EMERGENCE OF INDIVIDUATED NATIONALISM AMONG THE MAJOR BASEBALL FANS IN SOUTH KOREA

by
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ABSTRACT

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Emergence of Individuated Nationalism among the Major League Baseball Fans in South Korea
(Under the direction of Lawrence Grossberg)

This dissertation investigates the transformation of identities of people who experience globalization through mass media in their local places. I explore how South Korean sports fans constitute individual and collective identities through enjoying global sports, i.e. Major League Baseball. This study examines both the process of globalizing MLB in South Korea in the late 90s and the ways that Korean MLB fan enjoy MLB through interacting with other fans in their online community.

This study is concerned with three issues: global sports and nationalism/nation-states, global sports and national identity, and fans in an online community. First, using the experiences of Korean baseball fans as an exemplary case, this dissertation examines the issue of identity in a global era vis-à-vis the changing status of nationalism and the nation-states. Korean nationalism and the Korean government are still key influences in reconstituting the identities of Korean MLB fans. Particularly, mass media representations of MLB provided examples of national individuals as models for the altered nationalism of the late 1990s. Secondly, this dissertation investigates how the global sports are embedded in (re)constituting national identity among local people, and then how national identity has been transformed in this process. It focuses on global sports as a key element in national identity, the presence of national sentiment in MLB fandom in South Korea, and the transformation of “the structures of the national” among

Korean MLB fans. Third, this dissertation examines an online community and its members, who are no longer limited to a geographical place but rather connect to each other based on common interest.

Conclusively, I suggest the term “individuated nationalism” to explain the complicated merging of the national with the idea of individuality. The notion of individuated nationalism implies that, in South Korea, nationalism is embedded in people’s everyday lives, but it is chosen as a personal taste or even rationalized and justified as an identity rather than embraced as a moral imperative or ideological manipulation. Korean MLB fans utilize their national fandom as a source of individual identity based on personal experiences, memories, and the circumstances in which they consume MLB.

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Chapter I

Introduction: The Dilemma of National Identity in a Global World

Introduction

The subject of this dissertation is South Korean sports fans who consume American sports through the mass media, with a focus on transformation in their cultural and national identities. I investigate how these fans constitute individual and collective identities both through enjoying a global sports commodity, Major League Baseball [MLB], and through interacting with other fans in their online community. For those purposes, this study examines the process of globalizing MLB and the ways that local fans in South Korea appropriate it. It also includes a methodological proposal of Internet ethnography as an appropriate way of understanding people's everyday lives on the Internet.

This study is mainly concerned with three theoretical issues: identity in a global era; ambiguous positions held by global sports; and research on an online community.

First and foremost, using the experiences of Korean baseball fans as an exemplary case, this dissertation is about identity in a global era vis-à-vis the changing status of nationalism and the nation-states. Recently, discussions of identity have depended on diasporic and cosmopolitan experiences. Rather than following a similar path, I pay attention to the transformation of identities of local people who experience globalization

through mass media in their local places rather than through migration or travel. This study begins by examining nationalism and the roles of local governments in non-Western society. Many critics suggest that we are living at the end of nationalism and nation-states, which originated in the West during the modern period. However, by investigating the relationship of the transformation of identities to shifts of nationalism within nation-states, I argue that nationalism and nation-states are still key influences in reconstituting the identities of local people who deeply enjoy globally circulated commodities.

Second, the dissertation is a study of global sports; in particular, it explores the globalization of U.S. sports and the identity of local fans of global sporting events. Although Hollywood movies, American pop songs and American TV shows symbolized the homogenization of culture in the late 20th century, it seems that sporting commodities have almost replaced them. The globalization of sports is made possible by the development of communication technologies, the deregulation of mass media and the migration of sports celebrities. Because sports can be a legitimate and effective tool in gathering millions of people into public spaces, sporting events function as "the culture glue of collective consciousness" (Andres, 2001, p. 132) and contribute to national mythmaking (Miller and McHoul, 1998, p. 79). Interestingly, global sporting events utilize nationalism as a marketing tool to attract local sports fans, which inevitably results in complicated and even contradictory relations between local fans and global sports. Also, local sports fans both constitute and transform their identities through consuming global sports and interacting with other fans. Therefore, I suggest that national

sentiments play a crucial role both in attracting local fans' attention to global sporting events and in transforming local fans' national identities.

Third, this dissertation is a study of an online community and its members, who are no longer limited to a geographical place but rather connect to each other based on common interest. Compared to the traditional notion of a community, people in an online community do not live in corporeal proximity; rather, they connect to the net and reside in the virtual community from different physical places. Through applying an ethnographic approach, I attempt to understand how people utilize the Internet in their everyday lives. Particularly, an online community provides ample sources for exploring ways of communicating, interacting with others, and constructing individual and collective identities. My study is concerned with local fans or audiences who enjoy global sporting events, i.e. MLB, and in doing so experience foreign culture, landscapes and diverse ways of living. Although the Internet and online communities offer people many opportunities to meet others, regardless of physical location, the ways that Korean baseball fans enjoy MLB are indicative of national tendencies. It is therefore difficult to define people who reside and interact in an online community: based on their level and type of participation, they can be called users, members, fans or even Koreans. The multiplicity of identities in online community is a central focus of this work.

Background: Personal Narratives and the Fandom of Major League Baseball in South Korea

The Fandom of Major League Baseball in South Korea

This section provides background about the Korean national fandom of MLB in the late 1990s and its current popularity in South Korea. MLB emerged as a national interest in South Korea in 1997 when a Korean player, Chan-ho Park, came to national prominence during the national crisis precipitated by the IMF intervention. After recruitment by the L.A. Dodgers in 1994 and a couple of years in the minor leagues, he became a regular pitcher in 1996, was named one of the best MLB pitchers in 1997 and played a vital role on the team until 2001. Beginning in 1997, a Korean public network broadcast all the games in which Park played as a starting pitcher, and all over the country his performances and interviews were reported as top news items.

His glory days of the late 1990s overlapped with the IMF intervention (1997-2000), which required the Korean government to carry out widespread structural reforms, both politically and economically. This crisis also brought about tremendous depression and frustration nationwide, as Koreans witnessed the powerlessness of their government, the collapse of several major conglomerates and mass layoffs. Under this gloomy national mood, the popularity of Park and MLB was framed largely within a nationalistic discourse. The pitcher was hailed as a national hero and Koreans became obsessed with MLB because Park, a Korean, played so well there. Park's success in MLB symbolized Korean national competitiveness in a global competition and was seen as proof of Koreans' ability to overcome the national crisis.

His success in the Dodgers enabled him to sign a highly lucrative contract with the Texas Rangers in 2002 ($70 million for the 2002-2006 seasons). However, with the Rangers Park either struggled on the mound or remained on the disabled list. Without the guaranteed program ratings he had provided, the Korean national network decreased its number of broadcast games. In response, Korean MLB fans utilized cable, satellite TV and the Internet to satisfy their fixation on MLB. In the middle of the 2005 season Park was traded to the San Diego Padres, a move that elicited clamorous responses from fans not only because it affirmed his failure in the Texas Rangers but also because it put him back in the National League [NL] West, the same league in which he had had so much experience and success with the Dodgers.

Due to Park's success in MLB, several elite Korean baseball players were recruited by MLB teams. In 2005 there were five active Korean baseball players in MLB: Chan-ho Park (Texas Rangers), Heesop Choi (L.A. Dodgers), Jaeung Seo (New York Mets), Sunwoo Kim (Washington Nationals) and Byunghyun Kim (Colorado Rockies). Although their impact does not compare to Park's, their careers were also highlighted by Korean mass media and Korean MLB fans.

The history of Internet MLB fan sites in South Korea parallels the success of Park in MLB. Arguably, the first such site was <www.yagoo.co.kr>, established in 1997. After the decrease in TV broadcasts, online communities became the focal point both for satisfying the interests of existing MLB fans and for nurturing new fans in South Korea. Such communities have come and gone but still remain numerous; as recently as 2005,

there were dozens. This project uses data from one, MLBPARK (www.mlbpark.com),[1] which I observed and in which I participated.

Personal Narratives: My Routes and Trajectories

The dissertation begins with my observation and experience of the sensational popularity of Major League Baseball in South Korea in 1997. Throughout, it includes my experiences in the form of personal narratives. The crucial trajectories of my life can be summarized into three: from South Korea to the U.S.; from a sports fan to a MLB fan; and from a member of an online community to its ethnographer.

It was both challenging and an incredible opportunity for me to start a Ph.D. program at a U.S. university. Except for a couple of trips to Europe in 1994 and one to the west coast of the U.S., in 1997, I was rooted in South Korea until the completion of my MA thesis. The trajectory from South Korea to the U.S. provided a number of ground-breaking moments in my intensive study of identity issues and globalization. Because South Korea is a very homogeneous society in terms of race, ethnicity and language, to live with different races and ethnic groups in the U.S. has forced me to reconsider the very notion of identity, particularly in South Korea. I have not only come to realize how exclusive the idea of nationality is in South Korea and how homogeneous Korean society is, but have also had to struggle with my own identity as both a native Korean with compassion for and commitment to my country's cultural phenomena and politics and a researcher who studies cultural and media theories, which are usually based in a Western context, written by Western scholars. My particular dilemma, which has

[1] MLBPARK is arguably the biggest and most popular website for Korean MLB fans. According to its operator, the current number of registered IDs (2006) is about 90,000, the number of daily users is about 35,000 and about 600-700 posts are updated daily.

forced me to become more reflective and deeply engaged with identity issues, has been the problem of applying theoretical constructs such as postcolonialism and identity politics to investigating the South Korean context in the late 1990s.

I became a fan of American sports after settling in the U.S. Previously, I was a sports fan in a very general sense and usually watched Korean sporting leagues; my interest in MLB began with the sensational popularity of Park in 1997. However, I made no extra effort to obtain MLB-related news or to watch games in which Park did not play. I became aware of MLB franchise teams and rosters through baseball computer games that were based on MLB. After I moved to the U.S., the environment of the U.S. and Chapel Hill increased my interest in MLB and U.S. sporting events. Not only is the country heavily saturated with sports, my town is closely tied to college athletics, particularly basketball. As time passed and I watched more U.S. sporting events, I became not only a Tarheel fan but also an American sports fan more generally. At the same time I was conducting sports-related research based on cultural-studies perspectives, which allowed me to reflect on my memories of watching MLB and Park in the late 1990s and recognize subtle issues around them. This combination, of my interest in U.S. sports leagues and the challenge of switching roles between fan and researcher, has enabled me to understand the innermost complexities and multiplicities of sport fans.

I started observing and participating in an online community of Korean MLB fans during the 2002 spring semester, when I was still in South Korea. After my move to the U.S., participation in the community still provided pleasure in several ways. As a novice fan, I was able to accumulate knowledge and obtain the latest MLB news. Also, I felt an important, immediate sense of connection to South Korea when I would read about news

and happenings there, which fans continuously updated on the bulletin boards. It was during the 2004 spring semester that I began to realize the potential of this community for my research, namely that interactions among Korean MLB fans are a wonderful resource for exploring intriguing and complicated research questions. Korean MLB fans heavily utilize and rely upon the Internet and their Internet communities both for MLB-related news and within the fabric of their daily lives. Through my studies of ethnography, I refined the idea of making use of this community as my doctoral research object and decided to conduct an Internet ethnography. My route from a member of the community to an ethnographer is one of the narratives included in the dissertation.

Theoretical Location: Identity Politics of Global Sports Fans

Identity in a Global Era

Identity politics in the global era has been heavily discussed within several disciplines. With the development of transportation technologies, more people have opportunities to travel and even to migrate to foreign countries. The visibility of foreigners or strangers in metropolitan cities such as New York and London has made scholars consider the issues of immigrants, i.e. residents who are removed from their cultures of origin. Within the discipline of cultural studies, many critics pay attention to the changes of ethnic or national identities among immigrants under Euro-American hegemony. Their attempts to understand identity formation among immigrants have often incorporated their own experiences of migrating from native countries and accommodating to new ones, mostly Western (Ang, 2001; Gillespie, 1995; Clifford, 1992).

Given the diverse phenomena in identity politics, postcolonial theory has provided important insights and concepts such as mimicry, multiculturalism, diaspora, hybridity and cosmopolitanism (Bhabha, 1994; Clifford, 1997; Spivak, 1999; Young, 2001). However, despite their value, these approaches tend to privilege cultural/discourse dimensions and the formation of identities among immigrants in Europe and the U.S. Rather than following a similar path, this project aims to investigate the other side of identity politics, i.e. the transformation of identity among people who, usually involuntarily, stay in local places (e.g. Third World or developing countries) but who nonetheless undergo globalization, mainly through globally circulated commodities.

This study is concerned with not only national identity among individual Korean MLB fans but also with changes in the political economy of Korean society at the turn of the millennium. Therefore, I explore the transformation of national identities among Korean MLB fans in relation both to contextual changes in Korean society and interpersonal or group relationships within their online community.

In unraveling identity politics, the study of nationalism is a necessity, because national identity has been one of the most dominant forms of identity. Although nationalism and nation-states have weathered substantial challenges from globalization, the resurgence of nationalism is visible in many places at the start of this new millennium (Morley and Robinson, 1995). Particularly because of the events of September 11, 2001 and their aftermath, America is in the midst of a resurgence of nationalism (Bratsis, 2003; Callinicos, 2003; Kellner, 2002). Rather than generalizing the diverse features of recent nationalism, it is imperative to evaluate its unique as well as continuous characteristics

based on different contexts and histories, and to deduce meaningful aspect for further discussion.

Therefore, this work begins with the study of nationalism; specifically, a genealogy of nationalism in South Korea. Two major ways of understanding the nature of nationalism are the modernist view and the primordial view (Smith, 1995, 1999). The modernist view regards nationalism as an essential element of the modern, although Gellner (1997) argues that its origins are entirely in modernity. The modernist view, while not denying the importance of cultural, linguistic and historical factors, proposes human will as the fundamental basis of nationalism (Gellner, 1983, 1987; Korn, 1944; Renan, 2002). By contrast, the primordial view regards nationalism not simply as a modern innovation (Smith, 1999); accentuates cultural and ethnic elements, particularly ethnic language; and also emphasizes common territory, race and cultural artifacts. In this view, ethnic communities and national identity are perceived as natural, thus its contention that nationalism as a collective consciousness is the consequence of a long history.

It is hard to decide which of these views better explains Korean nationalism; neither does so completely. The difficulty of full explication seems inevitable, not only because Korean nationalism is complex and unique, but also because the notion of it is so powerful and omnipresent in Koreans' everyday life.[2] Nationalism has become not only a myth or ideology but also a moral imperative that Koreans must respect and adhere to

[2] Smith maintains that in many parts of Africa and Asia, "religious nationalism, or the superimposition of mass religion on nationalism, has made a remarkable comeback" (1993, p. 22).

(Lim, 1999).[3] Korean nationalism has been intensified systematically through government propaganda, mandatory education in national history, repetition of daily routines, historical commemoration, and even participation in national sports competition. It seems that everyday lives of Koreans are saturated with events that exercise banal nationalism (Billig, 1995; Calhoun, 1997).[4] In particular, epochal modern events such as the colonial occupation and the civil war are crucial contributors to the predominance of nationalism in Korean society today.

I suggest that a way to explain the singular phenomenon of nationalism in South Korea is to approach it in terms of two interacting discourses: developmental and oppositional. The discourse of developmental nationalism, which is largely practical, emphasizes national growth and modernization, in which the nation-state plays the central role of allocating economic elements to maximize their efficiency. Contrarily, the discourse of oppositional nationalism is more emotional and advocates for Korean society to overcome its colonial status, regardless of whether this was imposed by Japan, the West or the separation between North and South. Together, these two discourses constitute the characteristics of Korean nationalism in two ways. First, both discourses are applicable to state-based ideology and Korean nationalism implies an ideology not for a nation but a state (Choi, 1995; Yoonb, 2000).[5] Second, the combination of practicality and emotion at the heart of Korean nationalism has allowed it to become so enmeshed in

[3] Lim proclaims that nation in the modern history of Korea is not only the reason for moral punishment but also the criterion for historical judgments (1999).

[4] Calhoun (1997) points out that nationalism is not just a doctrine but a more basic way of talking, thinking and acting; Billig suggests the notion of banal nationalism in order to highlight the dailyness or taken-for-granted nature of nationalism in everyday rituals and routines.

[5] Choi (1995) insists that Korean nationalism is close to traditional statism. Yoon (2000b) also suggests that nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s might be called “state-nationalism.”

everyday life there that it functions like a phantom—but nonetheless regulates daily lives and organization. By applying them to historic and current circumstances, I will examine why nationalism has been so dominant and embedded in the everyday life of Koreans, how nationalism has been challenged by globalizing forces, and whether nationalism still survives as a hegemonic ideology in South Korean society.

As mentioned, identity politics must be considered as a factor in the changing status of nation-states/governments and their relations with global agencies such as transitional corporations [TNCs] and international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Trade Organization [WTO]. Appadurai (2000) argues three theoretical propositions to explain these relations: first, that globalization is producing new geographies of governmentality; second, the nation-state system is undergoing a profound and transformative crisis; and third, that humanity is witnessing a profound transformation in the nature of global governance, demonstrated by the explosive growth of non-governmental organizations.

To explain contemporary changes in the world order, Hardt and Negri reframe the concept of Empire to refer to a new form of unlimited sovereignty that displaces the traditional sovereignty of the nation-state and comprises a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule (2000, 2003, 2004).[6] In the world of Empire, where a new world order reigns, the very meaning of sovereignty has been expanded beyond repressive, juridical power or even the disciplinary or regulatory power found in institutions such as the hospital and the prison (2000). However, Hardt

[6] Hardt and Negri define Empire as the political subject that regulates global exchange and as the sovereignty power that governs the world (2000). They refer to Empire as a new, limited form of sovereignty that knows no boundaries or, rather, knows only flexible, mobile boundaries (2003). They also call Empire an emerging form of global order and a "network power" (2004).

and Negri also caution that "the era of globalization has not brought the end of nation-state and nation-states have not been displaced from the position of sovereign authority" by international trade and security bureaucracies like the United Nations, WTO, and IMF (*ibid*., p. 109).

Rather than proclaiming either the end of the nation-state or the beginning of a new world, this project will discuss how the roles of both nation-state and local government have been changed through negotiating and compromising with global agencies. The IMF intervention in South Korea provides an appropriate context for analyzing structural changes marked by shifts in sovereignty, changing roles of government, and the entrenchment of global agencies. Through an analysis of political and economic structural changes during the IMF intervention, I will argue that although the Korean government is still able to maintain its hegemonic position by making compromises with the IMF and TNCs, its ways of exercising power have changed.

Moreover, the IMF intervention resulted not only in political and economic structural changes but also in ideological crisis. According to Shin, "[T]he crisis of discourse strongly demands the formation of a new hegemonic discourse specific to the Korean experience during the economic crisis" (2000, p. 428).

From the perspective of governmentality (Foucault, 1991) I will analyze how, in Korea, political and economic power operate both in and through broadcasting MLB and also how broadcasting MLB helped reconstitute a way or system of thinking in the late 1990s. Governmentality is particularly effective when analyzing, in addition to these topics, the government's changing roles in the 1990s and its diverse intervention in the broadcasting of MLB. Nonetheless, governmentality is not just about the state or state

power. Rather, it examines power relationships—to norms and issues of self and identity as well as within private interpersonal relations, including self and self; relations within social institutions and communities, and cultural phenomena such as values and rules of conduct. Through analyzing the dynamics of power both in the macro and the micro, governmentality makes explicit the relationships among governing bodies, the act of governing itself, and the governed subject(s). In addition to power, I will discuss truth and identity as three crucial dimensions of governmentality surrounding broadcasting MLB in South Korea

Ambivalent Positions of Global Sports

Precipitated by new telecommunication technologies, sporting events have been globalized with tremendous rapidity, a process that instigates still another discussion on identity issues (Miller et al., 2001). In particular, the global expansion of U.S. sports raises concerns about cultural homogenization among global fans and subsequent economic deficits caused by the unidirectional flow of U.S. sporting events. Nonetheless, the globalization of U.S. sports often relies on local responses (Pen-Borat & Pen-Borat, 2004), and even is utilized to rearticulate local and national identity (Andrews, 1997). Clearly, the globalization of sporting events reveals conflicts between global, popular identity and national identity.

Unlike other American cultural exports, sport occupies an ambiguous position in this global era (Andrews & Cole, 2005). Although as mega-, multimedia events sports work as harbingers of globalization, globalization of sport is often constrained by local history and circumstances. Sports may have been recently globalized, but they

nonetheless remain inherently connected to national and local roots. This project suggests that the position of sporting events within the larger process of globalization is both ambiguous and ambivalent.

