract, emotional identification between members of different societies (Maguire, 2005). According to the KBS, 'the Olympics are the event that various emotions, such as glory and rejoice, agony and sorrow, and jubilation and tears, overlaps' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). While the SBS reviewed the Athens Olympic Games before the closing ceremony, the commentators also framed the Games as a place in which various emotions are expressed. It was said that:

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

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

(SBS, 29 August 2004, the closing ceremony)

The various human feelings that appeared in the media not only signified the universal validity of the Olympics, but also indicated that the Games could be shared by human beings across the globe. Regarding these emotions, Won-Jae Jang, from the SBS, when asked his favourite event at the Olympics, replied that 'I enjoy the Olympics as a whole because it is basically a human being's festival, and it inherently consists of many emotional moments. Consequently, I try to watch every event all over the night' (SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). Another commentary made by the KBS also linked human emotions to the Olympic Games. It was said that 'during the next 17 days, the whole world will experience the feeling of challenge, of glory, and even of frustration' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). As a result, the Olympic Games were depicted as one of the most dramatic events which captures the hearts and minds of human beings at a global level. In this way, the media, inadvertently or otherwise, promoted the claims made by the IOC regarding the universal validity of the Olympic Games. The Olympics are thus represented as a global carnival in which diverse emotions are universally expressed and globally experienced. Therefore, it can be argued that by emphasizing the universal aspect of human feelings at the Olympics, the South Korean media attempted to make the audience feel that the Olympic Games are globally experienced in a similar fashion; the Games are framed in terms of integrating people across the world.

Third, by mediating the Olympic Games in this way, the media seem to strengthen a notion of global fraternity. In this case, residents of the Earth are recognized as homogeneous global citizens. It is not difficult to find terms such as 'global families' and 'the global village' in media reports on the Olympics. In other words, the media provide a resource for establishing a common identity that unifies global citizens. At the opening ceremony, Sung-Soo Kim, a KBS commentator commented that 'yes, there exists a unified globe and an integrated

humanity. Now, a peace movement is developing' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). The SBS also reported that 'now all the athletes from 202 countries gather together hand in hand at the stadium. The stadium is filled with the wave of harmony.' In this way, the media disseminated the idea that every nation, in fact, belongs to a single global society and relations between them should be established in a friendly and harmonious way. The following extract emphasized the emergence of a single, inclusive global identity via the Olympics. The KBS announced that:

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

A dialogue between two commentators, Jae-Ik Song and Young-Joo Choi, from the SBS also suggested an inclusive global identity at the Olympic Games. According to them:

Song: As a member of the global village, all the athletes are now entering the stadium in a harmonious manner, forgetting about their will to win a medal.

Choi: Yes, there exists neither a winner nor a loser now.

Song: Yeh.

Choi: They all enjoy the ceremony of harmony and friendship.

(SBS, 29 August 2004, the closing ceremony)

Both television extracts attempted to produce an inclusive global identity via their broadcasting of the closing ceremony. They also highlighted dimensions of goodwill and co-operation in the Olympic movement. Moreover, all the extracts so far cited represent the Olympic Games as the field in which participants mingle with each other in a co-operative manner, attempting to build global 'familiarity', while overlooking the competitive aspects of the Games. In so doing, a mediated mythical version of the Olympics seeks to contribute to developing globalization processes.

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

Shin: Yes, it is human dignity. That is the principal motto of the Olympic Games that pursue the human centred event. That is also a symbol of the 2004 Athens Games.

Lee: Yes, as the basic motto of the Athens Games is to restore the Olympic spirits, I can strongly feel such moods across various places in Athens.

(KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony)

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

Choi: Now, you can hear the heartbeat.

Song: Yeh.

Choi: This heartbeat is the main theme of the 2004 Athens Olympics, and it symbolizes the Games' slogan '*human-centred society*'.

(SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony, italics added)

Though these extracts did not define universal humanism or what a human-centred society looks like, it is sufficient to stress that the media promoted a notion that all human beings share a similar morality based on a common philosophy. Broadly speaking, according to the media, this idea is framed in terms of peace and harmony. In respect to this, a KBS commentator explained that:

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

Thus, in this media portrayal, humanistic social values are linked to the Olympic movement, which claims to involve building a peaceful and harmonious society. The way to reach this goal is framed as through the Olympic movement. The following extract implies that the future development of human society is inextricably linked to the Olympic Games. It was argued that:

These fireworks celebrate the best Olympics ever that every member of the IOC participates in. The fireworks highlight that our hopes that the Olympic movement contributes to building a better society and to seeing that a brighter future would be materialized. (KBS, 13 August 2005, the opening ceremony)

Similarly, the SBS claimed that:

The higher, the faster, the stronger, the brighter, and the more hopeful! The future of humanity will continually progress further with the Olympics! (SBS, 29 August 2005, the closing ceremony)

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

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

Therefore, the media seems to suggest that in adhering to Olympic ideals, a global society based on universal humanism can be established. Consequently, the Olympics were represented as an active globalizer by the Korean media.

Thus, four themes run through the South Korean media's representation of the global aspects of the Olympic Games. First, the media frame the Olympics as a global event that every human being can enjoy. Second, the media stress that a universal dimension of human emotions can be found at the Games. Third, the media utilize the Olympic Games as a tool for building global fraternity. Lastly, the media disseminate a notion of universal humanism based on Olympic ideals. As noted earlier, all these elements contribute to establishing a global society. However, it must not be viewed as the whole picture of the mediated Olympics. While the media tend to speed up the processes of globalization, the media also generate, stimulate and reproduce nationalism (Billig, 1995; Maguire, 1999, 2005; Maguire and Poulton, 1999). Thus, a more accurate picture can be drawn if these seemingly paradoxical phenomena are considered together. In the following section, the nationalistic elements of the mediated Olympics will be discussed.

The Olympics as a Global Nationalistic Forum⁵

The South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games consisted of several nationalistic expressions and these can be divided into three themes: Korean history, the national team as a symbol of the nation, and North and South Korean relations, specifically in the form of a unified Korean nationalism.⁶ With regard to the first of these themes, the media introduced accounts of the achievement of athletes at past Olympics. Amongst these historical narratives, anti-Japanese sentiment was vividly expressed and national identity politics during the colonial period (1910–45) were highlighted. As part of the live broadcasting of the opening ceremony, the KBS produced a nationalistic documentary on Korean athletes. According to the documentary:

It was the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games when Korea first joined the Olympic Games. There were two marathoners, Eun-Bae Kim and Tae-Ha Kwon, and a boxer Eul-Soo Whang. Although they participated in the Olympics under a Japanese flag, *they are absolutely the first Koreans who took part in the Olympics!* (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony, italics added)

This extract reminds the viewer of Korea's colonial past, and attempts to highlight the national identity politics of the colonial era. Moreover, the extract focuses on the injustice of Japanese colonial policy by stressing the existence and legitimacy of Korea as a nation and its people at that time. A specific highlight of such resistance during the colonial times was constructed via Ki-Jung Shon's narrative. KBS reported that:

In the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which took place under a manifest racist circumstance, nobody paid attention to Ki-Jung Shon until Hitler declared the opening of the Olympic Games. However, breaking the world record at the time he brought the gold medal to the Korean nation, which was the first gold in Korean history. However, Sohn bowed his head down at

the podium, demonstrating his feeling as one of the colonized. (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony)

Sohn, a Korean marathoner, is considered a symbol of Korean sporting nationalism. Given that he participated in the Berlin Games as a member of the Japanese team due to the fact that Korea was a Japanese colony at that time, his narrative is often exploited as a means of reproducing anti-Japanese sentiment. In so doing, the media evoke a Korean collective memory. By utilizing Sohn's narrative, the media formed a nationalistic frame in which to view the Olympic Games.

In addition, a narrative of nation-building frequently appeared in the media coverage. The documentary also highlighted this element. Two commentaries from the KBS are worth noting in this regard. 'In 1948, London, we, for the first time, participated in the Olympic Games with the *Taegukki* [the South Korean National Flag]. Sung-Jip Kim won a bronze in boxing, becoming the first medalist as a member of Korean team at the Olympic Games' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony) and 'in 1952, when Korea was impoverished as a result of the Korean War, we found hope thorough the Olympic Games. At the Helsinki Games, both Joon-Ho Kang and Sung-Jip Kim won a bronze in weightlifting and boxing respectively' (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). While the former commentary stresses a Korean national identity at the Olympics when the nation gained independence from Japan, the latter illustrates Korea's attempt to overcome and find relief from the post-war difficulties through sport. As such, the media reiterated a historical account and linked this history to sporting achievements. This echoes other research that has shown that the media tend to generate nationalistic sentiment (Maguire et al., 1999).