On the one hand, sporting events are now replacing the pioneering roles that Hollywood films, popular music and American TV shows once played in expanding U.S. cultural dominance. Fueled by global mergers and consolidations of broadcasting networks, sporting events have become an efficient and powerful worldwide audience magnet. One well-known example of a network merger as well as the use of sports as a marketing tool is Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation (Andrews, 2004; Baker, 1997), which Andrews and Silk (2005) identify as the first vertically integrated sport-entertainment-and-communication company of truly global reach. Murdoch strongly believes that sport "absolutely overpowers all other programming as an incentive for viewers to subscribe to cable and satellite TV" (Westerbeek & Smith, 2003, p. 90), adding that "we will be doing in Asia what we intended to do elsewhere in the world—that is, use sports as a battering ram and a lead offering in all our pay-television operations" (quoted in Robertson, 2004, p. 293). The globalization of sporting events has been made possible not only by the ability of satellite TV and the Internet to cross borders and convey massive amounts of information, but also by efficient strategies on the part of global media corporations. Because the flow of sports broadcasting between the U.S. and the rest of the world is asymmetrical and exploitative, and likely to remain so, the expectation is that it will continue to contribute to U.S. cultural and economic dominance.

Both the nature of sporting events and the ways of consuming U.S. sports in the world require more scholarly attention. Unlike other activities of global interest, sporting events are often closely related to local and national sentiments; international sporting events are based on national boundaries. The most globalized of these, such as the Olympics and the World Cup, inspire heightened national sentiments. This phenomenon is evident in South Korea, where mass media representation of the Olympic Games has played a crucial role in promoting national unity and boosting national confidence (Cho, 2002). Nonetheless, the nation itself still functions as "an enduring 'space of identity' …accompanying the spread of transnational global capitalism" (Andrews & Silk, 2005, p. 175).

A related subject that begs further study is how local fans consume, enjoy or appropriate globally circulated sports commodities (in most cases, U.S. sports). How important is "cultural proximity" or local roots for fans to enjoy global sports? And what kinds of identities do fans constitute through consuming global sports? Andrews, Jackson and Mazur (1996) insist that the consumption of global commodity-signs occurs inextricably within localized settings. Consequently, the accelerated circulation of American commodity-signs has led to the rearticulation of national and local cultural identities rather than to cultural homogenization or Americanization (Andrews, 1997). It is therefore imperative for sports studies to articulate the relationship between the global and the local and to "explicate the unavoidable interplay between global and local forces that contributes to the reshaping of cultural spaces of identity within the new global media landscape" (Andrews, Jackson & Mazur, 1996, p. 432).

Not only has the recent globalization of sports not severed their inherent connection to national and local roots, the expansion of U.S. sports can be regarded as occurring at both a global and a local nexus. For example, according to Wang (2004),[7] by playing in the NBA Yao Ming has made himself a national hero and a symbol of the emergence of the Chinese Global, which has easily fed into the Chinese passion for national triumph. Wang also suggests that the complexity of Yao's status as a sports celebrity articulates the ambivalent relationship among global capital, ethnicity, and the nation-state (*ibid*.). Another example is the Japanese baseball players in MLB, such as Ichiro, the best player in the Seattle Mariners, who is represented both as a hero who is still loyal to Japanese traditions and as a symbol of Japan's brighter future (Nakamura, 2005)[8]. Through his analysis of Ichiro's representation in Japanese and U.S. media, Nakamura argues that nationalism and globalization in sports may work in concert, creating a transnational space where national identity is constructed and reconstructed (*ibid*.). Global sports, therefore, may not bear the weight of "the project of globalization in its fullest sense" although as mega-media events sports work as harbingers of globalization (Rowe, 2003, p. 281).

This project integrates the complex, contradictory roles of sporting events in articulating the ambivalent relationships among global capital, ethnic/national identity, and the nation-state. I particularly examine the connection between the popularity of MLB and de/reconstruction of nationalism among Korean MLB fans. The surging

[7] Wang (2004) sums up the impact of Yao in both the U.S. and China by insisting that the dramatization of racial, national and cultural clashes only reaffirms the triumph of global capitalism, which is subsuming nation-sate into a global corporate empire.

[8] Nakamura suggests that Ichiro is a transpacific athlete, having one foot in Japan and the other in the U.S. (2005).

popularity of MLB in South Korea was made possible by the nationalistic interest in a Korean player in MLB that promoted national unity and confidence, especially during the IMF intervention. A related issue is the role of local government in the process of globalizing U.S. sports; the Korean government, for example, deployed a strong nationalistic discourse in broadcasting MLB in the late 1990s.

Not only is it important to examine the concrete ways that government participates in the process of expanding U.S. sports in South Korea, such intervention exemplifies the changing roles of local government and its relationship to global agencies such as ESPN and MLB. Ways of watching and enjoying MLB in South Korea neither blur national boundaries nor result in homogenizing identity but rather contribute to constituting an alternative type of national identity. What kinds of national identities have been constructed among the Korean MLB fans is the core question of this project. Because the local can be seen as a fluid and relational space, it becomes more and more important to understand the concrete, diverse, and even contradictory responses of local fans who are constantly negotiating between national roots and global products.

Outline of Method and Research Period

As part of the interdisciplinary approach embraced in this research, several qualitative research methods are used. First is an examination of economic data and political and institutional changes in South Korea vis-à-vis the IMF intervention (1997 – 2000). Second are theoretical and historical discussions about nationalism and national identity in South Korea. Third is an analysis of mass-media representation, particularly TV and newspaper coverage of Korean baseball players in MLB. Fourth is an Internet ethnography conducted through both observation and participation in an online

community of Korean MLB fans and fan interviews.[9] This wide-ranging set of methods is an attempt to understand how the complex web of the transformation of national identities relates to political and economic changes in South Korea.

Because this dissertation investigates multiple dimensions of identity in relation to MLB fandom in South Korea, the foci of the project are divided into two different periods. One is the late 1990s, during which Korean society experienced tremendous changes under the IMF intervention as well as the emergence of MLB fandom. The other is the 12-month period of March 2005 to March 2006, during which I conducted ethnography in an online community and interviewed several Korean MLB fans.[10]

For the first period, I pay attention to systematic changes in Korea concerning telecommunication technology, economic sectors, and the roles of the government in the late 1990s through self-collected data and discussions. By approaching this period and its central event, the IMF intervention, as a conjuncture, I attempt to explain the ideological struggle over nationalism, which had been a hegemonic ideology in (South) Korea for decades, in relation to the societal transformation of South Korea. According to Grossberg (2006), a conjuncture is always a social formation understood as an articulation, accumulation, or condensation of contradictions rather than simply as a context. From the perspective of a conjuncture, I assess when and how people within a society are/are not moving from one conjuncture to another (*ibid.*). This perspective allows me to interpret the transformation of South Korean society, and its inherent

[9] This research has been approved by the IRB (COMM 2005-008) because it requires human subjects.

[10] The names of the fourteen interviewees are: Aram Han, Chunboo Kim, Seahoon Kim, Seahyun Kim, Seawoong Sohn, Youngmin Kim, Doohwan Kwon, Youngsuk Kwon, Donghoon Lim, Seunghoon Oh, Seawoong Sohn, , Sungmoon Yoo, Yongjae Yoo, Woosun Yum. Most of them are college students: except three: Youngmin, Kwon works for a small company, Sungmoon You serves a social service worker, and Donghoon Lim is a reporter and moderator of the MLBPARK.

challenges, as the results of economic and political shifts as well as ideological struggles. By reviewing theoretical discussions about nationalism in general and in the Korean context specifically, I attempt to relate recent challenges to nationalism to structural changes in South Korea. In doing so, I will connect the study of the transformation of Korean society in the late 1990s to the exploration of (national) identities among Korean MLB fans.

In addition, I present the results of analysis of self-collected Korean mass-media representations of MLB and Park in the late 1990s, including major news programs from two public networks and newspaper reports. In order to appropriately place these representations within the concurrent structural changes, I utilize the notion of governmentality to examine them in relation to interventions by the South Korean government, both implicit and explicit, as well as to the set of norms and value that these representations tried to shape. This perspective enables me to examine the processes by which media representation, particularly when it includes nationalistic discourse, is articulated in terms of contextual structure, power and ideology.

For the second period, I conducted an Internet ethnography that includes observation and participation in an online community, analysis of online bulletin boards and face-to-face interviews with Korean MLB fans. As a way both of observing and making contact with people on the Internet and of exploring how people utilize this new technology in their everyday lives, I suggest that an ethnographic approach to Internet research, similarly to audience studies, contributes to a holistic understanding of how people are influenced by, respond to, and appropriate mass media. By refining its methodological structures and enhancing its rigor, I believe that an ethnographic

approach can explicate the daily habits of people's use of the Internet in their own locations. Bird (2002) suggests that ethnography encompasses a range of methods which may legitimately be used to study reception—especially if combined with a broader analysis of cultural context. Such an emphasis on contexts makes it possible for me to articulate macro situations through the analysis of micro subjects.

Mankekar (1992, 2002) coined the term "conjunctural ethnography" to situate the broader discursive formation of Hindu nationalism in India; it is similarly crucial for me to trace not only the mutual influences of conjunctural and identity formation but also to define the moments in which one intersects with the other. By including social contexts, this project can investigate the practices of human agency without being sidetracked into naïve populism or unconstrained consumer activism. Through understanding the dialectic of both areas, Internet ethnography can connect the transformational processes of MLB fans' cultural and national identities with political and economic changes in South Korea.

I collected the data from the online community of Korean MLB fans from March 2005 to March 2006, but have been observing and participating in the community since 2002. From the beginning, I saved all posts that include meaningful and interesting disputes and interactions, including replies to others' posts. In the summer of 2005, I also interviewed 14 Korean MLB fans recruited from the online community, including its administrator, for three to four hours each. In the summer of 2006, I conducted follow-up interviews with several of the fans and met a couple more interviewees, some of whom I still correspond with by e-mail and IM (Internet Messenger).

Chapter Breakdown

In Chapter Two, "The National Crisis and the Crisis of Korean Nationalism During the IMF Intervention," I examine the impact of the IMF intervention on not only the economic and political life of South Korea but also on its ideology, with particular attention to the transformation of Korean nationalism as a hegemonic ideology. I begin with an analysis of the structural reform initiated by the IMF and suggest that because the reform concluded with political compromise between the IMF and the Korean government, the government was able to retain its roles of coordinating and participating in the economic sector. Second, I provide a genealogy of nationalism in (South) Korea and discuss how traditional notions of nationalism were challenged by the national crisis. The genealogy of nationalism shows why nationalism became a religion, a moral imperative and a social and political norm in South Korea. However, global influences in the late 1990s challenged and damaged its hegemonic status. The understanding of the uniqueness of Korean nationalism is critical to examining the contribution of nationalism to the increase in MLB fandom in South Korea during the IMF period.

In Chapter Three, "Broadcasting MLB as a Governing Instrument: Nationalistic Representation of a Sport Celebrity," I investigate how broadcasting MLB in South Korea both reflected and constructed governmental rationality in the late 1990s. This chapter begins with a review of the changes in telecommunication technologies and the broadcasting business, which increased the circulation of U.S. sports in South Korea. Then, I analyze mass-media representations of MLB pitcher Chanho Park, a national celebrity as well as a star player, and illuminate both how his representation contributed to constituting governmental rationality and what kinds of norms or virtues were

promoted by the mass media. This chapter also investigates how Park's enormous success in MLB was connected with the transformative process of hegemonic ideology and how representations of Park contributed to reconciling nationalism with neoliberalism in the context of the economic crisis of the late 1990s. Finally, I argue that broadcasting MLB, particularly Park's images, during the IMF intervention contributed to the construction of a governmental rationality that embraced neoliberal principles and a nationalistic ideology.

In Chapter Four, "Scattered Audiences, Fluid Field, and Alternative Research: Conducting Ethnography on an Online Community of MLB fans in South Korea," I address the methodological issues and suggest that, in this project, the research methodology is more than the means of obtaining the data and examining the research subject. Rather, the methodology is both the theoretical intervention and the main contribution of the project. To support this conclusion I review some of the ethnography in audience studies, and discuss the necessity of theoretical and practical rigor for ethnography. Then I introduce detailed information about online community among the MLB fans in South Korea by recounting my decision to use an online community as a research subject and my personal journey in it. To justify my choice of Internet ethnography, I highlight three key issues in understanding the diverse characteristics and different capabilities of the Internet itself and possible consequences among people inside it: my location as an ethnographer; the fluid, scattered field or the subject; and the practicalities of designing an ethnographic method on the Internet. This chapter states that an ethnographic approach is the most useful for observing and making contact with an online population and explores how an ethnographic approach might work on the

Internet, particularly in an online community. Thus, I argue that Internet ethnography also helps this study to destabilize the distinction between system and life-world by connecting the transformation of cultural and national identities of South Korean MLB fans with political and political economic changes in South Korea.

In Chapter Five, "Everyday Lives of Korean MLB Fans on Online Community," I use examples culled from www.MLBPARK.com. First, this chapter provides a brief picture of Internet use in South Korea, including its prevalence and centrality in daily life. Then I show how Korean MLB fans utilize their particular online community not only for satisfying their interest in MLB but also for sharing their thoughts and feelings with other fans. By examining interactions among MLB fans in the community, I conclude that they utilize their community to constitute individual and collective identities though communicating with others, pursuing information, building relationships, and generating cultural rules. Online community provides fans with myriad opportunities not only to share information and personal stories but also to interact and generate community culture. At the same time, the community's technological capacity makes it possible for members both to easily obtain a variety of information and to communicate with each other in alternative ways. Finally, I insist that the fans' interactions demonstrate community characteristics such as time(less)ness, place(less)ness, history(less)ness, and (trans)locality. All of these factors indicate the community's materiality: Korean MLB fans in online community continuously add materiality to cyberspace by constituting senses of time, historicity and locality.

In Chapter Six, "National Fans of MLB in South Korea," I interrogate the multiplicity of Korean MLB fans, in particular the tensions or dilemmas that they

experience as a consequence of the nationalistic aura around MLB fandom in South Korea that surrounds their pursuit of their individual hobby. This chapter begins with people's memories of how their interest in MLB began. These memories are not only closely interconnected with societal changes in South Korea, they also evoke disputes about the expression of national(ist) sentiments in the context of MLB fandom among contemporary Korean fans. Next, the chapter explores core disputes among fans online and the complexity of same in relation to contested identities between national fans of baseball and MLB fanatics. Amidst controversies about racial discrimination, national interest, and national players, Korean national fan(dom) reveals its fragility and dilemmas. The ensuing discussion of authenticity follows the discourse of MLB fans online as they experience entanglements not only between national fans and pure MLB fans but also between the national and the global. The World Baseball Classic [WBC], which was organized by the MLB bureau as an international baseball competition, provides an arena in which fans reveal their complex and even contradictory desires between national roots and global products. Finally, I suggest that such cultural practices by Korean MLB fans exemplify the characteristics of "individuated nationalism." I argue that this notion implies that although nationalism in South Korea is still embedded in people's everyday lives, it can be justified and even chosen as an identity based on individual memories and experiences rather than unquestioningly accepted as a moral imperative imposed by society or government.

Chapter II.

The National Crisis and the Crisis of Korean Nationalism in South Korea during the IMF Intervention.

The Crises of Nationalism and Governmental Sovereignty

This chapter examines, in two ways, the crises of nationalism and the nation-state in South Korea during the IMF intervention. First, it explores the changing roles of the Korean government by illustrating the transformations of economic and political sectors during the IMF intervention. Second, it provides a concrete genealogy of nationalism in (South) Korea,[11] and then discusses how nationalism was challenged by the national crisis. The understanding of the uniqueness of Korean nationalism is critical to examining the contribution of nationalism to the increasing fandom of MLB in South Korea during the IMF period.

At the turning period of a new millennium, it is not unusual to witness the resurgence of nationalism in many places. Some even suggest that such local or national movements would be a natural consequence of globalization. However, it is too early, and would be careless, to regard resurgent nationalism simply as the repetition of nationalism in an earlier sense or even to identify it with ethnic nationalism (Smith, 1999). Meanwhile, nation-states face unprecedented challenges from global agencies, and it is

[11] I need to South into a parenthesis because nationalism or national history indicates Korea before the separation and sometimes only South Korea. Such a usage might cause confusion, but it is also an evidence why nationalism becomes complicated in (South) Korea.

alleged that a new world order emerges. Many critics suggest that local government no longer wields its exclusive power within its territory and therefore, its sovereignty is destined to be negotiated and diminished by the rise of global agencies. However, many also point out that such a circumstance does not necessarily mean the demise of the nation-states and local governments. Critics also argue that the nation-states and governments still play important roles in their territories as well as in making international agreements. Rather than pronouncing the end of nationalism and the nation-states, this study examines how a nationalist ideology and local governments respond to the globalizing forces. This chapter particularly pays attention to the changing relationships of the Korean government to transnational corporations and international institutions.

Through analyzing the structural changes in political and economic fields of South Korea during the IMF intervention, I examine how the characteristics of the government were changed. I will explore the unique characteristics of Korean nationalism by paying attention to concrete historical incidents that contribute to making nationalism a hegemonic ideology. Then I examine recent challenges to nationalism and ask whether or not nationalism still survives as a hegemonic ideology. Finally, I ask how fandom of MLB became a national frenzy during the IMF intervention, and investigate the influence of nationalism on the soaring popularity of MLB in South Korea.

An Economic Sector: Requirements by IMF and the Fulfillments

The IMF intervention requested the Korean government to carry out a comprehensive structural adjustment in the economic sector as the price for the relief fund. IMF imposed its own diagnoses and measures on Korean economic infrastructures. The main requirements can be summarized in four categories: (1) to open up financial markets for foreign investment; (2) to increase the flexibility of the labor market; (3) to decentralize and restructure the financial sectors of major conglomerates; and (4) to cut the public budget of the government.

Among the requirements, the first two categories were carried out more thoroughly than the others. A primary request by the IMF was to open financial market to foreign investments and to increase its monetary transparency. Previously, the government could exercise arbitrary state power within the financial market, so the close attachment to the government had been crucial to facilitate the financing of corporations.[12] This request implied that the financial market was no longer to be centrally controlled by the government, but was instead to be decided by autonomous management and market value. Progress had been made opening Korea's financial market since 1990, and it gained momentum when South Korea joined OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) in 1996. The increase of foreign direct investment, including hedge funds and short term investments, made the Korean economy unstable, and the withdrawal of foreign investment in 1997 caused the

[12] Cho (2000) explains that raising and distributing resources is performed in the interaction between the market and the state.

economic crisis in South Korea. It is ironic that this economy crisis, which was caused by the increase of short-term foreign investment, was settled by opening the Korean financial market totally to global investments and the market principle.

Another demand of the IMF was to increase the flexibility of the labor market to enhance profitability of local companies. In order to meet the IMF's requirements, many companies had to restrain their business: mainly they cut their employees or increased the portion of temporary workers. Moreover, the government initiated a series of big deals – to swap their companies between conglomerates. Then, each conglomerate came to own a bigger company in one branch rather than to be involved in two branches. In doing so, many decisions were made not only by economic reasons but also by the political decisions. These big deals also caused mass layoff, and an increase of temporary employees. The primary and easy way to improve their business efficiency was to cut their permanent employees and to add temporary workers in the name of the flexibility of labor. Although the percentages of firing and unemployment varied, particularly less-skilled and low-income workers fell prey to this structural adjustment (Kim, 2004).[13] As a result, the Korean labor market was characterized by the shortest term of continuous service of employees among countries in OECD (Shin, 2006). Such concepts as annual salary negotiations and temporary employees were relatively unknown before the IMF intervention. However, "the attitude with which they [people] look at their work and work place has changed a lot" while the consequences from the IMF intervention became noticeable and "the so-called labour flexibility policy became generalized" (Kang, 2000,

[13] Shin (2000) argues that the most immediate impact of the economic crisis has been the polarization of economic status amongst the people.

p 443). The flexibility of the labor market indicates that people were no longer safe in their occupations.

On the other hand, the other two demands, to restructure major conglomerates and cut the public budget, were not carried out successfully. In the beginning of the IMF intervention, the government could accomplish several big deals among major conglomerates by guaranteeing bailouts if they agreed to the deals. However, the notorious structures of ownership were hardly changed; in other words, the top CEOs and their families continued to control the whole conglomerates by holding a certain portion of its mother company. The conglomerates were operated like a pyramid style organization and the top CEOs could control the affiliated companies with relatively small monetary investment. Furthermore, a tradition of responsible management was rarely accomplished. The conglomerates, with reference to the media, could resist the reformative policies by criticizing them as "anti-market" and "active government's intervention into the market" (Kang, 2000).

Public budgets were not cut as much as the IMF initially required, so the ideal of a balanced budget was not accomplished. After initiating the structural adjustment, the government still provided a large amount of subsidies for various areas. Ironically, these public subsidies were direct outcomes of the structural adjustment; the government played a central role in facilitating big deals among conglomerates. The government suggested several financial supports such as purchasing junk bonds or providing special tax exemption plans to the companies that were willing to follow the big deal plans. Particularly, the restructuring banking systems became the focal part of the structural adjustment, in which the government spent huge amounts of public funds for making

small and weak financial groups and banks merge with stronger ones. The government announced that it spent about 85 billion dollars on the reconstruction of the banking system (Seoul-Shinmoon, 01/06/2000).[14] During the economic crisis, the government had to spend huge amounts to initiate and execute the structural adjustment.

Although South Korea "had been hailed as the first country to pay back the IMF loans it received in late 1997" (Joo, 2000, p 319), the structural adjustments were selectively accomplished. Such selective reform was the compromised outcome among different interests: many conglomerates did not want to give up their privileges; the government hoped to keep its role in economic areas; and the IMF also did not want to rouse public resistance through aggressive reform. Rather than "good governance" or "the neoliberal governance", strange hybrids of markets, crony relationships and arbitrary state power appeared (Robinson, 2004).[15] Such a compromised result implied that the goals of the structural adjustment might have been to guarantee market predictability, financial transparency and flexible labor market so that the foreign funds could invest their money in a safe and predictable way rather than to construct a truly market-based economic model in South Korea.

[14] I referred to Economic Statistics System (www.ecos.bok.or.kr) for the exchange rate between won and dollar at 01/06/2000.

[15] Robin illustrates that "reforms had been selective": for instance, deregulation was selectively "implemented in the traded goods sectors where the [local] conglomerates were absent but not in the domestic trading of manufacturing cartels where privileged oligarchies were entrenched (2004).

A Political Sector: Shift of Governmental Power and its Different Roles

What kinds of changes happened to the political field during the IMF crisis? As stated, the Korean government submitted major parts of its sovereignty to the IMF by following its decisions on the Korean economy. Despite the economic crisis, the government did not give away its power to the IMF and business interests. Ironically, it regained parts of its sovereign power by virtue of the IMF requests. The IMF empowered the state with a strong authoritarian tradition to reconstruct the financial system and the Korean economy (Shin, 2000).

Under such circumstances, the goals of the government were changed to things such as increasing economic efficiency and facilitating the market. The ways and degrees of which the Korean government intervened in the economy were changed through competing against, negotiating with, and co-opting the IMF, TNCs and Korean conglomerates. Although the government followed the free market principles recommended by IMF, it still held "its initiative in a new 'coordination' role, such as coordinating relations between new economic actors, making a new regulatory rule and channeling certain economic actors to new areas" (Cho, 2000). During the IMF intervention, as discussed, the Korean government also carried out several big deals among local conglomerates, forced the mergers of local banks, and led the process of selling domestic corporations to TNCs. While the government carried out this adjustment, its role became more important. The Korean government precipitated this process both through reducing the tax rates, the regulation and purchasing the junk bonds of which companies agreed to the M&A (mergers & acquisitions). Such increasing roles

of the government during the economic crisis seemed paradoxical because it was constrained in part by the IMF.

Given these complicated conditions, critics argue that the Korean government was changed from a developmental state model into a (neoliberal) post-developmental state rather than into a neoliberal model based on laissez-faire during the IMF intervention (Cho, 2003). This post-developmental state places its ultimate goals in instituting the rules of market and encouraging export.[16] Under the post-developmental regime, the relation of business and the government "became a 'collaborative symbiosis' and there was "a greater privatization of state-owned enterprises" (Cho, 2000, p. 420).

The shift in the state model of the Korean government needs to be understood in relation to the historical changes in its roles in the 90s as well as to the emergence of new governmental power in 1998. First, the changes of the Korean government had begun in the early 90s when it joined the WTO and the OECD in the 1990s. For decades, the Korean government had been a developmental state, a state system that is involved in the whole economic process in order to maximize the production elements for the foreign trade. In particular, South Korea is regarded as a model of an export-oriented industrialization strategy, promoting exports for its own national profits (Glassman, 2004). The long-term economic plans since the 70s and the Central Economic Boards that orchestrated the plans symbolized the developmental state model.[17] However, joining the WTO and the OECD initiated a couple of changes: representatively, the government stopped announcing long-term plans and dismantled the Central Economic Boards in 1994. To keep up with global standards, the government installed deregulation

[16] Cho also calls it a regulatory state model (2003).

[17] The first long-term economic plan began in 1971 and it led a central control of economic areas by 1994.

in economic fields: to increase the maximum amounts of foreign investment in Korean local corporations; to reduce the governmental influence in foreign exchange control; and to replace a fixed exchange rate system with a flexible exchange rate regime (Shin, 2006). The substantial governmental changes during the IMF intervention were in the same line with the overall changes in the 90s.

Another important change in the political sector was a shift of governmental power: a new president from a minor party, which had been out of power for decades, took power in 1998. The presidential election was held in Dec, 1997 a month after the previous government announced a moratorium from debt payments and asked for relief fund from the IMF. The shift of governmental power through a democratic election was a milestone in Korean political history because the previous power shifts happened only through either coup or revolution. It was the first time in fifteen presidential elections that the candidate from the ruling party lost the election.[18] The economic crisis and ensuing public frustration might have been the crucial reason for the ruling party's loss. This shift of governmental power perhaps made it easier for a new government to carry out the structural adjustment enforced by IMF. This government repeatedly claimed its separation from the previous power blocs and hence, did not have to accept responsibility for the economic crisis.

Interestingly, the government was actively involved even in labor issues during the IMF intervention. In 1998, the government, the Federation of the Korean Industries [FKI] and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions launched the Korean Tripartite Commission [KTC]. The KTC was the place in which FKI and Trade Unions negotiated

[18] South Korea hold the first presidential election in 1948, but, among them, the democratic elections were about half and the ruling parties had won all the elections in 1952, 1956, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1987, and 1992).

labor issues such as mass lay-offs, retirement age, temporary employees, and so on. Because of the IMF requests, these labor issues became more crucial than ever, and major decisions were made in the KTC. The government usually played the role of a mediator between two groups, and many decisions were the outcomes of political compromises. In the beginning period of the IMF regime, KTC successfully made agreements among three parties partly through treating the Trade Union as a partner in Korean economy, so it was advertised as a brilliant political institution. As a mediator, this government had a better relation to the Trade Unions than the previous governments. Contrary to the previous government, it could avoid the blame for oppressing the labor movements for decades because it was out of power, and some of the politicians had backgrounds of student activities. As the times passed by, however, the FKI and Trade Unions were not satisfied with the roles of the KTC, which only served to make companies execute mass-layoffs easily in the end of the IMF regime (Shin, 2006). Nonetheless, the KTC was an unusual result of the political compromise between the IMF, which required the market-based economy, and the Korean government, which executed the structural adjustment.

Thus, the roles of governments were changed because of the IMF requests; the government no longer played the direct and central role in the economic sectors. However, the government still claimed its legitimacy, retaining its role of coordinating and participating in the economic sectors.

Nationalism as a Hegemonic Ideology in South Korea

Why Does Nationalism Haunt the Everyday of Koreans?

There have been relentless efforts to define nationalism in Korea among academic figures, but it is almost impossible to draw any consensus. While liberal intellectuals argue that Korean nationalism is only but a modern invention particularly mobilized by authoritarian governments, some emphasize its exclusivity in terms of race and ethnicity for a long history. After reviewing the two perspectives on nationalism, I will suggest this dichotomy contributes only to the partial understanding of the characteristics of Korean nationalism, and therefore, a historical and contextual approach is necessarily combined.

There are two different ways of understanding the nature of nationalism in Korea: a "modernist" view and a "primordial" view (Lee, 1993[19]; Smith, 1999[20]). In the modernist view, the idea of nationalism arose in the aftermath of the French Revolution and through the rule of Emperor Napoleon I (Kohn, 1944).[21] That is to say, nationalism itself is regarded by and large as an essential element of the modern; it is even argued that nationalism had to be invented for political and economic reasons in modern times

[19] Similarly, Lee (1993) summarizes the paradigm upon nationalism into three ways: an essentialist tendency, a functionalist tendency, and an economic reductionist tendency. The first two tendencies are similar with the primordialism and the instrumentalism. The last tendency, the economic reductionist tendency, could be regarded as one branch from primordialism because it emphasizes on capitalism and on the Third World, which belong to modern phenomena.

[20] Smith (1999) provides two sets of distinguishing two schools: the perennialists and the modernists or the primordialists and the instrumentalists.

[21] According to Korn (1944), nationalism had become a universal element after the French Revolution. Anderson also point out that the creation of national artifacts happened in the end of the 18th century.

(Gellner, 1983).[22] Although the modernist view does not deny the importance of cultural, linguistic and historical commonness, it does not regard these elements as the most crucial in nationalism. In this vein, Anderson (1983) defines the nation as an imagined political community because the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Some scholars even argue that these elements, including traditions, do not have to be real because they can be invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) and forgotten collectively (Gellner, 1987; Renan, 2002).[23] What is more important is to make people in the same territory accept cultural, linguistic and historical similarities. In other words, it is important to make people accept their shared history, embrace others, and to pursue national goals together. In this sense, the human "will" is the fundamental basis for nationalism (Renan, 2002).[24] By contrast, the primordial view accentuates the cultural and ethnic elements and regards nationalism not simply as a modern outcome. It puts emphasis on such elements as common territory, language, race and cultural artifacts: particularly, language is often regarded as the most important element. The primordial view contends that attempts to arouse national sentiment or to invent traditions do not fulfill their purposes without cultural and historical backgrounds. Although this

[22] Gellner insists that "it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round," (1983, p 55) and nationalism could invent nation for an economic purpose, but not vise versa. By contrast, Smith and Calhoun are more moderate in the modernistic perspective. Calhoun defines that "nationalism is distinctively modern", but it draws on "ethnic identities of long standing, on local kinship and community network" (1997, p. 29).

[23] In the formation of nation, the role of amnesia is equally important (Renan, 2002). Gellner (1987) suggests that a shared amnesia, a collective forgetfulness is an essential for the emergence of a nation. Calhoun also points out that "history writing is not only a matter of remembering everybody; it is also a matter of erasing those divisions that are unnerving" (1997, p. 52).

[24] According to Renan (2002), such elements as ethnic, language, religion, interest groups and territory might be important, but not dictating factors of a nation. Rather, he insists that nations are made by human will; will, not fact, is the basis of a nation. In this vein, Renan defines nation as a huge alliance which is composed by the will, which accepts the previous sacrifice and is eager to make sacrifice in the future (pp. 80-81).

view admits that human will plays an important role in constituting nationalism, it argues that nationalism is a collective consciousness as the consequence of a long history.

Applied to Korean context, both views partially contribute to explaining Korean nationalism. As the modernist view argues, the government has heavily invested in generating the ideas of nation, nation-state and national people either through direct propaganda or through institutions such as ISAs (Ideological State Apparatus). At the same time, as the primordial view contends, Korea has been regarded as one of the exceptional countries that keep ethnic, racial, and linguistic exclusivity (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Calhoun, 1997). Nevertheless, it is hard to tell which one provides a better explanation of Korean nationalism. Given the Korean contexts, it is impossible to elicit a unanimous answer to such questions as when a nation was constructed; when people began to perceive people in the territory as one nation; and how exclusively its ethnicity and race have been maintained. The difficulty seems inevitable not only because Korean nationalism is complex and unique, but also because this dichotomy has its own theoretical contradiction and bias.[25]

What is more problematic to the discussion of Korean nationalism is not the fact that either perspective cannot hold its total validity, but the fact that the notion of nationalism is so powerful and omnipresent in Koreans' everyday life.[26] Nationalism has become not only a myth or ideology but also a moral imperative which Koreans must

[25] There are a couple of reasons of hwy this dichotomy is not the best tool for examining nationalism in South Korea. First, it is almost impossible to draw a clear line between the two perspectives. Both perspective share several important elements which support their ideas: for instance, culture and human will are treated as crucial parts in both views. Second, the distinction between the two perspectives can be very subjective: therefore, the same object can be differently evaluated and interpreted. For example, a cultural tradition is regarded either as an invented one form the modernist view or as a historical root from the primordial view.

[26] Smith maintains that in many parts of Africa and Asia, "religious nationalism, or the superimposition of mass religion on nationalism, has made a remarkable comeback" (1993, p. 22)

respect and adhere to (Lim, 1999).[27] Korean nationalism has been intensified systematically through governmental propaganda, education of national history, commemoration of the history, and even participation of national competing sports. It seems that everyday lives of Koreans are saturated with events that exercise banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). As Smith suggests, "nationalism has become the religious surrogate of modernity" in South Korea (1999, p 100). In this vein, the modernist view is useful or even necessary with reevaluating nationalism in (South) Korea. Because a sacred notion of nationalism had been rarely doubted in (South) Korea, the modernist view provides an opportunity of deconstructing an orthodox notion of nationalism. Through the lens of the modernist view, we can understand the artificial and invented aspects of Korean nationalism, and overcome a narcissistic and exclusive attitude.

However, the modernist view is limited in explaining the implications of nationalism in (South) Korea, which has different historical experience from the West. Such a limitation is mainly caused by the fact that the modernist view is developed through European historical experiences. Because the modernist view is based on the Western notion of the modern, it is well applied to explicating the nature of the nationalism of Western countries (Gellner, 1997).[28] The Western notion of the modern is neither easily nor automatically transferred to Eastern society, which mostly experienced colonial occupation by foreign countries. Largely due to these colonial experiences, these societies did not have the same modernization processes such as industrialization and capitalization that many Western societies underwent. Therefore, the modernist view

[27] Lim proclaims that nation in the modern history of Korea is not only the reason for moral punishment but also the criteria in historical judgments (1999).

[28] Gellner asserts that "nationalism is rooted in modernity" thought emphasizing that "nationalism is necessary in certain condition, but these conditions are not universal" (1997, pp. 12-13).

has problem with interpreting nationalism in the Korean society, which underwent different historical experiences from Western societies.

Another related issue is that the modernist view does not highlight the role of nationalism in a colonized society, nor pay attention to the perspective of the colonized, which will be discussed later. To the colonized, nationalism comes to have emancipatory implications, which mobilize them emotionally and rationally to oppose their colonizers. In other words, nationalism might function as liberating ideology, not as a governing tool. In the Korean society, nationalism has been utilized for invigorating people to oppose against Japanese Empire in the early 20th century and even against America, which arguably influenced its power over South Korea during the military regimes.

Another fundamental issue is that the modernist view has a tendency of privileging a Western model over an Eastern model of nationalism (Kohn, 1944; Renan, 2002). Nationalism in a Western model is regarded as a neutral, harmless, and even virtuous, according to Billig (1995), while nationalism in an Eastern model represents exclusivity, brutality, and even fascism. The chronic dichotomies are repeated in the discussion about Western and Eastern nationalism: good and evil, civil and ethnic, neutral and manipulated, peaceful and violent, and so on. While the modernist view provides a way to overcome overwhelming quality of nationalism in South Korea, its biased perspective cannot explain why nationalism is still prevalent and even welcomed among Koreans. Furthermore, it does not provide any vision of how to utilize resurgent nationalism in the Korean society.

In order to understand the features of Korean nationalism, I begin with paying attention to historical accidents that have critically influenced the constructing and

transforming of Korean nationalism. Through examining their impacts on the Korean society in relation to nationalism, I can answer these questions such as why nationalism still matters to the daily lives, why it is so acute and intensive, and what kinds of implication Korean nationalism has.

Historical Accidents in Korean Modern History

In modern history, two incidents were quite influential in shaping the characteristics of Korean nationalism: one is the colonization by Japan and the other is the Korean Civil War (Choi, 1995; Yoon, 2000b).[29]

The Japanese empire occupied Korea between 1910 and 1945: before it, the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910) had been attacked by foreign countries such as China, Russia and Japan a number of times since the late nineteenth century. The Japanese occupation is important for understanding Korean nationalism in two ways. First, according to several scholars (Lim, 1999; Choi, 1995),[30] the ideas of nation and appeared after interactions with and threats both from earlier attacks of foreign countries and the Japanese occupation. It was during the colonial occupation that the modern notion of nation and nation-state became prevalent with people. Before the late nineteenth century, according to Park (1994), people did not have a clear sense of nation and state; rather,

[29] Choi (1995) mentions two important points in understanding nationalism of Korea; nationalism as historical praxis and nationalism as incomplete mission. One is based on colonial experience and the other is about the historical separation between North and South. Yoon (2000a) also points out that the colonial period and the separation determines the natures of modernization period in Korea.

[30] Lim adds that nativism should be differentiated from nationalism; he insists that by the end of Chosun dynasty, national sentiments need to be regarded as the level of nativism, not of nationalism (1999). Choi (1995) explains that nationalism in Korea until Korea dynasty is close to 'proto-nationalism' and nation of Korea is close to Volk.

their lives were based in village community.[31] As a result, the ideas of nation, state and nation-state are not clearly differentiated because the notion of nationalism was constituted when Korea did not have its nation-state.[32] Rather, nationalism is easily deployed to encourage people to purse the independence of their sovereignty.

Second, the colonial occupation made nationalism as desperate and indisputable. In other words, nationalism became an oracle which is indispensable for Koreans to pursue their dream, i.e. to have their nation-state with a full sovereignty. During the colonial occupation, all the resources in Korea, including its people, were put to use for the Japanese imperial war. Such a colonial experience might make people accept their nation-state as indispensable for their private survival: in other word, personal interests hugely depend on the destiny of their nation-state. After gaining independence, Korean governments deployed the rhetoric of nationalism in order to request people to sacrifice their interests in the name of the nation(-state). Furthermore, the memory of the colonial occupation is being repeated and even intensified. The issue of prosecuting those who were pro-Japanese during the colonized period is still a recurrent subject in political discussion. Japan is still represented as an opponent which South Korea should defeat: for instance, during the Olympics, Japan was constantly described as a rival country, so the Korean media emphasized national sentiments by mentioning a historical background (Cho, 2002).

[31] Park (1998) insists that the traditional identities among people were reconstructed into a modern one between 1880-1910, and that people reconceptualized the notion of dynasty after the opening of its market to foreign countries. Park (1994) insists that modern nationalism became apparent since the opening of the national market to the world in 1884.

[32] In a similar reason, Baek suggests that it is extremely difficult to translate the term “nationalism” into Korean because the term, nation or nationalism, is easily identified with race or ethnic (1981).

The second important incident is the Korean Civil War (1950-1952). While the colonial occupation contributed to awakening a sense of nationalism, the Civil War distorted the sense of nationalism and added a schizophrenic feature to Korean nationalism.[33]

During the interim period from independence in 1945 to the Civil War in 1950, the border between South and North Korea was not clearly fixed. Some politicians argued for unification of the two Koreas because the separation was enforced by international decision in 1945.[34] After the Japanese empire collapsed, governments were constituted from both sides in 1948 under the control of the USSR and the U.S. With the historical turmoil, many Koreans could not understand the consequence of the split: many believed it would be temporary, not permanent. The situation of Korea became paradoxical; it became two states in one nation. Another twist is that both governments were not willing to acknowledge the other side: from the perspective of South Korea, South Korea was the only legitimate country. The government intentionally made use of the rhetoric of nation even when it implied only the state, i.e. South Korea, and excluded North Korea. Consequently, people were accustomed to identifying South Korea, a state within Korea, a nation while they regarded North Korea as a part which they should conquer and unite into South Korea.

Meanwhile, the Civil War made clear the relationship between South and North Korea: the sense of brotherhood was converted completely into hostility toward an enemy. Speaking from South Korea, North Korea became the biggest and most threatening

[33] Choi (1995) asserts that one of the main characters of Korea nationalism is its schizophrenic feature, which is caused by the different uses of nationalism by North and South.

[34] It is Cairo Declaration (1943) that mentioned the independence of Korea, and then, Potsdam Declaration (1945) notified the temporal control of Korea by several country.

enemy. It was more than a shock when brothers yesterday became opponents. The threat of the same people was quite virtual and fundamental because it was impossible to discern enemies from brothers by their appearance. During the war, furthermore, the borderlines between North and South Korea were constantly altered, so people were also confused with whether they belonged to North or South Korea. With the changes of the battle line, many people were persecuted just because they were submissive to North Korea during the temporal occupation. In an extreme case, a village is controlled by the South during day time and the North during the night.[35] Such experiences as accusing neighbors and being accused of being pro-North Korean functioned as a trauma: it made people used to living in a mood of (self) censorships and suspicion. The government continuously encouraged people to report any suspicious people for being a spy, with the promise of big award.