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

Lim: Yoon, do you know this song?

Yoon: Yes, I know, but I haven't seen the film before.

Lim: Is it your first time to see the film then?

Yoon: Yes, it is.

Lim: Anyway, I don't know why I feel so touching whenever I listen to the song.

Jang: Also, the song ranked a music chart number one in some European countries such as Sweden, Germany, Spain, and Swiss.

Lim: Wow, it is 'hand in hand'! *Whenever I sing the song, I cannot help recollecting the glory of the Seoul Olympics.*

(SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony, italic added)

In addition, at the end of the film, a graphic phrase, 'Hand in Hand, all Koreans are being united', was displayed (SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). As the conversation revealed, the song was featured in honour of the memory of the Seoul Olympic Games. The South Korean media reproduced the achievement of the Seoul Olympic Games in order to construct nationalistic discourses through sport. The South Korean media focused mainly on the national team as they previewed the Olympic Games; the television seldom introduced foreign athletes. In addition, the media tended to frame Korean athletes or teams in a patriotic or nationalistic manner. Moreover, in opposition to the Olympic spirit, the most valued objective was winning a medal at the Olympic Games, no matter the cost. Therefore, according to the media, the Olympics are about winning. The KBS personnel thus introduced its programme with this sentiment in mind: 'The Olympic Games are returning to its sanctuary, Athens, Greece, for the first time in 108 years. The *Tae Guk* [Korean national symbol] warriors will embellish the first page of a new legend in the land of splendid myth and rich history' (KBS, 13 August 2005, the opening ceremony).

The extract stresses both a hostile characteristic of the Korean team and Korean identity politics. The South Korean team was called as 'the *Tae Guk* Warriors' which represented the team in an aggressive and antagonistic way. Also, by exploiting a national symbol, the *Tae Guk*, a specific Korean identity was highlighted. In addition, the term, 'a new legend', connotes winning Olympic medals. The fact that Greece was represented as 'the land of splendid myth and rich history', and that 'the Korean team will embellish the first page of new legend in the land' indicated that the team would accomplish a grand sporting achievement at the centre of Western civilization. In so doing, the media tended to stimulate nationalism by emphasizing an aggressive quality of the Korean team. In a very similar way, the SBS commented that 'the *Tae Guk* warriors are ready to be in the race for an Olympic gold' (SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony). Here is another example:

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

The sentence 'the 267 *Tae Guk* Warriors have been running the race pursuing only one dream' reveals the fact that winning at all costs is the most valued by the media. The South Korean media also focused on Bong-Joo Lee, a Korean marathoner and a potential medal-winner. Given the fact that it was in the marathon that a Korean won a gold medal at the Berlin Olympic Games as part of the Japanese delegation, the marathon evokes a particular meaning as far as

sporting nationalism is concerned. Consequently, the marathon is often framed in a nationalistic fashion. Take the following example:

Bong-Joo Lee makes his final effort to win an Olympic gold at Athens. Having won an Olympic silver at Atlanta Games in 1996, he became a people's marathoner. *His career as a marathoner literally corresponds to a history of the Korean marathon.* In 2000, he broke the Korean record, and in 2002, he won an Asian Games gold, which was his double gold in succession. However, unfortunately, he seldom wins an Olympic gold in his 15 years career. Now, in realizing every marathoners dream, his final challenge towards an Olympic gold has begun. (KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony, italics added)

Lee is considered the 'people's marathoner' which shows his popularity in South Korea. Furthermore, his personal career is introduced in parallel with a national sport history, albeit in an exaggerated form. In so doing, South Korea as a nation was personified through him. In fact, despite the 'great expectations', he failed to win any medals in Athens. However, in spite of the disappointing result, his name was still mentioned in a positive vein by the media.

At the marathon medal ceremony, Song, a SBS presenter, lamented that 'how wonderful if our Bong-Joo Lee were there!' and then added 'the scene reminds me of Young-Jo Hwang [the marathon winner] at Barcelona. Also, I would like to pray for the repose of the late Ki-Jung Shon's soul through this moment' (SBS, 29 August 2004, in the closing ceremony). As such, the names of successful Korean marathoners were mentioned including Bong-Joo Lee, even though no Korean won at Athens. The call to pray for the late Ki-Jung Shon's soul at the ceremony reveals the profound status of the marathon in Korean sporting nationalism.