Another consequence of the Civil War was that South Korea's governments actively utilized threat for political purposes. Such a strategy was successful, especially when a military group made a coup with the excuse of defending South Korea against the threat of North Korea between the 60s and the 80s. Governments also suppressed different opinions and persecuted activists by calling them communists. People were exposed to undocumented rumors about the potential danger of North Korea during election periods. Governments tried to persuade people to vote for the present governments by arguing it was the best way to keep one's family safe against North Korea and repeated the memories of the Civil War not only as a historical event, but as a present and even impending risk. Ironically, the governments kept using the term

[35] Such cases often happened at the end of the Civil War at Southern mountain areas in South Korea. Some leftovers from North Korea stayed in South Korea although the battle line was moved to the middle parts of Korea.

nationalism, but the actual reference of nationalism in its propaganda was only South Korea, i.e. a state rather than a nation (Anderson, 1983; Calhoun, 1997; Kim, 1999; Park, 1998).[36]

These two historical events did not fade away; rather, they are recurrent and sometimes reproduced in people's everyday lives. At a theoretical level, the Civil War still continues and the DMZ still exists between North and South. Some still regard Korea as being in a semi-colonial condition because it has been separated by international powers. Politically, the issues of pro-Japanese and pro-communist are controversial, especially during elections. At an institutional level, males are required to serve in the army, and military education continues in high school.[37] Civil defense training also continued until the early '90s. In sporting events, soccer matches against North Korea and Japan attracted enormous attention from the public. Sporting events against Japan still elicit media frenzy and huge interest. Simply put, the colonial period and the Civil War still haunt the everyday lives of Koreans and they have made the issue of nationalism more than ideology.

[36] Anderson (1983) suggests the notion of 'official nationalism'; as a persistent feature of nationalism, it is something from the state, and serving the interests of the state first and foremost. According to Calhoun, in both Korea and Chin, nationalist discourse remained extremely state-centered (1997). Kim (1999) describes that a nationality in Korea is an identity of a forced community. The nation-states during the 70th had fascism elements.

[37] Military education in high school was mandatory until the mid 90s, and the education in college was continued until 70s.

Two Dominant Discourses: Developmental and Oppositional Nationalisms

Nationalism has flexibility (Smith, 1983),[38] so it can be transformed quite differently depending on under what conditions it is utilized and which ideologies it is affiliated with. Hence, many critics suggest seeing nationalism as a discourse and as praxis, and explicating different as well as changing characteristics of nationalism according to its circumstance.[39] As discussed, Korean modern history, particularly the colonial occupation and the Civil War, has transformed the characteristics of Korean nationalism. In such a context, nationalism in South Korea has been divided into two discourses: developmental nationalism and oppositional nationalism.

The discourse of developmental nationalism underscores the national growth and modernization in which the nation-state plays a central role in allocating economic elements to maximize their efficiency. Especially, it highlights the increasing amounts of export/trade, and the progress of industrialization, and routinely enumerates economic indexes such as GNP and GDP (Lessnof, 2002).[40]

After escaping from Japanese occupation in 1945, South Korea, similar to other postcolonial countries, underwent a difficult time gaining political stability and economic viability. In South Korea, economic capability became desperate not only because its economic infrastructure had been in miserable conditions, but also because South Korea

[38] Smith also mentions the flexibility of nationalism; he insists that significant variants could be found in nationalist activity along a 'reformist-revolutionary' continuum, and that "nationalism was but one element in the movement into revolutionary action" (1983, pp. 81-82).

[39] By emphasizing flexibilities of nationalism, Lim (1999) insists that nationalism should be understood not only in the philosophical perspective but also in the praxis perspective.

[40] Gellner's theory offers two reasons for the success of nationalism; one of them is that nationalism satisfies the functional requirements of industrial society (Lessnoff, 2002)

competed against North Korea. That is to say, economic capability indicated an indispensable element for stability as well as survival.

Developmental nationalism functions as a governing ideology, mainly employed by the government. First, developmental nationalism was used to establish the political legitimacy of the governments, which seized political power through coups in 1961 and in 1980. These governments routinely justified their military actions and authoritarian control by citing economic development at national level as well as referring to the threat from North Korea. Similarly, the governments deployed the propaganda of developmental nationalism when they faced opposition from people who asked for a more democratic society and better labor conditions (Park, 1988).[41] Second, developmental nationalism, as a governing ideology, was articulated with anti-communism: it was argued that economic development was crucial against the danger of North Korea and its communist ideology. Under a war-like condition, developmental nationalism was utilized to oppress diverse interests as well as to make people feel that there was no alternative but to follow a particular policy (Calhoun, 1997).[42]

Consequently, developmental nationalism contributed to making South Koreans accept the idea that they shared the same destiny as the nation-state. In other words, people were enforced to belong to a national community, i.e. South Korea and to have uniform national identity. At the same time, developmental nationalism completely excluded North Korea and its people; moreover, it posited them as an enemy. It preferred the continuation of the separation between North and South Korea to the unification

[41] Park (1998) insists that integrating effects of nationalism are employed by political power groups and cause the suffocation of diversities of civic societies and individuals.

[42] Calhoun maintains that "too often the pressure for national unity became a pressure for conformity even in private life" (1997, p. 79).

because developmental nationalism did not count North Korea as the same nation. Here is the paradox of developmental nationalism: nationalism in this discourse, despite its literal definition, indicated the state, i.e. South Korea. In developmental nationalism, the interest of state, i.e. Republic of Korea was always prior to the interest of nation, e.g. North and South Korea (Kim, 2000).

The discourse of developmental nationalism generally served the interests of the governments, business, mass media and so on. As mentioned, the governments utilized a nationalistic discourse in order to persuade people that economic development was the prerequisite for other social and humane values. Business interests welcomed developmental nationalism more than any other ideology, often deploying it to criticize the labor unions and strikes. Especially during the '70s and '80s, businesses and the governments held a solid alliance: the governments offered a preference to the conglomerates and then, the conglomerates provided illegal money for political activities. Mass media usually supported the discourse of nationalism not only because they had been severally controlled by the government but also they had intimate relationships to business sectors. In South Korea, two of the three national networks are owned by the government, and many media corporations belonged to major conglomerates. After the beginning of a free press, nationalist narratives in the mass media were still favorable to the universalization of corporate interests (Kumar, 2004).

The discourse of developmental nationalism was also reproduced through education and the other mobilizing strategies. The only official textbook of national history is published by the government.[43] The textbook reiterates the racial and ethnic

[43] The textbook of national history has different versions over times: for this study, I review the textbook that was published in 2002.

unity of Korea, with pointing out its long history since B.C. 2333. It also highlights the economic miracles after the independence of South Korea but it rarely pays attention to the labor movements. Korean governments also heavily utilized universal mobilizing techniques such as ceremony of national flag and national anthem, mandatory military system, and general reserved forces. These strategies together contributed to militarizing the general societal conditions and making the threat of war and North Korea constant with daily lives.

In this vein, it made people sacrifice their individual interests under the name of national benefit. Nevertheless, it also appealed to people because South Korea continued its economic success for decades and therefore, people could enjoy better lives.

On the other hand, the discourse of oppositional nationalism became popular in Korea during the colonial occupation, the separation between North and South, and the bureaucratic and military governing. Under such historical circumstances, "oppositional" implies mainly two things: the opposition to the colonized condition; and the opposition to the separation between North and South.

Similar to other postcolonial countries, oppositional nationalism became manifest in Korea through experiencing Japanese colonial occupation. Given the hardships that people suffered under colonization, the nationalist discourse invigorated people to oppose Japan. Even after having the independence in 1945, oppositional nationalism was still prominent because Korea was separated into North and South Korea. Many believed that Korea was still under semi-colonial rule, unless it could unite itself based on its own political decision. Oppositional nationalism provides a theoretical and ideological

framework to activists for contesting the separation of North and South Korea, and the government that followed the international decision on the separation.

Contrary to developmental nationalism, this discourse of nationalism included North Korea as the same nation. Not surprisingly, this discourse opposed the government, which utilized the separation and the threat of North Korea as its political propaganda. Especially while the authoritarian government wielded cruel and wanton power to suppress any different opinions during the 70s and 80s, oppositional nationalism was articulated with populism and democracy.

The discourse of oppositional nationalism is by and large employed by labor unions, leftist activists, student movements, progressive intellectuals and even politicians out of office (Choi, 1995).[44] People who participated in anti-government struggle and the pro-democratic movements derived their rationale and goals from oppositional nationalism (Park, 1998).[45] The discourse of oppositional nationalism had never been a major discourse of mass media and the public education but it was taken up by activists, human rights groups and labor unions.

Ultimately, the discourse of oppositional nationalism supplies aspirations which people should follow, whatever it costs: it plays a utopian role which invigorates people to pursue something which is lacking in their lives (Calhoun, 1997).[46] Moreover, oppositional nationalism repeatedly challenges the dogmas and discourses of

[44] Choi (1995) insists that nationalism in the Third World pursues humanity and egalitarianism. He adds that nationalism in Korea is double meanings; it acts against imperialists in an outer sense as well as against feudal, hegemonic power blocks in an inner sense.

[45] From *Civic Society and Nationalism in South Korea.*

[46] Such an aspect of nationalism explains why people or lower classes easily are attracted by nationalist discourses. Calhoun (1997) points out that the colonial regime stimulated affirmation of a national identity as counterweight and basis for resistance.

developmental nationalism, and provided an alternative ideology to anti-government groups.

The two discourses of nationalism, i.e. developmental nationalism and oppositional nationalism seem to be antipodal to each other (Lee, 1993).[47] Many critics often suggest that developmental nationalism is official/top-down nationalism, while oppositional nationalism is alternative/bottom-up nationalism. Even though both are based on the rhetoric of nation, their references and objectives are quite contrasting: particularly, developmental nationalism excluded North Korea and tended to object to the idea of unification. Besides, each nationalism has been employed by different groups: while developmental nationalism is deployed by the hegemonic power blocs, oppositional nationalism is utilized by anti-government groups. Hence, it is fair to regard developmental nationalism as hegemonic ideology while oppositional nationalism works as an alternative.

Nonetheless, it needs to be pointed out that both nationalism were highly popular and even routinized in people's lives, which, given their opposite characteristics, might sound paradoxical. Another point is that developmental nationalism also succeeded in obtaining popular support. With the continuous economic success, it could elicit voluntary conformity and consent from people; it is also true that many people actually enjoyed the benefits of economic development. A couple of historical events might epitomize the ideals of developmental nationalism: hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the President's declaration of *Segyehwa* [globalization] in 1994. By hosting the international sporting events, the Korean government could show off its economic

[47] Similarly, Lee (1993) suggests the discourse of nationalism as a field of struggle in which radical populism competes against authoritarian statism.

development to the world. During the Olympics, the government effectively advertised the myth of the Han river,[48] along with broadcasting the images of the sport facilities and landscape of Seoul, and, at the same time, the government was busy with suppressing pro-democratic movements which asked for political and electoral democracy in the late 80s. In 1994, the President made a declaration of *Segyehwa* [globalization] (Shin, 2000). The president intentionally underscored the notion of globalization rather than internationalization, and used the Korean word, *Segyekwa* rather than globalization. With the motto of *Segyehwa*, the government expressed national confidence that South Korea had become a developed country and was ready to be one of the leading countries in the world. This declaration indicated the pinnacle of developmental nationalism, but it turned out to be a prelude of challenges to it.

To conclude, I suggest that Korean nationalism, both discourses of developmental and oppositional nationalism, is unique in two senses. First, Korean nationalism often implies an ideology not for nation but for a state: put simply, nationalism becomes an oxymoron in a heuristic sense. Governments have used the concepts of nation and nationalism without a specific reference and in turn, people took for granted that the "nation" refers to South Korea. Korean nationalism, according to Choi (1995), is close to the traditional statism, and nationalism in the '60s and '70s might be called "state-nationalism" (Yoon, 2000b). Second, nationalism has become so immersed in common sense and everyday life that it functions like a phantom, regulating daily life and organization. As Calhoun suggests, nationalism is "not just a doctrine...but a more basic way of talking, thinking and acting" (1997, p. 11). For decades, Korean

[48] The economic development of South Korea was delivered with the rhetoric of myth: such a growth was possible along with the international relations such as the Cold War and global economic conditions such as the 3s lows in the 80s (decrease of dollar exchange rate, oil price and interest rate).

people took for granted that they were composed of a single ethnic and race without raising serious questions. However, during the '90s, Korean nationalism faced several challenges and transformations. The next section investigates the crisis of Korean nationalism and the influences of the challenges.

Crisis of Nationalism as Hegemonic Ideology

Challenges to Nationalism in the late 90s in South Korea

After the global influences strongly hit the borders of South Korea in the late 90s, nationalism, including developmental nationalism, could not hold the same privilege as it enjoyed before. The challenges against nationalism are not limited to the impact of the economic crisis: rather, they originated from diverse fields such as intellectuals, political landscape and even the everyday life of Koreans.

First and most importantly, the economic crisis in the late 90s, which is represented by the IMF intervention, severally damaged the notions of nationalism and national development. During the period when South Korea continued its "economic miracle," the discourse of national development, as discussed, was an effective ideology for uniting people under one goal, "Let us live well like others" (Kang, 2000, p 443). However, the IMF intervention and its aftermath made people rethink their relationship to the nation-state and the notion of national development. People no longer believed in the government's promises to guarantee average citizens' personal well-being. People also began to recognize the negatives of economic success, primarily the bureaucracy of governments, liaisons between governments and companies, and family-owned conglomerates. The latter, which were once the symbols of Korea's economic model,

turned out to be serious obstacles to the further development of Korea's global competitiveness. By observing the government's incompetence and powerlessness before the enforcement of IMF as well as experiencing continued personal ordeals after the government announced the end of the IMF reforms, people realized that the government could not be the last fortress for their personal welfares. Moreover, people did not take for granted an inseparable connection between themselves and the nation-state, which developmental nationalism strived to sustain.

Second, since the mid 90s, Korean intellectuals began to criticize Korean nationalism for its oppressiveness and exclusivity. As mentioned, it was widely recognized that authoritarian governments utilized the rhetoric of nationalism in order to suppress diverse opinions and radical activities. In the '90s, intellectuals began to realize that the public pressure of nationalism over private life is not limited only to governmental propagandas; people were required to sacrifice their personal interests when alleged to be in conflict with national benefit. Similar experiences are easily witnessed even in organizations of the student movements or radical activists. It was taken for granted that people might sacrifice their interests for the national one, so it was almost impossible to raise doubt against such a tendency. It became an honor for activists even to commit suicide in order to express their opinions.[49] Put simply, Korean nationalism became so dominant in everyday life that it worked as a social morality. Therefore, it was sometimes hard for people to hold a personal view on national issues. For instance, someone who was indifferent to the victories of Korean National Football Team during the 2002 World Cup easily became prey for attack for this supposed lack of

[49] One recent tragedy is that a Korean farmer committed a suicide with opposing to an idea of opening a market at WTO's 5th Convention in Cancun.

nationalism or patriotism.

Related to the dominance of nationalism, intellectuals criticized the exclusivity and extremity of Korean nationalism. The Korean nation kept its ethnic, genetic, and linguistic exclusiveness: still 99% of the population belongs to the Korean ethnic group (Korea National Statistical Office). Korean people are educated to be proud of their ethnic unity and have had less opportunity to live with other peoples. With the increase of global trade, many foreign laborers came to South Korea. Most of them, who were from East Asian countries or Russia, worked in poor conditions because they were illegal and they were deprived of their basic rights. It was an unprecedented experience for Koreans to live with foreigners, especially from Southern Asia and Eastern Europe. The issue of foreign workers and their rights had been in the shadows until intellectuals argued that many Koreans were ignorant, narrow-minded and less outgoing with strange foreigners. Intellectuals argued that it was time to denounce the exclusive character of nationalism and to learn how to live with others.

In the political landscape, the relationship between North and South Korea drastically changed in the late '90s. The sunshine policy that the President of South Korea announced in 1998[50] played an essential role in initiating a peaceful mood. The sunshine policy, whose name originates from Aesop's story in which a warm sunshine rather than a forceful wind makes a traveler take off his coat, purported to open the border of North Korea by providing economic aid to and holding cultural events in North Korea. South Korea provided economic aid to North Korea when the North suffered from natural disasters in the mid-'90s. In turn, North Korea opened its border on a small

[50] The term "sunshine policy" was used by President Kim, Dae-Jung in 1998 from the speech in London University.

scale so that people from the South could travel to one mountain in the North. It was the first time for South Korean people to visit North Korea officially although their activities were constantly under surveillance. The most important moment was the first meeting between the President of the South and the Prime Minister of the North in Pyongyang in 2000. This meeting was the first one since the North and the South were separated and it drew huge attention from all around the world. Later, the president was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize partly due to this peace effort in 2000.

This reconciliation provided a chance to rethink the concepts of nation and nationalism. From the perspective of South Korea, North Korea had been the number one enemy and anticommunism was the one of the founding ideas. It seemed that North Korea was no longer such a deadly threat: in the opening ceremony of the 2000 Olympic, athletes both from the South and the North entered together hand in hand, and during the Olympic, the media called North Koreans brothers. However, some chronic ideas about North Korea and communism were not totally washed away. People still remembered the tragic experience and loss of family members during the Civil War. Some are still suspicious of the real intention of North Korea and blame the government of South Korea for its pro-North tendency. The change in the '90s made people confused about the boundary of their nation and other ideological issues. For instance, during the presidential election in 2002, the issues of a national identity and ideological orientation of each candidate drew heated debates among candidates.

Another challenge against Korean nationalism came from the everyday lives of Koreans. In the 90s, more people could experience the diversities of the global culture not only through traveling to foreign countries but also through mediated experiences

such as television, film and the Internet. Until 1989, people had to get permissions from the government to travel to foreign countries, so the chances for traveling world were very limited. Since the early 90s, there were huge booms among college students to travel to Europe with back-packing and to have English education in the U.S or in England. Such opportunities to travel and to stay abroad provided people a chance to perceive and to recognize foreign worlds. With the increasing opportunity of the direct experiences, more people could have de-territorialized experiences through various media. Cultural commodities played an important role to attract people's interest to the global. Hollywood films, television programs, and pop music have been important factors, and especially in the 90s, sporting events became major routes. Not only the Olympic and the World Cup, but also individual professional athletes including Park drew millions of Koreans' eyes.

Another change in everyday life was that learning English became important in the 90s in South Korea. With the President's announcement of "*Segyehwa*" (globalization), it became almost indispensable for many Koreans to learn English. The scores of English proficiency such as TOEIC and TOEFL had to be submitted to any process of hiring and college admission. It was often controversial to insist that English needs to be nominated as dual official language.

Basically, these direct and mediated experiences of foreign countries and their culture provided plentiful resources for Koreans to think over their nation-state and national issues. Irrespective of the range of opportunities people could have, many people underwent changes in thinking about themselves, foreign countries, and the interaction with the world.

Even though nationalism and nationalist sentiments had not been washed away completely, the various challenges in the 90s contributed to deconstructing the hegemonic status of nationalism, particularly developmental nationalism. Followed by the economic crisis, the crisis of nationalism promoted the discourse of crisis, which consequently resulted in the breakdown of hegemonic ideology.

Struggles for Reconstituting Alternative Hegemonic Ideology in the late 90s

The IMF intervention brought about fundamental changes in South Korea: at risk was the hegemonic regime that consisted of a development state, major conglomerates, crony relationships between politics and economics, and (developmental) nationalism. The discourse of crisis or even failure came to be prevalent among people, with frustration with developmental nationalism and related governmental propaganda. Unwillingly or involuntarily, however, it became imperative to develop an alternative hegemonic ideology that could complement and even displace developmental nationalism during the IMF intervention. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the detailed procedures of reconstituting alternate hegemonic ideology, the following section briefly reviews a couple of obvious trends in this struggle.

The instant response after the beginning of the IMF intervention was to call for change in Korean society, so the discourse of reform became popular immediately. Not only because of recognizing the negative aspects of the economic success, but also because of witnessing the pressure of global agents, people felt it imperative to their society in order to survive this global system. The discourse of reform was widespread during the presidential election period: a candidate of the minor party deployed it for

blaming the governmental party for its corruption and inability, which might have caused the financial crisis. The discourse of reform and the campaign of the minor party succeeded in garnering public support, so the candidate of the minor party won the election. Discussed earlier, it was the first time in Korean political history that the shift of the governmental power was made through a democratic election, neither through coup nor revolution. After the election, the discourse of reform was widely utilized not only in political fields but also in everyday lives. For a while, this discourse seemed to displace the developing nationalism as a hegemonic ideology in South Korea.

However, the discourse of reform could not hold its position as the immediate shock of the IMF intervention slowly faded away. There were a couple of reasons for the quick down-fall of the discourse of reform. First, the discourse of reform did not provide the detailed directions and goals that Korean society needed. Although it sounded attractive and timely, it was not clear for whom and in which direction the reform were to be carried out. Particularly, the government that deployed it during the election period failed in generating institutional and administrative policies. Under the rubric of reform, the government still executed economic policies based on neoliberal ideas. As a result, the government, along with the discourse of reform, came to lose its public support and its justification. Second, the resistances from previous power blocs reemerged shortly after the shock of the IMF intervention had subsided. Particularly, the previous power blocs blamed the government for favoring pro-labor policy, even calling it pro-communist. The major media corporations played a crucial role in attacking the party and several policies that it initiated in the name of reform. Unable to drive a fundamental transformation, the discourse of reform failed to become a hegemonic ideology.

Meanwhile, there emerged another discourse that appealed to nationalistic sentiments. It might sound contradictory that another kind of nationalistic ideology became fashionable when people witnessed the failure of developmental nationalism. However, such a turn to a nationalistic discourse was not new to other Asian countries whose economies were hit by global influence (Glassman, 2004 & Robinson, 2004). As reactive responses to the intervention of global agents, people of local countries often were drawn to support more nationalistic economy policies. In Thailand, economic nationalism was brought about as one of the products of neoliberalism and the orientation of economic policies (Glassman, 2004).[51] The reemergence of nationalistic discourse during the IMF intervention in South Korea was in line with other Asian countries. Many Koreans regarded the economic crisis as the result of the encroachment of global agents such as the IMF and TNCs. At the same time, it is fair to say that nationalism in South Korea would not be abandoned easily although people were frustrated with the contemporary conditions. Despite its disappointment, nationalism still appeals to people emotionally.

This nationalistic ideology also succeeded in gaining almost unanimous support from the government, local corporations, and the major media. One representative example that heavily utilized nationalistic discourse is the Gold Drive Campaign in 1998. This Campaign, which was initiated by the government and then, joined by various media corporations and organizations, basically asked people to donate their private gold to pay national debt. The Campaign was broadcast on the national networks and elicited huge interest and participation: it was reported that 200 thousands joined the Campaign in Jan,

[51] The economic nationalism is driven by complex interactions between transitional and social forces to which political parties and the state must reply. Glassman argues that Thai government deployed economic nationalism that is only national in a very specific and neomercantilist sense (2004.)

1998 and total earnings were approximately two billion dollars (Chosun-Ilbo, 10/19/1998). Actually, the Campaign was very similar to a historical event during the colonized period, known as the "Movement of Compensation for National Debt," which began in 1907 when Koreans were asked to donate money to pay national debts to Japan. The analogy between Japanese colonization and the IMF intervention, seen as an economic form of colonization, brought forth a desperate, emotional response. As a nationalistic discourse, the Gold Drive campaign helped reunite public opinion under a flag of "nation."

My point is that, under the economic crisis, there were ongoing changes among several different ideologies. The public desire for the reform was contested with another nationalistic ideology while the ideas of neoliberalism overshadowed the economic and political transformation in South Korea. Even though developmental nationalism was denied as a hegemonic ideology, nationalism and nationalistic discourse did not evaporate into air in South Korea. Rather, I suggest, nationalism succeeded in surviving the economic crisis through being articulated with neoliberalism. (Here is my interest: how the great success of Park in MLB was connected with the transformative process of hegemonic ideology and how the representation of Park contributed to reconciling nationalism to neoliberalism under the context of the economic crisis in the late 90s.)

The Fever Pitch of MLB in South Korea during the IMF Intervention

It is both important and interesting to note that the rapid growth of public interest in MLB in South Korea overlapped almost exactly with the IMF intervention. A Korean baseball player in MLB, Chan-ho Park, came to national prominence during the national

crisis between 1997 and 2000. He was originally recruited by the L.A. Dodgers in 1994, and spent a couple of years in the minor leagues. After playing as a regular pitcher for the first time in 1996, he was named one of the best MLB pitchers in 1997 and played a vital role on the team until 2001. His annual salary also increased enormously and reached almost $10 million in 2001.

Under the gloomy atmosphere during the IMF intervention, it was not surprising that his great success in the U.S. attracted huge public attention in South Korea, and he became a national celebrity. His great performances were represented as Korea's capability for overcoming national crisis, as well as a symbol of Korean supremacy.

During the process in which the U.S. sports have expanded their markets around the globe, Chan-ho Park became a pioneer in two senses: he was the first Korean who played in MLB and he became a booster of MLB fandom in South Korea.

During the national crisis, mass media continuously multiplied Park's images in MLB. While Park continued to play well in the U.S., his images were everywhere in South Korea. Nationwide networks broadcast the games in which Park played, and his clips were repeated several times in regular news programs. Newspapers and magazines reported his plays and interviews in detail. Especially when he accomplished milestones such as the tenth and fifteenth wins in a season, his performance was reported even on the covers of newspapers and magazines. His stories were written from various perspectives: some articles focused on boosting national pride; some explored his effects on Korean immigrant societies in the U.S.; and some evaluated his economic influences. Park also had sponsorships from multinational corporations such as Nike and local corporations such as Hyundai Insurance Company.

Park's images were literally a ubiquitous representation of the Korea's greatest success and future potential during the daunting days of the IMF intervention. Not only sports fans but also other Koreans were easily and often exposed to his images. This representation was extended to the everyday lives of Koreans, with the images providing a positive and optimistic atmosphere that implied that Korea could compete against the world again.

Park's impact was not limited to mass media. Many Korean baseball fans began to develop their interests not only in the Korean baseball organization (KBO) league, but also in MLB. Before broadcasting MLB games in 1997, the KBO league had been the most popular sports league among Koreans. However, the popularity of KBO decreased after 1997: the number of spectators plunged from 4.4 million in 1997 to 2.6 million in 1998. Although there was a small increase in 1998, the number of spectators stagnated around 2.5-2.9 million after 2000. Although the IMF crisis itself was one of reasons for the decreased numbers, many pointed to the sensational popularity of MLB and the export of young talented baseball players into the MLB as the major causes. The numbers of MLB fans and their websites multiplied while Park created successful MLB records. As a result, it became no longer surprising that people mentioned MLB games and players in South Korea.

The everyday lives of Koreans were saturated with his sports celebrity and representations of him during the IMF intervention.[52] Park's name and images traversed the boundary of sports and became the icon which was presented as a role model for every Korean.

[52] One article reported that pitching practice became a good item for new business due to the popularity of Park and baseball (Hankook-Ilbo, 11/16/1998).

Chapter III

Broadcasting MLB as a Governing Instrument: Nationalistic Representation of a Sport Celebrity

Sporting Events as a Governing Instrument

This chapter examines how broadcasting Major League Baseball (MLB) in South Korea both reflected and constructed governmental rationality in the late 1990s. First, it reviews the conditions that enabled the rapid expansion of MLB's popularity and highlights the role of government in this process. Second, it explores mass-media representations of a sport celebrity, Chan-ho Park, and discusses whether his fame helped constitute governmental rationality, as well as how that set of norms or virtues was perceived by Koreans in light of the structural transformations brought about by the IMF intervention.

Sporting events have often been utilized for political purposes, as when governments heavily invest in them both to motivate national confidence and unity and to show off their economic and political growth to the world. South Korea has not been an exception; in particular, the authoritarian government of the 1980s actively utilized sporting events both to display economic development and to shift the domestic population's attention away from politics. Both the first South Korean professional sports league, launched in 1982, and the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, held in Seoul, were marketed as examples of the growth of the country's economy and as proof that it

had become a consumer society (Tomlinson & Young, 2005).[53] This marketing included formal expressions of gratitude by Korean athletes to the government and even to presidents for the training and preparation benefits they had received. But even before the 1980s, the influence of government was almost omnipresent in the representation of sporting events and athletes in South Korea.

However, because of the dynamic tension that characterizes the relationship between sports and politics, it is not always easy to predict how sporting events will be made to serve government interests. Such intervention and control became less noticeable in the 1990s, as nonpolitical areas gained independence from government, either because the frequency and intensity of government efforts decreased or because they became more subtle and complex. The sensational popularity of MLB and Park provides some of the best examples of different kinds of governmental intervention in sporting events and also of the changing relations between sports and politics.

The Korean government no longer controls the process of broadcasting MLB or uses images of Park as political propaganda. However, the popularity of MLB and Park is still associated with nationalistic sentiments. The broadcasting of Park, particularly during the IMF intervention, functioned as a useful and effective tool in the government's campaign for national endurance during the difficulties of the structural transformation and also encouraged Koreans to hope for a better tomorrow by means of their vicarious experience of his career. More important, Park has become enshrined as a national celebrity and even a hero through a process begun by the government and in which it continues to participate, both directly and indirectly.

[53] Tomlinson and Young suggest that the 1988 Seoul Olympics was used by the overlapping interests of Korean business and government to catapult the country into the word's industrial and trade elite (2005).

This chapter explores the government's different roles and methods during the MLB expansion into South Korea, which occurred in part through new telecommunications technologies, changes in the Korean broadcasting business, and the global strategy of U.S. sports. I suggest that broadcasting MLB during the IMF intervention contributed to the construction of a governmental rationality that embraced neoliberal principles and a nationalistic ideology. Ultimately, this chapter shows that the broadcasting of MLB in South Korea not only demonstrates the inevitable globalization of sporting events but is also connected to deeper questions about the political role of sports in the construction of governmental rationality during periods of economic crisis.

Conditions for the Expansion of U.S. Sports in South Korea

The relationship between sports and broadcasting is necessary, mutual and even symbiotic, and the evolution of a new set of economic, technological and cultural circumstances in the mid-to-late 1990s had a profound impact upon it (Boyle & Haynes, 2004). This section examines international developments in telecommunication technologies, the restructuring of South Korea's broadcasting business, and the global strategy of U.S. sports.

New Telecommunication Technology and Globalization of U.S. Sports

An understanding of the development of telecommunications technologies in the 1990s is crucial to any analysis of the expansion of MLB into South Korea; it was in the 1990s that decisive changes in global media became most apparent with the worldwide

surge of commercial television (Herman & McChesney, 1997, p. 45).[54] Although a couple of sporting events had been broadcast on a global scale, Asian broadcasts of American leagues such as the NBA, MLB and NFL remained uncommon until the mid 1990s. Satellite and cable TV and the Internet were major contributors to this process.

While such technologies had been a part of daily life in the U.S. for decades, they did not gain momentum in Asia until the mid-1990s (Baker, 1997, pp. 52-53).[55] The pace of diffusion of information technology throughout the sporting world was accelerated both by a drop in hardware costs and by the increased availability of cable and satellite services (Westerbeek & Smith, p. 20), which were essential to the process in two ways. First, they eliminated the obstacle of distance between the places programs originated and the viewers; and second, they enabled a substantial, dramatic increase in the numbers of channels (Baker, 1999, p. 51).

This growth in the numbers of channels and available programs in most nations during the 1990s, due to satellite and cable technology (Herman & McChesney, 1997, p. 45), created a great deal of air time to be filled. It is not surprising that sports shows, usually imported from the U.S., would be one of the easiest ways to fill it. Cable television began in South Korea in 1998; its subscribers had doubled by 2000.[56] After KBS, a public and national network, introduced MLB broadcasts to South Korea in 1997, a provincial cable network showed MLB games for 2 years (1998-1999). By 2000, five

[54] Satellite services such as the Cable News Network (CNN), Music Television (MTV), and the Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN) were launched in the United States and eventually grew into global enterprises in the 1980s (Herman & McChesney, p. 38).

[55] According to Baker, the numbers of cable connections in Asia had increased hugely from 1991 to 1994. For example, the number of homes subscribing to cable increased from N/A (1991) to 57,850,000 (1994) and the number of TV households in Asia increased from N/A (1991) by 19,14% (1994).

[56] The number of the subscribers was 1,002, 866 in 1998 and it increased to 2,338,159 in 2000 (Social Index, 2000).

of Korea's 40 TV channels were all-sports channels. Satellite TV, including several sports channels, was initiated in 2000. The majority of programming shown by KBS in its pilot satellite TV schedule between 1998 and 2000, however, was sporting events. Besides the case of South Korea, Asian media markets became a major target by Fox News Corporation through the satellite delivery systems, including Australia (Foxtel), India (Zee TV), Japan (JSkyB) and pan-Asia (Star TV) (Andrews, 2005). The availability of satellite television has the fundamental effect of synchronizing cultural experiences across large distances (Morley, 2000).[57] Likewise, sporting events are utilized as a breakthrough genre for penetrating into new markets.

Another important technological innovation is, of course, the Internet, which has connected billions of people in most of the world's developed nations (Westerbeek & Smith, p. 158). Although the Internet was first used in Western countries, its use has become global and the interconnectivity it offers is becoming the core of people's lives in Asian countries. The original "tiger economies" (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea) are even more wired and feature more ubiquitous computing than Western European economies such as Spain, Italy and France (ibid., p. 59).

The Internet has become another important vehicle for U.S. sports. Several U.S. sports leagues broadcast their games over the Internet; the frontrunner is MLB, which has shown almost every MLB game since 2003 on its own website, MLB.com.[58] Obviously, such access allows Korean fans without satellite or cable TV, or in areas where U.S.

[57] Morley (2000) also adds that new technologies such as satellite television not only disrupt national boundary as containers of cultural experience, but also help to constitute new, transnational spaces of experience.

[58] From the 2003 season, MLB.com charged $14.95 per month and $79.95 for the whole season (Prussian, 3/14/2003).

sports leagues are not covered on TV, a chance to watch MLB games. In addition, the Internet has become a major source of information and news about U.S. sports and players, often for free, and they can actively share information with other fans. Most of the U.S. broadcasting networks attract fans and viewers to their web pages by providing a "fantasy league" in which participants populate their own teams and "manage" them through the season.

Another Internet contribution is the development of online sports-fan communities, many of which are produced out of enthusiasm for a specific sport and/or a particular club (Boyle & Haynes, 20004). Such websites exist in several formats, including blogs, newsreels, listservs, e-zines, and online communities in which people express their thoughts and share information. Korean fans of U.S. sports are particularly active in using these spaces to nurture their interests, obtain relevant news, and share gossips. Such spaces might indicate the activeness of the fans, but also be well-suited to the sporting industry and its high- involvement products (Westerbeek & Smith, p. 169). The proliferation of these communities may well prove to be the most profitable and sustainable way of increasing the number of Asian fans of U.S. sports as well as sustaining their enthusiasm.

Restructuring the Broadcasting Business

New technologies, sparked by media deregulation in Europe and Asia, resulted in a rash of corporate consolidation within the media industry in the 1990s, including an unprecedented number of mergers and acquisitions among global media giants (Herman & McChesney, pp. 39, 52). This has facilitated the expansion of global networks into

Asia, and alliances between global and local networks have proved most relevant to the process of expansion of U.S. sports into other countries.

One well-known example of a merger between networks and stations is Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation (Baker, 1997, p. 59), which was established as the first vertically integrated entertainment-and-communication company of truly global reach (Andrews, 2005). Murdoch's power is no longer exceptional either in Asia or in sports markets generally, although the acquisition by News Corporation of the Hong Kong-based Star TV for $525 million has given him a satellite television footprint over Asia and the Middle East (ibid.).

At the same time, Murdoch's News Corporation activities are also deeply connected to global sports corporations, not only because of its breakthrough broadcasting contract with the NFL,[59] but also through the purchase of sports teams such as the L.A. Dodgers[60] and partial ownership of several other professional teams (Westerbeek & Smith, p. 45). Murdoch believes that sport "absolutely overpowers all other programming as an incentive for viewers to subscribe to cable and satellite TV" (ibid., p. 90). The example of News Corporation involvement with sports demonstrates that cooperative endeavors among media over sports broadcasting has become a goldmine.

Another notable transformation in how media companies do business is the flourishing of new alliances between global and local media corporations. One example

[59] Fox Broadcasting Company, owned by News Corporation, made an aggressive move to acquire the rights of broadcasting the NFL in 1993. In late 1993, the NFL selected the Fox bid, in the process stripping CBS of football for the first time since 1956. Fox's coverage would start in the 1994 season (from "NFL on Fox, Wikipedia.org).

[60] News Corporation purchased the Los Angeles Dodgers organization for $ 311 million in 1998 and then sold it during the 2003-2004 off-season (Andrews, 2005).

is MTV, the global music television service, which began to differentiate its content around the world through wholly-owned subsidiaries and to incorporate local music in the 1990s (Herman & McChesney, p. 42). This trend is also seen in the sports media arena as more sports programs are transmitted on a global scale. For example, in South Korea, MBC-ESPN was launched in 2001 as an alliance between ESPN (a global U.S. network) and MBC (a Korean broadcasting station), after MBC made a four-year deal with the MLB International Bureau to broadcast MLB games in Korea and ESPN declined a bid from its former local partner SBS (a commercial broadcasting station in South Korea) for extending its contract. Instead, ESPN formed an alliance company with a new partner, MBC.[61]

Such an example suggests that globalization can be viewed as a global-local paradox: global markets are products, but local markets are people (Westerbeek & Smith, p. 175). The expansion of U.S. sports inevitably results in some transformation in media structure of South Korea, but it does not necessarily determine the degrees or the directions of the changes. In fact, the success of global corporations depends on finding the right balance between market integration and market diversity within different local conditions. For example, Sony describes its strategy as "global localization": while it operates across the globe, it aims to gain insider status within regional and local markets (Morley & Robins, 1995).

Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that such global-local relationships will be symmetrical or equal; rather, they would be much more likely to reflect and

[61] Until 2000, the SBS sports channel, which is a local and cable channel, owns broadcasting rights to ESPN sports programs, for which it pays $1.8 million per year. However, this right was moved to MBC after MBC launched the MBC-ESPN channel, at the price of $ 2.5 million per year (Hankyung, 01/03/2001).

perpetuate existing hierarchies and global structures. In particular, global media conglomerates have access to far more capital and negotiating expertise. In South Korea, MLB provoked competition among local broadcasters; as a result, bidding prices for its sponsorship soared. In 1997, the fee was $300,000 per year, which increased to $1 million in 1998 and $3 million in 2000. Between 2001 and 2004, MBC, a public network, paid $7 million per year, and X-sports, a commercial cable station, was rumored to have paid $10 million in 2005.

A New Strategy for U.S. Sports

The sensational popularity of MLB in the late 1990s in South Korea was partly a result of efforts by the U.S. sports industry to update its localized marketing strategy, employed since the mid-20th century, which exploited ethnic and cultural associations to attract local fans. One of the most successful new strategies was to bring foreign athletes into U.S. sports leagues. The breakthrough from Asia was Hideo Nomo, a veteran Japanese baseball player recruited by the L.A. Dodgers in 1996, who did so well in his first MLB season that he was named Rookie of the Year. This brilliant debut of Nomo elicited huge audiences for MLB in Japan. In March 2003, MLB held special-event games between the Seattle Mariners and Oakland A's in Tokyo and opened the 2004 season with a game in Tokyo, between the New York Yankees and Tampa Bay Devil Rays. The stadium in Tokyo was filled with excited fans.

The success of Asian players in U.S. sports and the profitability of U.S. sports in the Asian market form a reciprocal relationship. For South Korea, the crucial figure is Chan-ho Park, who was an amateur when recruited by the L.A. Dodgers in 1994. After

spending a couple of years in the minor leagues, he was promoted to regular starting pitcher and played very well between 1997 and 2001. It was not coincidental that it was the Dodgers who first imported Asian players into MLB, because Los Angeles has one of the highest Asian populations of any U.S. city. Given the symbiotic relationship between broadcasting and sports, it is also not surprising that the L.A. Dodgers was bought by Murdoch's News Corporation in the 1990s.

Presumably, the next important step in the expansion of U.S. sports will be a move into the Chinese market (both mainland and diasporas). When he went first into the 2002 NBA draft, Chinese player Yao Ming proved that there is substantial Chinese interest in developing this relationship, as well as how influential the Chinese market could be in the U.S. The expansion of U.S. sports into Asia seems to be on track, and the extent and speed of this expansion are unprecedented.

It is useful to compare the new era of localized marketing of U.S. sports (late 1990s), particularly its focus on local and regional Asian markets, with its earlier period of globalized expansion (late 1980s-early 1990). When the first global period of U.S. sports began, the industry's expansion into Europe, Africa and Asia depended on the promotion of individual sports celebrities, especially Michael Jordan. This stage, which underscores the dramatic overall nature of sports, with its heroic personas and unexpected plays, as well as the exceptional, acrobatic athleticism of U.S. athletes in particular, is exemplified by the spectacle provided by NBA players, particularly the image of Jordan "flying."