Another component of Korean sporting nationalism related to the reunification movement in Korea, with its emphasis on a unitary Korean nationalism. It can be argued that this type of sporting nationalism was the most distinctive feature that emerged in the media coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies. As the North and South Korean teams marched together, a mood of reconciliation between the two Koreas was highlighted. While further consideration of this lies outside the scope of this article, it will be sufficient, for the moment, to provide some examples that reflect the improved political climate in the Korean peninsula around the early 2000s. The media represented relations between North and South Korean teams as friendly and cooperative, eulogizing the joint march at the opening ceremony. The SBS commentators made the following set of remarks about the issue:

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

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

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

(SBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony)

KBS media personnel also framed their report in a similar way:

Han: Especially, North and South Korea are going to march together again at this occasion [the opening ceremony], aren't they?

Jeon: Yes, they are.

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

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

Han: Yes, I do.

Jeon: Ah!

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

(KBS, 13 August 2004, the opening ceremony, italics added)

These media discourses show that both the KBS and the SBS highlighted the fact that the North and South Koreans were predicted to display a degree of reconciliation and unity at the opening ceremony. When the Korean team entered the stadium, Sung-Soo Kim, a KBS presenter, commented that:

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

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

Evidence regarding the media coverage of the 2004 Olympic Games suggests that Korean sporting nationalism comprised a range of nationalistic expressions. Three aspects of sporting nationalism can be identified. First, the achievements of Korean athletes are reiterated, reproduced, and reinterpreted so that the glorious moments in the Olympic history are remembered. In particular, the achievements that were made when the nation was in crisis are highlighted. Second, the Korean medal hopes are framed in a nationalistic manner. Narratives of national geography, national history, and national sports are intermingled in order that an effect of nationalistic sentiment is enhanced. Finally, a unitary Korean nationalism is featured. Reconciliation and unity between North and South Korea are highlighted.

Overall, the South Korean media reflected and reinforced the two nationalistic emotions that widely circulated within South Korea during in the early 2000s: anti-Japanese sentiment and a pro-unitary Korean nationalism. Therefore, it can be asserted that the South Korean media tended to work in favour of specific national interests. The empirical data seem to support the arguments that nationalism hardly

disappears in the global era, and that sport is one of the key areas, along with warfare, in which the most fervent nationalism emerges and is sustained.

Conclusion

The research findings suggest that *both* globalization and nationalism were key themes in the South Korean television broadcasting of the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. This implies that the nation is still considered a significant basis of identity politics. However, the nationalistic character of the media coverage did not renounce globalization. As Maguire (2005) indicates, the interplay between global and national motivations is a central aspect of the ongoing process of globalization. In this light, the two seemingly paradoxical representations of the Olympic ceremonies can be understood.

The South Korean media represented the Olympic Games as a global festival in which athletes from all over the world intermingled in friendship. The media also praised the Olympic Games as an occasion that linked people from the entire globe together, offering globally shared identities. In the opening ceremony, the media frequently called the people global citizens and the term 'global village' often replaced words such as 'the world' or 'the earth'. At particular moments during the ceremonies national distinctions seemed to disappear, and a variety of cultural traditions were featured as something to be celebrated. A vision of a global, multi-cultural and utopian society was also constructed at the Olympic stadium by the media. While verbal commentaries on these themes were more or less transitory, the repetition of similar messages during the broadcasting suggests a residual effect.

However, a national discourse emerged alongside the global discourse when the Games began. A history of Korea which entails nationalistic scenes at the Olympic Games was introduced. The television frequently showed the *Tae-guk-ki* (South Korean national flag) being raised in Athens, and also the moment when the *Ae-guk-ka* (South Korean national anthem) was played. In addition, the media called the South Korean Olympic team the *Tae-guk* (South Korean traditional symbol) warriors. The media also featured the North Korean Olympic team with a positive connotation and stressed that both North and South Koreans belong to a single nation. Thereby, the media articulated the notion of a unitary Korean nationalism. Hence, by covering the Olympic Games, the media highlighted the national identity of Korea.

In summary, the South Korean media coverage of the Olympic Games both celebrated global unity and emphasized Korean national identity. It seems to suggest that mediated framing of nations is still important in a highly globalized world. According to this research then, the Olympic Games, and its media coverage, are examples of the global-national nexus at work (Maguire and Falcous, 2005). On the basis of the findings presented here, therefore, it can be said that a mediated version of the Olympic Games is both a facilitator of globalization and an identifier of the nation.