Such heightened visibility of an individual player, facilitated by television broadcasts, proved a pivotal factor in the rise of the NBA (Andrews, 1997). Through the

use of vivid simulations, the image of sports as a real drama appealed to global viewers and fans: in Asia, the fan base of the NBA and Jordan began to increase in the early 1990s with the onset of satellite and cable TV.[62] Although the trinity of Jordan, NBA and Nike seemed permanent, fan enthusiasm for the NBA in Asia and Europe began to falter as time passed and, above all, after Jordan's second retirement in 1997. Without finding a proper replacement for Jordan, many basketball fans were turning their interest to their local basketball leagues and teams.[63] Consequently, local stations and cable networks have reduced the number of NBA broadcasts.

Contrary to the first period, the new strategy of localization appeals to nationalistic sentiments within Asian countries, including South Korea. Whereas many Korean people had become interested in MLB because of increased access to the broadcasts of games, later on their interest was attracted by the presence of a Korean athlete. Public networks also contributed to this shift by showing MLB games, especially games in which a Korean player was on the mound. These methods enabled a more powerful, grassroots penetration. While the first period can be described as a unidirectional expansion from the U.S. into the world, including South Korea, the second period could be regarded as another kind of local-global nexus. By depending on the tastes of local audiences, and catering to them, U.S. sports have, ironically, utilized nationalistic discourse to create global fandom.

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[62] Even in China which did not open much of its market to the world at this time, Jordan was much more famous than Bill Clinton and from a survey to name the best-known Americans by a Chinese firm, Jordan finished second (just behind Thomas Edison by a narrow margin) (LaFeber, 1999, p. 135).

[63] Since the mid-1990s, according to Falcon and Maguire (2005), the development of British Basketball is marked. They illustrate that a preference for the home game and issues of emotional relevance and local identity are apparent.

Governmentality and MLB Broadcasting

Broadcasting MLB and its Governmentality

In order both to analyze how power operates in broadcasting MLB and to understand how broadcasting MLB helped reconstitute a way or system of thinking at this conjuncture, I am going to use the term "governmentality." Through reading broadcasting MLB in South Korea from the perspective of governmentality, I attempt to destabilize taken-for-granted understanding about broadcasting MLB in the late 90s and, therefore, to reveal its political reasons that have contributed to shaping, guiding or affecting the conducts of Korean MLB fans.

According to Foucault, governmentality means foremost "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflection, the calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security" (1991, p 102).[64] Defining it as "the conduct of conduct," Foucault presents government as methodically and rationally reflected "way of doing things," or "art" for acting on the actions of individuals (Dean, 1999). Thus, Foucault proposes government as a form of activity to shape, guide, correct, and modify the ways in which people conduct themselves (Dean, 1999; Gordon, 1991). Understanding power from the perspective of governmentality allows us to unveil "the

[64] Foucault defines governmentality into three meanings: 1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures and tactics; 2. The tendency led towards the pre-eminence over al other forms of this type of power; and 3. The process in the 15th and 16th century which becomes governmentalized (1991).

arts and rationalities of governing" (Bratich et al., p. 4)[65] and "the organized practices through which we are governed and through which we govern ourselves" (Dean, 1999).[66] Conclusively, governmentality leads to ask questions about how to govern, that is to say, who can govern; what governing is; and what or who is governed.

In this vein, governmentality is particularly effective when analyzing the government's changing roles in the 1990s and its diverse intervention in the broadcasting of MLB. The notion of governmentality can be useful with describing "the articulations between the state, the distributions of power, the formations and modalities of power, and implicitly political economy" (Grossberg, quoted in Packer, 2003, p. 41).[67] Nonetheless, governmentality, in a wide sense, is not just about the state or state power, but leads to highlight the relations of power both with norms as well as with the issues of self and identity. Governmentality also concerns the relations between self and self, private interpersonal relations, relations within social institutions and communities and, finally relations concerned with exercise of political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991). Thus, governmentality addresses cultural issues such as the values and rules of conduct, in which a norm is not simply a value, but a rule of judgment and a means of producing the rule (Dean, 1999). Under such a formation of power, the state's role is defined as one of coordination or seems to be (neutral) a referee. Through highlighting the micro and macro analyses of power, governmentality makes explicit relationship between governing

[65] Similarly, Maguire argues that "governmentality refers to mentality or way of thinking about the administration of society" (2002, p 307).

[66] Dean explains that the term 'governmentality' deals with "how we think about governing," and it is a "matter of bodies of knowledge, belief and opinion in which are were immersed" (1999, p 16).

[67] Grossberg is concerned with a wide sense of governmentality because it loses all specificity and operates only at the micro-level (quoted in Packer, 2003). Gordon (1991) also adds that Foucault concerned himself with government in political domain.

and the subject (Bratich, Packer & McCarthy, 2003). In doing so, it attends to practices, techniques and rationalities that contribute to shaping the behavior of others and oneself (Miller, 1993)[68]. However, understanding power from governmentality does not presume that the regimes of government determine forms of subjectivities; they elicit, promote, facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities and statues to particular agents (Dean, 1999). Since Foucault employs neither a simplistic functionalism nor a pessimistic determinism, Maguire argues that "the knowledge, institutions, and power relations do not determine the form of our subjectivity" (2002, p 303).[69]

In this vein, I will discuss about power, truth, and identity as three crucial dimension of governmentality surrounding broadcasting MLB in South Korea (Dean, 1999).[70] First, the dimension of power is concerned with "how to govern": it entails such questions as who takes charge of governing; how the roles of government are changed, and how the techniques of governing are transformed. I will discuss about the government's intervention in broadcasting MLB and expanding popularity of MLB and Park. Secondly, the dimension of truth questions how the bodies of knowledge, belief, and opinions are reconfigured and how these norms and practices are rationalized and taken-for-granted. This dimension promotes certain sets of values, specialist knowledge, practical know-how, expertise, and skills. Through analyzing mass media representation

[68] Miller similarly mentions that "government from on high is being displaced by governance of the self" (1993, xx). He adds that "self-governance as a set of technologies comes to displace the management of population by material intervention" (ibid., xxi).

[69] Contrary to the notion of technologies of self, technologies of domination assumes the modes of knowledge production and organization that "determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject" (Maguire, 2002, p. 299).

[70] According to Dean (1999), studies of governmentality are concerned with how thought operates within our organized ways of doing things, our regimes of practices, and with its ambitious and effects. Thus, he proposes that power, truth and identity mark out three general dimension of government.

of Park, I will illustrate specific values, opinions, and norms that the representation tried to constitute. Thirdly, the dimension of identity problematizes how truth operates within our organized ways of doing things and shapes our behaviors or practices. It is concerned with how subjectivities are formed, and conclusively, with the forms of individual and collective identity. By conducting ethnography among Korean MLB fans, I attempt to illuminate their individual and collective identities which are being constructing through watching MLB and sharing their experiences with other fans. This chapter focuses on the dimensions of power and truth, and, then, I will return to an identity dimension in a later chapter.

Government Intervention in Expanding the Popularity of MLB and Park

This section discusses the concrete ways the government intervened in order to expand the popularity of MLB and Park in South Korea. It seems contradictory that the government actively participated in importing U.S. sports when it was suffering economic deficits. In the late1990s the South Korean government used indirect ways and means to overtly boost nationalist discourses around broadcasting MLB, rather than strictly controlling the broadcasting process and accompanying rhetoric. By investigating this case, I suggest that the government explicitly and implicitly utilized broadcasting MLB and Park as a way of promoting certain sets of knowledge, which were compatible with the demands of the IMF intervention. I categorize governmental intervention into four ways.

First, public networks, which are either owned directly by the government or operated with subsidies, broadcast MLB games beginning in 1997, when KBS (Korean

Broadcasting Station) contracted with MLB International (MLBI) to show every game in which Park played as a starting pitcher. Because of Park's great season, broadcasting his games attracted huge audiences. In 1998, however, KBS was unable to renew the agreement, not only because MLB increased its price tenfold but also because the government was concerned about criticism over spending money on sports during a severe shortage of foreign funds.[71] Between 1998 and 2000 the rights were purchased by i-TV, a provincial and commercial cable company.[72]

The government announced the end of IMF control in 2000; in 2001 MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation), a subsidized national network, signed a four-year contract with MLBI for $28 million. This contract was strongly criticized, not only because MBC had broken the tacit agreement among the networks to engage in collective bargaining with MLB, but also because it overpaid for the broadcasting rights. Allegedly, MBC could not have made such a deal without government subsidies. As it happened, the deal turned out to be a disaster for MBC; due to injury, Park rarely pitched between 2002 and 2004. Nonetheless, it could be concluded that the decision to broadcast MLB over public networks was not only based on potential profit but was also influenced by public opinion and political contingencies.

Second, news about Park's performance in MLB was treated as nationally important both by the public networks and in newspapers, in which he was represented as

[71] The media argued that due to the high fess it was a good decision for public networks to give up broadcasting MLB during the economic crisis, and suggested that people should be patient with such an inconvenience of not watching his games lively (Saekye-Ilbo, 01/09/1998). One newspaper reported that 91% among the participants voted not to pay money for broadcasting MLB in 1998 (Hankook-Ilbo, 01/21/1998).

[72] Contrary to other national networks such as KBS and MBC, i-TV covers only Kyounginn province, which includes Incheon city, Seoul and their suburban areas. No one expected i-TV purchased the right of broadcasting MLB in 1998. However, i-TV was highly criticized for paying so much money (Saekye-Ilbo, 04/02/1998 & Kookmin-Ilbo, 04/02/1998).

a national figure rather than just a baseball player. The public networks reported his news along with other political and economic topics even when they did not broadcast the games.[73] Such a composition is unusual for South Korean TV, where the main news is usually separated from the sports news, except for international sporting events such as the Olympics and the World Cup. When Park pitched very well or achieved a milestone such as his tenth win, footage was included in the first part of the main news. By watching Park's news in their homes nationwide, Korean people experienced everyday life as a nation of families (Morley, 1994).[74] Morley (1994) argues that the broadcasting technologies plays a fundamental role in promoting national unity at symbolic level, by linking individuals and their families to the center of national life. By watching the news at the same time and cheering Park as a national son, Korean audiences have experiences of being united as national family.

But placement even in the middle of the main TV news highlighted Park both as a sport celebrity and a public figure (Mankekar, 2002).[75] Major newspapers with national circulation repeated this pattern by mentioning Park in editorials and essays as well as the news sections, and by placing shots of him on cover pages with eye-catching headlines. Not only straight coverage and box scores but also in-depth reports were published serially.[76]

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[73] His news was introduced earlier than the news about the Olympic and the Korean team in KBS 9 pm News on 08/02/1997.

[74] Morley (1994) suggests that it can be assumed that the audience is united through experiencing everyday life as a nation of families.

[75] Mankekar (2002) similarly suggests that television was geared to the project of nation building, and such "the national program" is a major component of the effort to construct national identity.

[76] For instance, Chosun-Ilbo put the serial reports of estimating Park's success in MLB for five days after the end of 1997 season (from 09/30 – 10/05/1997).

Third, government officials explicitly referred to Park and used his image in conjunction with their own. After his successful 1997 season he was invited to the Presidential mansion (Blue House) as one of the most prominent Koreans;[77] earlier, he had been accorded unprecedented congratulations by the spokespersons for major political parties on the occasion of his tenth win.[78] Most of these comments praised Park for giving his fellow Koreans hope and fulfillment but also had a political purpose (unfavorably comparing his performance to that of rival parties).

In 1998, President Kim invited Park to the Blue House again and bestowed a medal of national honor on him, calling him a "national hero"—only the third time such an award had been given to a Korean athlete in the modern era.[79] Several officials and politicians had argued for the necessity of giving Park an award[80], but the issue became highly controversial when it was revealed that he would have to visit South Korea in the middle of the 1998 season to receive this one. Most fans, of course, criticized such an idea, fearing its negative impact on his season.

Also in 1998, when Park was featured in a public advertisement, smiling next to the message "Korea with Love" (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/05/1998),[81] he became the official embodiment of the idea that South Korea and South Koreans were competitive in the global market (i.e, as competitive as he was in MLB).

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[77] At that time, President Kim, Youngsam invited Park as well as his parents and whole families (Kookmin-Ilbo, 11/12/1997 & Kyounghyang-Shinmoon, 11/13/1997).

[78] Hankook-Ilbo on 08/02/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 08/03/1997.

[79] President Kim bestowed national honor on him, along with a female golfer, Se-ri Pak who also played in U.S female golf tournaments on 11/02/1998 (Saekyae-Ilbo, 11/07/1998).

[80] KBS 9 pm News on 10/27/1998, Chosun-Ilbo on 10/28/1998

[81] He was on the public commercial with another sports celebrity, Se-ri Pak who also accomplished great performance in LPGA (Lady Professional Golf Association) in the U.S. without getting any money (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/05/1998).

Fourth, Park was drawn into a political issue within the 1997 presidential election: mandatory military service, when he continued his great season instead of completing his enrollment.[82] Editorials on the matter even appeared in major newspapers in which it was very unusual for editors to directly comment on sporting events and athletes.[83] Public opinion increasingly favored his exemption from the duty, arguing that he was already making a substantial contribution to South Korea; this rule normally applies only to medalists in the Olympic and the Asian Games. On the other hand, some pointed out the principle of equality: army service is mandatory because it considered the most basic duty of South Korean men.

Controversy around the issue increased, and became explicitly political, when it was discovered that two sons of a candidate from the government's own party had received exemptions.[84] With the suspicion that these exemptions had been illegal, mandatory army service became the hottest issue in the presidential election and public calls for Park's exemption strengthened. Even though all the parties agreed that he was worthy of this exceptional privilege, the candidate in question, who was the leader of the governmental party at the time, faced an insurmountable conflict of interest.

Eventually, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism officially asked the Ministry of National Defense for a change in the mandatory-service laws so that Park could continue

[82] MBC 9 pm News on 08/01/1997 and 09/24/1997, Moonhwa-Ilbo on 08/02/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 08/03/1997, 08/20/1997 and 09/03/1997, Kookmin-Ilbo on 08/05/1997 and 09/11/1997, Saekye-Ilbo on 08/20/1997,

[83] Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 09/03/1997, Chosun-Ilbo on 09/08/1997. Many editorials were ambivalent with his exemption of the duty: they acknowledged that Park had enough contribution to national interest, but, at the same time, for the equity, it was not easy decision to give me an exemption. Some of them proposed it would be possible to give him an exemption if there was a proper procedure.

[84] On Park's 10th victory, the candidate had a conversation on the phone with Park, with commenting on his great performance (Moonhwa-Ilbo, 08/02/1997).

his MLB season.[85] But Park had already garnered credit for himself and his family by announcing that he had no intention of taking advantage of extra privilege and would fulfil his duty (Kookmin-Ilbo, 08/05/1997). The issue was resolved in 1998 when Park played on the gold-medal-winning Korean baseball team in the Asian Games and obtained a legitimate exemption.[86]

Clearly, the government played a key role, both directly and indirectly, in broadcasting MLB and in promoting the popularity of Park. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to explore the specifics of this intervention from a more historic perspective. The government's roles in broadcasting MLB changed since its launch of the Korean Professional Baseball League in 1982. In the 1980s, the government more or less insisted that major conglomerates assign league franchises, but by the 1990s its participation mainly focused on subsidizing public networks and developing a nationalistic discourse around Park. In any case, nationalistic discourses induced Koreans to pay attention to and to have an interest in MLB. The government in the late 1990s could be described as a coordinator of the processes of broadcasting MLB, whereas in the 1980s it had been an executive producer; its concerns had shifted from directing and controlling each component to orchestrating the overall process. This shift is analogous to the general shift in the government's role that took place during the IMF crisis.

[85] This offer, however, was rejected by Ministry of National Defense (Chosun-Ilbo and Seoul-Shinmoon) 09/01/ 1997).

[86] There is a privilege for an athlete who will be exempted from the army service if he wins a gold medal from the Asian Games and at least a bronze medal from Olympics.

Representing a Sport Celebrity as a National Individual

The major characteristics of media coverage of MLB and Park that contributed to constituting a specific governmentality in the late 1990s can be summarized in three ways. First, the coverage is focused on a self-governing individual. Second, that individual is invested with the image of economic success in global competition. Third, that individual is invested with the image of responsibility for both family and nation-state. Media coverage of Park provides the best examples of these major features of governmental rationality in the late 1990s in South Korea.[87]

A Self-Governing Individual

Representations of Park strongly emphasized his individual efforts; in particular, the media complimented his incessant training and mental toughness. At first glance, such attributions of a professional athlete's success to personal endeavor are not surprising. However, these descriptions of Park were not only markedly different from traditional description of sports athletes in South Korea; they also paralleled a growing emphasis on self-government, which is a central component of neoliberal governmentality.

Before Park, the government of South Korea had invested heavily in the cultivation of what were thought of as elite sports, such as golf, in a manner similar to other developing nations (particularly in Eastern Europe). Most of this investment went

[87] For this section, I referred to the news programs of two broadcasting networks and the reports of several newspapers. Specifically, I copied the news for 7 – 8 days in which Park accomplished great records from KBS and MBC. I photocopied the whole pages in which any report about Park is printed from the database of Chosun-Ilbo and searched the reports using the keyword of "Park, Chan-ho" from www.kinds.or.kr, which provides newspaper articles of South Korea.

into organizing and hosting international sporting events and supplying excellent athletes with facilities and salaries. Thus it was taken for granted that the success of every athlete in any major sporting event was due to governmental support and even personal support from presidents. Media commentary on athletic accomplishment was, accordingly, patronizing; for example, athletes were urged to do their best in order to recompense the government for its support (Cho, 2002).

Because this sort of attitude had become a cliché in sports coverage of successful athletes, media emphasis on Park's individual effort, particularly the relentless training and the mental toughness which had enabled him to overcome several obstacles in MLB, was extremely unusual. Coincidentally or not, such praise for individual effort has something common with neoliberal concepts such as self-discipline, scientific management and competitive individualism (Miller et al., 2001). Like Michael Jordan, who functioned as an embodied exaltation of the twin discourses of late modernity, neoliberal democracy and consumer capitalism, Park became a near-perfect incarnation of neoliberalism (Andrews, 2001). After having his thirteenth victory, Park was quoted saying that "I pitched today with a spiritual power although my condition was not good enough… Through this season, I learned that I got better outcome as I tried and prepared more" (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/23/1997). By emphasizing his preparation, which in turn was directly connected to his success in MLB, media representations of Park indicated the importance of self-government and individual responsibility.

Citing his individual effort, Park was called a "typical Hollywood success story" (Moonhwa-Ilbo, 04/13/1998).[88] Accordingly, early in his career the mass media

[88] Hankook-Ilbo on 08/02/1997, Seoul-Shinmoon on 08/02/1997, Chosun-Ilbo on 08/02/1997.

described him as a wonder boy from a small country town who became a celebrity both in South Korea and the U.S., even daring to call him a "Global Star." The drama of his success story was heightened by the fact that he had previously drawn less attention than his fellow athletes—the Hollywood equivalent of rising from bit player to leading man.[89] Therefore, Park's accomplishments in MLB were surprising to the Korean public, which had not been deeply enculturated with the idea that ordinary people could succeed through effort alone. Park's persistent exercise and training held the spotlight, along with his sound professional ethics, rather than his innate talents and physical gifts or the help and coaching he had received.

Park's mental strength was routinely described as an undaunted or rocky spirit[90] that enabled him to overcome obstacles and become a hero. In his debut season as a starting pitcher, features such as his height (6'2") and muscularity were often compared to bulky American players in MLB. At the same time, he was portrayed as vulnerable to racial or ethnic prejudice as only one of several Asian players in a game regarded as the American national pastime. On the date when Park won his first tenth victory in MLB, Korean media highlighted that he overcame several agonies such as "difficulty in communication, loneliness in the alien land, and racial discrimination" during his minor league period (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/02/19997).

Traditional Eastern or Confucian culture emphasizes mental strength rather than physical strength or talent. Such phrases as "undaunted spirit" and "unyielding courage" were typically deployed in descriptions of athletes. A report described his performance

[89] In his amateur days, he was not ranked as a top prospect: rather, he was regarded as a pitcher who could throw the fast ball (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/02/1997).

[90] When he pitched the ball with stomach-ache and cold, the media especially entitled his performance with the victory of mental strength (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/18/1997).

as “Park won the Twelfth Victory with Mental Power” (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/18/1997). In this sense, representations of Park did not echo the rhetoric of neoliberalism. Nonetheless, according to the traditional view of the individual in Eastern or undeveloped society, mental strength is a requirement that is critical to overcoming material and physical disadvantages. Park was no exception to this stereotype: among other obstacles he was described as facing in the West, the assumption of small body size and other signs of racial prejudice were often mentioned.[91] Thus his success in MLB looked even more outstanding to Koreans, and mental strength was portrayed as even more crucial to his achievements.

This new emphasis in the late 1990s on the self-governing individual provided an alternative model of the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and the government. For decades, under developmental nationalism, individual Koreans had to sacrifice their personal benefits to the national interest; in turn, the government was supposed to act as patron or guardian. However, such a relationship could not be sustained when people witnessed the incompetence and powerlessness of the government in the face of the IMF. A new governmental rationality was needed, one that could promote the roles of individuals who were responsible for their own well-being. The representation of Park in MLB provided the best examples of a responsible individual within a new hegemonic ideology that relieved the government of its burden of social welfare by making the concept of self-governing individual commonsensical and even moral.

[91] Seoul-Shinmoon on 06/14/1997, Donga-Ilbo on 08/02/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 06/08/1999.

Economic Success in Global Competition

Representations of Park in MLB described him as a winner in global competition, which of course operates on free-market principles. The media repeatedly pointed out that Park was a survivor and even a true winner in an unlimited contest, and that his success was proven by his economic profitability, i.e. his annual income (Parameswaran, 2001).[92]

When Park began to succeed in MLB in 1997-8, the media underscored that he had weathered the contest of MLB, in which every player is judged against global standards within the principles of a free market. Its summary of his success story was stereotypical: after signing as a free agent in 1994 and experiencing hard times in the minor leagues for a couple of seasons, he realized his potential and proved his competitiveness in MLB.

In the U.S., Park was also called a "World Star" who had achieved an "American Dream."[93] His particular version of the American Dream, however, was lived according to the specific conditions of his experience. On the one hand, his was a classic story because he played and accomplished his goals in L.A., which has the highest Korean population of any U.S. city; for decades, millions of Korean immigrants and Korean-Americans have strived to attain their American Dream there. On the other hand, the context of his American Dream was new in that it was realized in the late 1990s, during a time of U.S. domination of the global economy, when globalization itself had come to be

[92] In media representation, Indian beauty queens conveys the message that Indians were competitive in the global arena, and, at the same time, Indian beauty queens were exalted as emblems of national pride (Parameswaran, 2001).

[93] For example, Park's first tenth victory in MLB was compared to accomplishing an "American Dream" (*Chosun-Ilbo*, 08/02/1997).

seen as an endless and borderless competition. Paralleling the practical economy, MLB functions as an arena in which any player, irrespective of nationality or ethnicity, competes against all other players based only upon his individual capability and market value. Park was called "a hero among Korean immigrants in LA;" he provided them vicarious pleasure (Chosun-Ilbo, 10/01/1997). Therefore, Park's American Dream overlapped the footsteps of Korean immigrants to America and also offered a futuristic vision of Koreans who were expected to compete—and succeed—in global competition.

At the same time, the dominant criterion of Park's success was economic: his increasing salaries and additional income from being featured in commercials and so forth. Media speculation about his upcoming salary, which became especially loud at the end of each regular season, stated that his income potential was proof that he had been recognized as one of the top pitchers in MLB.[94] By regarding his income as "income of foreign currency" (Chosun-Ilbo, 05/21/1998),[95] it was proclaimed that his increasing income from MLB was contributing to the national wealth of South Korea and even single-handedly overcoming the country's economic crisis.[96]

Such emphasis on the economic profitability of an individual, similar to the attribution of an athlete's success to individual effort, is a relatively new value in South Korea. Previously, higher value had been placed on statistics such as the numbers of gold medals and victories in international competitions. Moreover, sports athletes had

[94] KBS 9 pm News on 09/28/1998, MBC 9 pm News on 09/25/2000, Chosun-Ilbo on 08/02/1997.

[95] A new reported that Park would earn three million dollars as his annual salary and sponsor from Nike in 1998 (Chosun-Ilbo, 05/21/1998).

[96] Contrary to media description, his salary and other incomes basically did not help with the Korean economy: rather, he earned money from local corporations for the commercials without paying taxes to Korean government due to special tax agreements between Korean and American governments (Donga-Ilbo, 10/07/1997).

been described as less ambitious, i.e. inclined to focus on their goals of winning rather than asking for money, but in Park's case the media reported his salary negotiations in detail and predicted his maximum income based on comparison with other high-profile MLB players. Overall, reports about his salary were positive and optimistic; for instance, the implication that Koreans should be proud of him because he was worth $10 million.[97]

Another interesting feature of the recognition of Park's success in MLB is that Korean media coverage drew heavily from international news sources and American media. During the 1960s and 1970s, Korean media had depended on international news corporations for coverage of sporting events that were held in foreign countries because they could not afford to send their own journalists. South Korean media first sent reporters to the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, held in Los Angeles, to obtain first-hand coverage of Korean athletes; by the late 1990s, almost every Korean newspaper and broadcasting network was sending its own reporter to bring back the news about Park. Nonetheless, Korean media still quoted passages from U.S. media, particularly the *L.A. Times*, *L.A. Daily News*, and ESPN.[98] Similarly, broadcast news often ran interviews with the Dodgers' general manager and team members, as well as with other Americans, all of whom commented favorably about Park.[99] These new media practices implied that recognition from U.S. and international media was necessary to confirm Park's success, both in American and global terms.

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[97] Chosun-Ilbo on 03/05/1999, Saekye-Ilbo on 12/20/2000. A report predicted that he will make a contract for ten million dollars per year with a title that "in the 21st century, Park plays on the world as a Korean son" (Chosun-Ilbo, 03/05/1999).

[98] KBS 9pm News on 09/25/1997, MBC 9 pm News on 09/25/1997. Particularly, MBC News reported the detail from the article of LA Times for three minutes.

[99] KBS 9 pm News on 09/25/1997, 04/08/1998, 04/18/1999, and MBC 9pm News on 09/28/1998; Chosun-Ilbo on 04/04/1998

As the emphases on global competition and economic success helped legitimize such concepts as free market principles, unlimited contest, and economic profitability in Korea, the story of Park's increasing annual salaries helped Koreans become familiar with such terms as free agent, annual salary, negotiating salary and so on. In this way, representations of Park in MLB encouraged the Korean people to take such global competition for granted but did not raise questions about fair competition and structural inequality. Particularly when the South Korean government and local corporations had difficulties under the IMF intervention, the success of Park in the U.S. implicitly and explicitly suggested that any Korean could and should be competitive and successful on a global level. The images of Park provided an ideal prototype for every Korean to emulate instead of depending on government, local corporations or cronyism—habits that in part caused the national crisis.

Responsibility for Family and Nation-State

Finally, the representations highlighted Park as a responsible individual. Both through identifying his success in MLB with national achievement and through underscoring his close relationship to his family, the media successfully used him to symbolize an individual who is responsible not only for himself and to his family but also to and for South Korea.

At a glance, the nationalistic discourse around Park's accomplishments in MLB makes sense: most Koreans would not have become deeply interested in MLB without his participation, and more attention was paid to Park because he played in MLB rather than KBO. A contradiction did remain: unlike athletes in the Olympics or the World Cup,

who officially represented the nation-state, as a professional baseball player Park played primarily for himself and his team. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the media made the effort to reposition him into a national figure and identify him so closely with nationalistic discourse.

Basically, these representations created a nationalistic discourse through equating Park's victories in MLB with the triumph of the nation-state as a whole, even going so far as to state that "Chan-ho Park put Korea on the map" in the U.S. (Chosun-Ilbo, 10/20/1997).[100] The media habitually used the term "national" to describe him and his victories, for instance, calling him a son of South Korea.[101] The media kept using his nickname, "Korean Express," which was derived from his fastball, even after other Korean athletes began to play in MLB. Traditional symbols such as the national flag and historic metaphors were often used in connection with his performance.[102]

Moreover, the Korean media directly stated that Park and his performance in the U.S. encouraged national unity and confidence. A column in a major newspaper commented that Park, who dominated MLB as a national icon, "provided Koreans infinite confidence and bravery" (Chosun-Ilbo, 03/05/1999). Particularly, Korean immigrants in L.A. commented that it was "Park who generated emotional catharsis [and]

[100] This phrase was introduced in a section for learning English.

[101] Prime Minister, Kim, Jongphil invited him for breakfast, with calling him an pride of South Korea (KBS 9pm News on 11/05/1998).

[102] Chosun-Ilbo on 08/23/1997 and 07/16/1998

became a real celebrity or even hero among the immigrants in L.A., and also gave us a vicarious pleasure of beating Americans" (Chosun-Ilbo, 10/01/1997).[103]

The media also used Internet quotes from Koreans to report that many Koreans acknowledged his effort and service on a national level.[104] According to an Internet poll, about 70% of the participants agreed that giving him military exemption had been in the Korean "national interest" (Donga-Ilbo, 10/23/1998).[105] Online, people often called him things like "a cultural ambassador[106] who contributed to the fame of Koreans" (Chosun-Ilbo, 08/02/1997).

If Park was to be regarded as a national figure, his relationship to his family would be important.[107] In Asian and Confucian culture, the family symbolizes the nation-state in miniature, and the nation-state is regarded as an extended form of family in which the president is usually equated with the father. Representations of Park continuously described his family's emotional support and expectations as critical factors in his success and highlighted special details such as his mother's preparation of food.[108] For his part, Park did not forget to mention his appreciation for his family and to credit

[103] KBS 9pm News on 09/25/1997, MBC 9pm News on 08/01/1997, 09/28/1998, Seoul-Shinmoon on 08/02/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 11/13/1997 and on 06/08/1999. Park also expressed his appreciation to Korean immigrants in LA for their endless support.

[104] Seoul-Shinmoon on 05/07/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 05/27/1997

[105] For this poll, 1,171 participated and 30% were against the idea (Donga-Ilbo, 10/23/1998).

[106] In India, the patriotic sentiments call ndian beauty queens "national ambassadors" (Parameswaran, 2001).

[107] Chosun-Ilbo on 08/02/1997 and 07/11/1998, Donga-Ilbo on 08/02/1997, Kyounghyang-Shinmoon on 10/06/1997

[108] A report mentioned about the service of his mother, who spent about four months for supporting him in LA. Most story was about traditional food and emotional support assisted by her, which made contrast with his early days in the minor league (Kyounghyang-Shinmoon, 10/06/1997).

their support as essential to his mental stability. These connections were not defined as a legal duty but rather described as an ethical responsibility. He needed to succeed and to return his family's appreciation not to receive special gifts or privileges as a family member but because he was a son of his family.

Given this cultural analogy between nation-state and family, Park's role in and relationship to his family implicitly suggests another model for every citizen in the nation-state.[109] In this type of representation, neither duty to family nor the paternal role is the main concern; rather, Park's ethical responsibility and his success in the U.S. as a son of the family were underscored. According to a traditional understanding of the analogy between nation-state and family, it is no wonder that Park also became a son of South Korea (Morley, 2000).[110]

The emphasis on personal responsibility to family as well as to the nation-state in representations of Park highlights another aspect of the relationship between individuals and the nation-state in South Korea. Previously, the government had urged individual sacrifice for the national interest, a useful rhetoric both for the suppression of nonconforming people and ideas and for helping the government take credit for economic progress on a national level. But in the late 1990s governmental rationality actively encouraged people to pursue their own dreams, which in turn would contribute to national development, rather than preaching repression of individual interests for the sake of national development. Additionally, using the rhetoric of traditional rationales such as Confucianism, governmental rationality encouraged people, as individuals, to be responsible for themselves as well as for their family and the nation-state. Thus it

[109] His contribution to South Korea was described as "filial devotion" (Seoul-Shinmoon, 08/02/1997).

[110] Morley (2000) insists that the nation is often experienced as a magnified version of the family.

became an ethical responsibility for individuals to accomplish their visions in global competition. Meanwhile, presidential or paternal duty as head of the family/nation-state were largely absent in the representations. By citing Park and his performance in MLB as the best example of a responsible individual within the new governmental rationality, the government relieved itself of the burden of social welfare by making the idea of individual responsibility normal and even moral.

Conclusion: A New Kind of Citizenship - A National Individual

Representations of MLB and Park can be summarized by three salient features: 1) a self-governing individual; 2) achieving economic success in a global competition; and 3) demonstrating responsibility to family and the nation-state. These characteristics concretized the virtues of the new governmentality that Koreans were told they needed in order to survive and to become winners in unlimited contests. Put simply, the representations invented the concept of Koreans as national individuals in a global era.

The implication of these characteristics can be better understood when placed in wider perspectives. First, representations of Park were closely related to the sensibilities of neoliberalism such as the valuation of the market over the state reasoning based on economic (efficiency) and ethical (self-responsibility) norms, and a return to individualism and consumer sovereignty (Ong, 2005). Through emphasis on Park's competitiveness, economic success and responsibility to his family, the representation fully reflected core neoliberal values and thereby successfully shifted the burden of social welfare from the government to Korean citizens.

Nonetheless, there is a twist in the materialization of individual responsibility: it became the moral duty of every Korean to take care of the destiny of South Korea as an extended form of family. In Park's representation, neoliberal elements dovetailed with nationalistic discourses, which in turn meant that South Korean nationalistic discourses defined the relationship between individuals and the government/nation-state.

Second, representations of Park in South Korea were not equated with images of cosmopolitan identity. Outwardly, Park might have functioned as an incarnation of Korean cosmopolitanism because he seemed to embody all the necessary elements (mobility, economic success, competitive ability and fluent English).[111] However, he was constantly identified as a Korean. Such a nationalistic identity did not exclude his involvement with domestic issues (e.g., the political flap over his mandatory military service) or his recognition as an outstanding citizen (e.g. the presidential honor awarded to him at Blue House). The media also regularly compared his performance and records to Japanese players in MLB.[112] Even though there was no urgent reason to do so, games in which he might beat Japanese players or exceed their records were always treated as particularly important. In all of these ways, he was still configured as a Korean individual rather than a cosmopolitan.

Through exploring representations of Park in relation to neoliberalism and cosmopolitan identity, it could be concluded that he was presented as a model for a new kind of citizenship, i.e. a national individual. This new kind of citizenship effectively

[111] Chosun-Ilbo on 08/23/1997. He was often blamed for his seemingly awkward Korean during the interview in 1997 (Kyounghyang-Shinmoon, 05/27/1997).

[112] Chosun-Ilbo on 08/04/1997, 08/23/1997, 09/25/1997. When Park had 17th victory in 2000, it was particularly underscored that Park exceeded the record of Nomo, Hideo, a Japanese player in MLB (MBC 9pm News on 09/25/2005).

underpins the roles of individuals who are also responsible for their family and the nation-state. By being affiliated with individuality, such an altered nationalistic ideology leaves room for co-opting ideas such as a free market, productivity, and global competition. The idea of a national individual, originally outlined in the principles of neoliberalism, could be effectively utilized as a means to mobilize people because of its nationalistic flavor. This idea of a national individual reminds us that nationalism, which had been at stake and transformed, still works as a hegemonic ideology in South Korea.

Chapter IV

Scattered Audiences, Fluid Fields and Alternative Research: Conducting Ethnography on an Online Community of MLB Fans in South Korea

Changing Conditions of Media Consumption and Ethnography

Technology simultaneously provides myriad possibilities and enigmas. People dream of a world in which technology eliminates or at least relieves the difficulties and inconveniences of daily life, yet are no longer surprised that technology has contributed far less than expected or that it actually causes unpleasantness rather often. More problematic is the fact that we do not yet clearly see all the ways in which technology is intertwined with our everyday lives.

In the present era, no form of interactive media illustrates this conundrum more fully than the Internet, and no population provides more possibilities and enigmas worthy of study than those who make use of it as a venue not only for media consumption but also for social interaction. Within this new media landscape, it becomes necessary to understand cultural routines or etiquette used by participants who are involved not only with technology, but also with others. An online community provides ample resources for exploring newly developing ways of human communication: participation is voluntary, based on similar interest; interpersonal relations are formed; and individual as well collective identities are constructed.

In this chapter, I will suggest that an ethnographic approach is the most useful for observing and making contact with this population and explore how an ethnographic approach might work on the Internet, particularly in an online community. For this purpose, I will review some of the ethnography in audience studies, and discuss the necessity of theoretical and practical rigor for ethnography. Second, I will introduce detailed information I gathered from study of the online community among the MLB fans in South Korea. Third, I will trace my experience both of deciding to use an online community as a research subject and my personal journey in it. Finally, I will argue that an ethnographic approach is best suited to research that explores how people utilize this technology in their daily lives.

Ethnography and Audience Studies

For decades, audience studies has contributed to a holistic understanding of how people are influenced by, respond to, and appropriate mass media (Morley, 1999).[113] In order to overcome the shortcomings of qualitative studies, researchers employ diverse methodologies, including interviews and an ethnographic approach. Particularly, it has adopted an ethnographic approach to explicate the daily habits of people's use of the mass media in their own locations and with their family members.

Despite its methodological innovation and productive outcomes, the ethnographic approach in audience studies is often accused of spending only a short time in fields as well as lacking rigor. While the term "ethnography," rooted in anthropology, typically

[113] Morley (1999) mentions that methods such as participant observation and ethnography are holistic in emphasis and are concerned with the context actions.

means that a researcher spends one or two years in a local setting, and observes and/or participates in people's activities and customs, in many cases, media researchers end up spending only several days in audiences' houses or having individual or group interviews for several hours. For the reason, such ethnographic research is often derided as "quasi-ethnographic" studies (Nightingale, 1993).[114] Lotz (2000) criticizes media ethnography as a "sort of hit-and-run version of particular observation, not ethnography" because of its lack of "consistency and the intersubjective knowledge and relationships between the observer and the observed" (quoted in Murphy and Kraidy, 2003, p. 12).

The emergence of new communication technologies and new media environment makes ethnographers in audience studies face both challenges and possibilities. Especially, the globalization of media systems results in different and new patterns of producing, distributing and consuming media products. Under the rubric of global media, media systems have the technical capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale (Castells, 2003). Through satellite television and the Internet, people from various places and in different time zones can access the same media programs, and connect to each other more often and more easily. Ignoring the changing mediascapes, ethnographic research in audience studies often repeats the same strategies that had been used for the previous technologies such as radio and television. Within the new mediacapes, there are diverse ways of watching media programs, different kinds of audience groups, and alternative ways of interacting with each other. Besides, the ethnographer's location and relation to audience cannot help substantially changing. Hence, the emergence of the new media technologies provides several challenges and opportunities for media

[114] Nightingale argues that although many of research techniques of media ethnography are broadly speaking ethnographic, the research strategy is not, and she decries the lack of reflexive engagement, and the failure of media ethnographies to seek the production of a dialogical text (1993).

ethnographers. Without paying attention to the characteristics of the technical objects and their implications, it becomes hard for ethnographers to develop refined and renovated strategies.

In this vein, it becomes urgent to examine the validity of existing methods and to suggest appropriate ways to investigate the changing conditions of media and their relationship with audiences and to larger societies. Even within the discipline of anthropology, there has been a move toward developing an expanded notion of ethnography in order to explore dispersed groups. A narrow and traditional definition of ethnography is no longer effective for investigating communities whose members are dispersed. As an answer to these challenges, for instance, Marcus espoused "multi-sited ethnography," which examines "the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space" by moving from "the single sites and local situations" to "multiple sites of observation and participation" (1995, p. 95). While a field itself is becoming multiple sites, he suggests that ethnography may embed itself in multi-sited contexts (ibid.).

Similarly, ethnographic research in audience studies is facing challenges and changes vis-à-vis the new mediascapes. Several predicaments that media ethnographers have faced are neither new nor easy to overcome. However, driven by theory, media studies can establish a more salient commitment to ethnographic inquiry (Murphy and Kraidy, 2003). I suggest that an ethnographic intervention can only enable us to understand how people are engaged with the new media technologies through theoretical effort for elaborating on a nuanced way of conducting ethnography in the new mediascapes.

The Online Community of MLB Fans as a Research Object

In this section, I will introduce a web site as my research subject that consists of Korean MLB fans, most of whom live in South Korea. Beginning with my story of deciding the online community as a research object, I suggest this site as a community in which MLB fans interact with each other and express their thoughts and feelings about MLB and its Korean players.