Notes

1. It should be noted that some commentators from structuration theory and cultural studies schools also highlight the contradictory and unpredictable elements of global and national discourses in globalization processes (Giddens, 2002; Robins, 1997).
2. As the original media texts are written and spoken in Korean, a careful translation of vernacular language into English is essential. Four academic peers (two Korean and two British) reviewed the original and translated materials in order to make a more accurate interpretation of the data.
3. It should be noted that the two South Korean media companies received guidelines for television broadcasting from the IOC. However, while both the KBS and SBS referred to these guidelines, they did not rely on this material when they were actually airing the Olympic event. Instead, they invited several academics and former Olympic athletes to aid the production process in order to produce a unique and localized 'media event'.
4. We note the importance of visual images in the contemporary media studies (Lee and Maguire, 2006). The results of visual analysis highlight a similar tendency to the findings discussed here. For reasons of length, we focus on spoken commentaries only.
5. The term 'sporting nationalism' is used here to indicate a specific form of nationalism expressed through sport. Although sporting nationalism reflects political nationalism, nationalistic emotion generated in and around sport is often exaggerated. In addition, such an overstated form of nationalism is usually ephemeral, and therefore it rarely leads to direct political action. Despite this, sporting nationalism is sociologically significant as it reveals 'sleeping memories' and 'imagined charisma' of the nation. Moreover, sporting nationalism provides mimetic and nostalgic experiences with a nation whose fortunes may be in decline. See Jarvie (1993), Maguire (1993), Maguire and Poulton (1999) and Tuck (2003).
6. With the change of President in South Korea since February 2008, the country's policy towards North Korea is expected to be altered as the President suggested that he would take tougher line with North Korea than his predecessors. However, the demonstration of a unitary Korean nationalism in sports may not be changed significantly as such sentiment has continually appeared in the South Korea since 1990 regardless political situation in the Korean peninsula.

References

- Bairner, A. (2001) *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives*. Albany: New York State University Press.
- Bairner, A. (2005) 'Sport and the Nation in the Global Era', in L. Allison (ed.) *The Global Politics of Sport: The Role of Global Institutions in Sport*, pp. 87–100. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE.
- Choi, Y.S. (2004) 'Football and the South Korean Imagination: South Korea and the 2002 World Cup Tournaments', in W. Manzenreiter and J. Horne (eds) *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in China, Japan and South Korea*, pp. 133–47. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P. and Murdock, G. (1999) *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*. London: Arnold.
- Elias, N. (1991) *The Society of Individuals*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Flick, U. (2002) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn. London: SAGE.
- Giddens, A. (2002) *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping Our Lives*, new edn. London: Profile Books.
- Gillespie, M. and Toynbee, J. (2006) *Analysing Media Texts*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Hargreaves, J. (2000) *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hargreaves, J. (2002) 'Globalisation Theory, Global Sport, and Nations and Nationalism', in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Power Games: A Critical Sociology of Sport*, pp. 25–43. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of the Postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Horne, J. and Manzenreiter, W. (2004) 'Accounting for Mega-Events: Forecast and Actual Impacts

- of the 2002 Football World Cup Finals on the Host Countries Japan/Korea', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39(2): 187–203.
- Jarvie, G. (1993) 'Sport, Nationalism and Cultural Identity', in L. Allison (ed.) *The Changing Politics of Sport*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jensen, K.B. (2002) 'Qualitative Research Process', in K.B. Jensen (ed.) *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, pp. 235–53. London: Routledge.
- Kim, J.Y. (2002) 'Football Culture and Symbol System at the 2002 FIFA World Cup', in M.S. Ahn and J.Y. Jung (eds) *The 2002 World Cup: An Influential Boost to Korea*, pp. 50–67. Seoul: Hanul.
- Larson, J.S. and Park, H.S. (1993) *Global Television and the Politics of the Seoul Olympics*. Oxford: Westview.
- Lee, C.C., Chan, M.J., Pan, Z. and So, C.Y.K. (2000) 'National Prisms of a Global "Media Event"', in J. Curran, and M. Gurevitch (eds) *Mass Media and Society*, 3rd edn, pp. 295–309. London: Arnold.
- Lee, J.W. and Maguire, J. (2006) 'Korean Sporting Nationalism in the Global Era: A Case Study of South Korean Media Representation of 2004 Athens Olympic Games', paper presented at the 8th International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport Conference: Sport, Nation, Nationalism, Ljubljana, Slovenia.
- Lim, H.B. (2002) 'The World Cup and Future Governance of Korea', in M.S. Ahn and J.Y. Jung (eds) *The 2002 World Cup: An Influential Boost to Korea*, pp. 264–81. Seoul: Hanul.
- Maguire, J. (1993) 'Globalization, Sport and National Identities: "The Empires Strike Back?"', *Society and Leisure* 16(2): 293–322.
- Maguire, J. (1994) 'Sport, Identity, Politics and Globalisation: Diminishing Contrast and Increasing Varieties', *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11(4): 398–427.
- Maguire, J. (1999) *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, and Civilizations*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Maguire, J. (2004) 'The Global Media Sports Complex: Key Issues and Concerns', *Media and Journalism* 4(3): 7–26.
- Maguire, J. (2005) *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- Maguire, J. and Falcous, M. (2005) 'Making Touchdowns and Hoop Dreams: The NFL and the NBA in England', in J. Maguire (ed.) *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*, pp. 23–40. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Maguire, J. and Poulton, E. (1999) 'European Identity Politics in Euro 96: Invented Traditions and National Habitus Codes', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 34(1): 17–29.
- Maguire, J. and Tuck, J. (1998) 'Global Sport and Patriot Games: Rugby Union and National Identity in a United Sporting Kingdom since 1945', in M. Cronin and D. Mayall (eds) *Sporting Nationalism: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation*, pp. 103–26. London: Frank Cass.
- Maguire, J. and Tuck, J. (2005) 'A World in Union?: Rugby, Globalisation, and Irish Identity', in J. Maguire (ed.) *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*, pp. 109–29. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Maguire, J., Butler, K., Barnard, S. and Golding, P. (2008) 'Olympism and Consumption: An Analysis of Advertising in the British Media Coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games', *Sociology of Sport Journal* 25(2): 167–86.
- Maguire, J., Jarvie, G., Bradley, J. and Mansfield, L. (2002) *Sport Worlds*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Mayring, P. (2000) 'Qualitative Content Analysis', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(2), available online at: [<http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm>], accessed 1 March 2005.
- Miller, T., Lawrence, G., McKay, J. and Rowe, D. (2001) *Globalization and Sport*. London: SAGE.
- Moragas Spà, M., Rivenburgh, N.K. and Larson, J.F. (1995) *Television in the Olympics*. London: John Libby.
- Poulton, E. (2004) 'Mediated Patriot Games: The Construction and Representation of National Identities in the British Television Production of Euro '96', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39(4): 437–55.

- Robertson, R. (1990) 'Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept', in M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, pp. 15–30. London: SAGE.
- Robins, K. (1997) 'What in the World's Going On?', in P. du Gay (ed.) *Production of Culture/Culture of Production*, pp. 11–66. London: SAGE.
- Rowe, D. (2003) 'Sport and Repudiation of the Global', *International Review of Sociology of Sport* 38(3): 281–94.
- Tomlinson, A. (1996) 'Olympic Spectacle: Opening Ceremonies and Some Paradoxes of Globalization', *Media, Culture and Society* 18: 583–602.
- Tomlinson, A. (2004) 'The Disneyfication of the Olympics? Theme Parks and Freak-Shows of the Body', in J. Bale and K. Christensen (eds) *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*, pp. 147–63. New York: Berg.
- Tuck, J. (2003) 'The Men in the White: Reflection on Rugby Union, the Media and Englishness', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 38(2): 177–99.
- Wenner, L.A. (1998) 'Playing the Media Sport Game', in L.A. Wenner (ed.) *Media Sport*, pp. 3–13. London: Routledge.

Jung Woo Lee holds a PhD in sociology of sport from Loughborough University, UK. Dr Lee is currently a part-time lecturer and researcher at Sungkyunkwan University, South Korea. His research interests include media sport, nationalism and globalization.

Address: Email: ljw0202@gmail.com

Joseph Maguire is Past-President of the International Sociology of Sport Association and former Co-Director of the Centre for Olympic Studies and Research at Loughborough University, UK. Currently, Professor Maguire is an Executive Board member of the International Council for Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE). He has published extensively on sport and globalization – see *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance* (Routledge, 2005).

Address: Email: j.a.maguire@lboro.ac.uk