Even though the governmental rationality, precipitated by the popularity of MLB and Park, in the late 90s was influential, it is still questionable how deeply MLB fans were influenced by official representations of MLB and Korean players or whether MLB fans uncritically adopted government-generated nationalist discourse. This question is also closely related to the issue of whether the nationalist appeal as a governing tool was successful in light of the changes of identity among Koreans. To figure out how Koreans consume and enjoy the MLB, and to study their reactions to Park, I needed to locate an appropriate group, with listening to real voices and thoughts.

In the beginning, space and time issues made it difficult to determine which media technology South Koreans use to access to MLB games and related information, as well as how they share feelings and thoughts among themselves. Without having conversations with them, or observing their game-watching routines, only conjecture seemed possible. In addition, people are dispersed among all the territories of South Korea, where they usually watch live games late at night or early in the morning because of the twelve-hour time difference with the U.S. They also employ a diverse set of actual viewing strategies that include public networks, cable and satellite TV, Internet broadcasting, and MLB and related websites. In order to find out whether the experience

of watching U.S. sports events such as the MLB encourages Americanization, cosmopolitanism, or something else among Koreans, I would have to observe their stories and responses, and to chart their viewing habits.

As it happened, I had already been visiting an online community of Korean MLB fans called MLBPARK (www.mlbpark.com) since 2002. Along with enjoying my encounters with fans' intriguing opinions and discussions, I slowly recognized that this community would make an excellent research object. Within it, fans express diverse opinions about Park and his contribution to the popularity of MLB in South Korea; some even share thrilling memories of watching him during the IMF intervention. The community includes a wide range of fans as well, from novices who follow only Korean players in MLB to maniacs who can enumerate the records of their favorite teams and players in detail. Moreover, many fans regard this online space as a community in which they can not only exchange opinions and obtain information about MLB but also share unrelated personal stories and details of their daily lives. Fans are often involved with political and nationalistic discussions and are usually very quick to post information about current controversies. Their online etiquette also intrigued me: even when they are simply adding replies to others' comments, their interactions look like conversations. Comments and reactions may be posted while games are being watched, while other postings may be spontaneous or the result of long deliberations. Overall, it was easy to see that these phenomena would supply an excellent basis for examining the diverse ways that Korean baseball fans construct individual and collective identities along with simply enjoying MLB as Koreans.

Let me provide more detailed information of this online community. This site consists by and large of MLB fans, mostly Koreans for whom Korean is their first language, although some fans live in foreign countries. Compared to the generally short cycles of online sites, this site has a relatively long history: it came to the world on February 20, 2001. However, some core members began to share their ideas on other websites in the late '90s; they organized this one after the demise of those sites.[115] After several founding figures stepped down, the next operator, Seungtag Baek, made a couple of contracts with commercial sites.[116] Such contracts are seemingly inevitable because a personal operator usually cannot afford the cost of servers and sufficient bandwidth for long, daily posts. However, these contracts were met with huge complaints from MLBPARK members, who claimed that the contents of this community could not be sold or be owned by an operator.

At this moment, MLBPARK is affiliated with Donga-Ilbo, which is one of the biggest newspaper corporations in South Korea. With the contract, Baek gave the newspaper corporation all rights and responsibilities associated with the site. A couple of corporate employees, reporters, are mainly in charge of it. However, one reporter has been a core member for years and the bulletin boards are independently managed by selected participants.[117] Although there are occasional complaints about management, the corporation's intervention is not a big problem.

[115] According several founding figures, the origin of MLBPARK was back to Yagoo Korea and MYMLB in 1997, which were the first web sites for MLB fans in South Korea.

[116] Baek made commercial contracts first with PSG Korea, which becomes the homepage for Park's fans and then, switched their partner to Donga-Ilbo.

[117] People who manage the bulletin boards are selected by the reporter of the newspaper corporation.

MLBPARK is one of the most popular and most active web sites for MLB fans in South Korea. According to an operator,[118] the current number of registered IDs (2006) is about 90,000; it is hard to pinpoint the exact number because some members have multiple IDs. The number of daily users is about 35,000 and about 600-700 posts are updated daily. The record for the most page views in one day is about 2.5 million, which were made on the day that the Korean and Japanese national teams met in World Classic Baseball [WBC] in March 2006. Because of its popularity and history, MLBPARK is regarded as a great provider of an enormous amount of information about MLB to Korean baseball fans and as having initiated the popularity of MLB in its early days in Korea.

The name of this site is alleged to have two implications. One hypothesis is that it indicates a park, a public place, for MLB fans; the other is that the name combines MLB and Park, the last name of the most famous Korean player. Although this site is not a fan site for Park, it tends to pay more attention to Park and other Korean players in MLB.

There are several bulletin boards in this site; the most popular are MLB News, MLB Town, Broadcasting Town and Bullpen.[119] MLB News is the only board where news reporters can update their posts; all the other boards are managed by participants. MLB Town consists of any news, gossip, and opinions about MLB. Broadcasting Town is where people can simulcast MLB games. Bullpen is the informal space where people talk about any issue; it is sometimes used as a portal because the latest news or controversies are updated very quickly. Bullpen also contains personal blogs, newsreels, and links to listservs and commercial sites.

[118] I got the information about Mlbpark from one of the operators at March 20, 2006.

[119] Other than these four boards, the boards for Korean baseball, basketball, soccer, and special events exist.

MLBPARK has commercial elements: a shopping mall for MLB apparels and caps; and one advertisement on the right margin. However, this element is not intrusive and does not affect the activity of the site. Members can use a private-message function by clicking on the IDs of other members to exchange e-notes, enabling members to speak to each other directly and informally; this feature helps to generate personal relationships and a sense of connectedness. This study refers to MLBPARK as a community among MLB fans in South Korea.[120] Even though most members do not get the chance to interact face to face, most participants have a strong sense of community: I will discuss the details in the next chapters.

Finally, there are several practical advantages of choosing this community. It is the biggest and most active community among MLB web sites in South Korea: besides it, there are about five to six active communities in 2005 such as www.mlbbada.com, www.mlbkorea.com, www.mlbmax.com and so on. Because of its huge population and different levels of MLB fanhood, from naïve to manic, there is wide participation in the discussions about MLB and Korean players, so it is possible to observe a large sample. Besides diverse opinions and thoughts about MLB, people raise any issue, including controversial topics such as political and religious issues, and often have heated discussions about them. Such everyday topics demonstrate MLB fans' perspectives and worldviews, which are often intertwined with the issues in MLB. This juxtaposition between MLB and the everyday provides an appropriate space for MLB fans in South Korea to explore identity from a multiplicity of perspectives.

[120] I will explain detailed characteristics of the online community in a later section with the analysis of ethnographic approach on the Internet.

Conducting Ethnography on the Internet: A Personal Journey in the Online Community

Vignette:

> *On the final page of my MA thesis, which is about changes in sporting-nationalism in South Korea, I wrote: "This study misses the element of audiences who enjoy sporting events through mass media…in my next research project, I will use a participatory-observation method" (2002, p. 92). It has been four years since I left myself this message, the meaning of which did not become fully clear to me for a while. When I became interested in the changes of national identity among Korean MLB fans vis-à-vis structural changes in South Korea, I was puzzled about how to explore the transformation of identities among Korean MLB fans. At that very moment, I encountered an online community of Korean MLB fans in which I could observe lively voices and active interaction. Although it was too early for me to realize that this online community would rescue me from my dilemma, I immediately caught a glimpse of hope. The online community still seems to be full of enigmas as well as treasure. Nonetheless I decided to venture into it as an ethnographer, whatever outcomes might result.*

After choosing the online community as a research object, I needed to understand the diverse characteristics and different capabilities of the Internet itself, as a hub of human communication. Such an effort included consideration of the medium's technical capabilities and their possible consequences, vis-à-vis the actual interactions of people on a down-to-earth level (Jones, 1995).[121] Based on my personal journey through this online community, I will explore three key issues of conducting ethnography on the Internet: my location as an ethnographer; the field or object; and the practicalities of designing an ethnographic method.

[121] As Jones suggests that CMC (computer-mediated communication) gives people a tool to use space for communication, he argues that CMC is not just a tool; rather, it is at once technology, medium and an engine of social relations (1995, p 16). By and large, I agree with his perspective about the roles and influences of technology.

The Issue of an Ethnographer on the Internet: Where am I located?

The first conundrum I encountered as an ethnographer in the online community presented itself as a very crude dilemma, i.e., "where am I?" Where should I locate myself; how should I participate and form relationships with people; and how shall I justify my expertise as an ethnographer? During the period of fieldwork, I participated in the online community with a nickname of "tarheel" and updated photos and news about Chicago Cubs and UNC men's basketball teams.[122] Contrary to traditional ethnographers, I do not have a local place in which I physically move and do not meet my Internet subjects face-to-face. Although I am constantly connected to the online community, my location within it is confirmed neither geographically nor physically.

The question of my location also entailed practical matters that, as an ethnographer, I had to resolve. Two were particularly important: whether I would only observe or also participate in the community, and whether I would reveal my identity as a researcher and my research goals. These issues, particularly the first one, may be not that critical to traditional ethnographers because their presence in local or indigenous places already reveals too much about them and inevitably influences "their" community. I, on the other hand, could easily lurk in the community for several years, merely reading others' posts.

When I began my research, there was not much difference between my location in the community as a fan and as an ethnographer. Had I been using a traditional research perspective, I might have retained an objective position through pure observation. However, I could not help questioning whether such an objective position is a desirable

[122] I will explain how I participated in the community and why I made related decision later.

or ethical strategy. Previously, several researchers who ventured into the Internet with an ethnographic approach expressed negative opinions on pure observation and an objective position (Bird, 2002; Baym, 2000; Miller & Slate, 2000) and usually ended up choosing participant-observation positions. I was tempted to remain in an observatory position either because I felt that observation of the community would suffice or because significant participation might be a lot of work for me. As I developed my research questions, however, I chose to participate as well as to observe.

The next decision I had to make was whether to reveal my identity as a researcher and my research goals. In Internet ethnography, to participate in an online community is not necessarily equivalent to revealing one's identity as an ethnographer. This decision is not only practical but also ethical: if I participated in the community without full disclosure, I might still initiate disputes about my research questions. Although I do not think such an intervention should be regarded as manipulative or fraudulent, I personally chose to reveal my identity and research goals. My reasoning was based more on ethical than practical concerns; rather than taking for granted, I felt that I, as an ethnographer, needed to struggle with the process within making the decisions. These struggles definitely heightened my comprehension of, and reflexivity about, research methodologies.

After deciding to reveal my identity, however, I was still unsure of when to do so and of how the news would affect my presence in the community and my subsequent interactions with its members. Out of concern about negative reactions, and not wishing to negatively influence my research, I chose to participate for a while before revealing my identity. Of course there were practical reasons for this decision as well: in an

extremely large community such as this one, a single post is easily ignored or lost. Therefore, it would be counterproductive to identify myself and my research goals right away; the initial post from a new member does not attract enough attention. Therefore, in 2005 I steadily translated local news and pictures of the Chicago Cubs for six months and posted them with my comments. With such regular, frequent updates, I or my online ID (Tarheel) would slowly gain recognition (indeed, some were even highlighted by the forum moderators as "Today's Recommendation"). When I felt the time was right, with the help of the forum administrator, I would post an announcement about my position as a doctoral student and my research goals as well as about the recruitment of interviewees during my visit to South Korea planned for 2005.

After disclosure, another key issue was how to form and maintain relationships with the community and its people. Contrary to how a traditional ethnography would work, I usually don't interact with people I've met on the Internet face to face; however, I do develop personal attachments and form off-board friendships.

Because I have no permanent dwelling place in the online community, my observation of a community and participation in it can easily continue, uninterrupted, for years (as many as five, compared to one or two by traditional, on-site ethnographers). In this case, after my observation began in 2002 I underwent various phases in my relationship to MLBPARK and to baseball, from a general fan to an MLB fan, and from community member to ethnographer. Even having completed intensive research between March 2005 and March 2006, I still visit the community without interrupt interactions among the fans. After March 2006, moreover, I am able to maintain relationships with my subjects indefinitely without sacrificing my life as I would, for example, if I worked

as a TA in my university and led my private life in my town. Such convenience and potential provide me with ample time and opportunity to study my research field.

In part because I am able to spend more years on interacting with my chosen community, I can vary my approaches to it and develop relationships slowly. Moreover, during my expanded "residency" the intriguing anecdotes gleaned from people's arguments and interactions have helped me develop a more sophisticated theoretical understanding, which in turn has helped me develop my research questions.

My experience as an Internet ethnographer, while tremendously exciting and meaningful, is far from unique. For example, as Baym describes her research (2000), she developed her academic interest in soap operas after operating as just another fan in a soap-opera audience community for a couple of years. Many other Internet researchers report that they are affected by relationships with their research subjects, a possibility addressed by previous ethnographic work (Ang, 1985; Duneier, 2000; Radway, 1984).[123] My own hypothesis is that Internet ethnographers are actually more prone to being swayed by our subjects because they often started interacting with subjects as similar fans rather than as ethnographers. Such an involvement allows us to be more reflective and critical in our work.

Although I am still unsure whether this added benefit can be universal among Internet ethnographers, my own experience has clearly demonstrated that the influence of my subjects, and the tension I experience between my identities as a fan and an ethnographer, allows me to approach my work with greater sensitivity. The shift in perspectives I've experienced during my five years of membership in MLBPARK has

[123] For instance, Duneier (2000), who conducted ethnography by living with vendors in New York City, rewrote much of his book after receiving a response from his closest informant.

given me greater ease, and greater reflexivity, in switching my perspective from that of storyteller to cultural critic, and vice versa. I also realize these experiences have given me greater ability to both accept and embrace partiality within my role as an ethnographer (Clifford, 1986).[124]

The question of whether I regard subjects as informants, cultural interlocutors or co-authors also helps me be more sensitive and critical in my role as a cultural translator. Yet, even with the assumption that I interpret and represent MLBPARK, my community, as a cultural translator, the question of how I can justify my expertise as an ethnographer still troubles me. Whether or not I have enough authority to deliver knowledge and interpretations of my community, a status usually granted to traditional ethnographers (i.e. taking up residence in an indigenous place and to having face-to-face interactions with native informants), also remains unclear to me. The proverb "no pain, no gain" seems to challenge the authenticity of my experience.

Therefore, I feel that a different justification of my expertise as an ethnographer is called for. In this research, my authority depends not on travel but on the experiences I undergo, both as an ethnographer and a member. My interactions within the online community, to which I have remained constantly connected irrespective of my physical location, focus on my experience in that space rather than physical displacement (Hine, 2000)[125]. However, exactly as I would do if I were to take up physical residence in a research community, my theoretical understanding, which leads my observation and participation, enables me to discern its cultural norms and ways of communicating,

[124] Clifford suggests that ethnographic truths are inherently partial-committed and incomplete, so a rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational fact.

[125] Hine adds that the lack of physical travel does not mean that the relationship between ethnographers and readers is collapsed (2000).

encounter critical disputes that make people deeply involved in or leave the community; and trace the shifts in their expressions and attitudes toward MLB and the Korean baseball players in it.

The community wide access provided by my position as ethnographer to and in an Internet community both enables me to pay more attention to what is going on there and also allows me to browse the community's history at will, unfiltered by the memories of informants. Although my experience as an Internet ethnographer is fundamentally different than that of on-site ethnographers in a geographically discrete community, like them I have had to travel through time to find the critical junctures in people's interactions as well as their responses to important MLB events. This authority needs to be treated as legitimate, that resides always and only with the ethnographer who was there (Hine, 2000).

Field/Object of the Internet Ethnography

The second challenge in conducting an Internet ethnography is to rationalize the online space as a field and social interactions within it as an object (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997).[126] Unlike examining a local community—literally, a community with a fixed locus—there is no physical point in which to reside. Rather, in an Internet space one explores community and meets people mainly through their posts, responses and online chatting. To understand the diverse, and possibly unprecedented characteristics of field/object in an Internet community, such questions as "what kind of community is

[126] Hastrup and Olwig (1997) suggest that they define the field, not primarily in terms of locality, but as the field of relations.

this," "who is in the community," and "how do community members interact" become crucial.

Although MLBPARK members routinely refer to their online space as a community, I still needed to understand whether such a space could truly function as a community and, if so, what kind of community it is. Because this community has no fixed geographical designation, it would not have made sense to ask whether or not it exists "in" South Korea; technical capacity, rather than geographical proximity, is crucial to member access. In fact this online community, which was founded in 1998, has had to change its virtual address (i.e., its Internet domain) several times, usually due to technical issues. As the popularity of the MLB in South Korea increased, the community became very popular as well, attracting a huge membership and tens of thousands of posts. As a result, the handful of private operators who created and managed MLBPARK could not afford to maintain it and the community constantly suffered from a shortage of storage servers. As a result, in 2003 the founders decided to sell www.mlbpark.com to a corporation, PSG Korea; eventually it was sold again, to the publishing company of a major newspaper (*Dong-A Ilbo*), in March 2005. In this sense, the community can be moved to another space on the Internet—or even demolished at a moment's notice. While the threat of a sudden technical breakdown or other kind of change is always present, this does not seem to deter people from participating.

Obviously, technical support is another important element of the community, particularly because this allows members to use their IDs and individually chosen images as personal icons. However, a relatively limited number of other services are provided

(e.g., chat rooms, instant messaging, or complex avatars[127]). This lack stimulates creativity among members, who may integrate several images into their posts and use the bulletin boards for conversations that are as rapid and lengthy as what might take place in instant chat. For instance, on a game day when a Korean player is pitching, one member usually opens a thread in which many members virtually "broadcast" the game and others jump in with comments and reactions.

Another characteristic of this community (as with all Internet communities) is that it is scattered and dispersed: not only does it lack a geographical location, people can come and go from any place at any time. Once connected to the web, members join no matter where they live. Some, myself included, participate from foreign countries although most live in South Korea. Therefore, unlike a traditional community, participation is completely voluntary. This possibility affords tremendous convenience: members do not need to be bothered by unnecessary interactions and can, if they wish, maintain complete privacy and anonymity. To log on (arrive), link (participating or lurking), or log on (leave off) is as simple as turning their computers on and off.

These conditions create a contradiction: the community is regarded as temporary and fluid, but also displays characteristics of constancy and even permanence. For example, the first post by new members, which functions like an introduction, is often followed by welcoming responses from existing members and members who are leaving the community for good often explain their departure (usually because they feel they have been treated unfairly or have persistently difficult relationships). However, these

[127] An avatar is an Internet user's representation of himself or herself, whether in the form of a three-dimensional model used in computer games, a two-dimensional icon used on Interent forums and other communities, or a text construct found on early systems such as MUDs. The term "avatar" can also refer to the personality connected with the screen name, or handle, of an Internet user (from Wikipedia.org).

actions are not required or even universally practiced. As one interviewee said, “I cannot understand why people left such messages. I think they simply leave the community if they are not satisfied with it. That’s it.” Nonetheless, people keep leaving similar messages irrespective of whether they ever return to the community.

The community has its own culture, which is constantly undergoing construction and transformation according to member interactions. For example, people often become entangled in huge disputes with a couple of other members and spend several hours debating the issues, only to suffer hurt feelings and finally log off. Another standard procedure involves ways of addressing issues in thread titles in order to attract attention (baiting). The more time members spend posting and responding, the more skillful they become at eliciting others’ reactions. Utilizing humor and images is another key element of popularity measured by one’s number of interactions as well as their positive or negative quality. Groups of members form personal relationships (cliques) which can develop rather like a guild and even, occasionally, develop into a hierarchy that can control the overall mood of the community, and erect barriers among members.

As with traditional communities, control or surveillance is another persistent issue. Members generally demand freedom from the forum moderators and administration; however, I often observed members blaming moderators for what they perceive as a lack of control or management of the community, particularly when some people intentionally raise only controversial issues and try to dominate the bulletin boards (trolls). At these times, members request that such people be expelled and not allowed to return (banning). This situation challenges my objectivity: as a member I feel ambivalent, believing that the nature of an online community necessitates freedom and lack of control; as an

ethnographer, I am obligated to stay objective and simply chart the course of the community's development.

The next piece of the puzzle concerns membership. Originally, MLBPARK consisted of a few operators and participants who shared a similar interest in MLB. After its explosive growth and subsequent scale to the newspaper company, the role of moderators was transferred to reporters who now not only manage the community but also post news reports about MLB and Korean players. People in the community tend to occupy two main categories: posters who share their thoughts and feelings on the bulletin boards and lurkers who just read others' posts. In addition, I have discerned several sub-categories: heavy posters who function as opinion leaders; trouble-makers who always initiate controversial discussions; and respondents who only post replies. Although it is hard to calculate the exact proportion of posters and lurkers, more people prefer to observe rather than actively participate.

These roles and mores present me with challenging questions. How do posts represent or reflect on community members? Given that more members never share their opinions, how can I assume that what is posted is a reliable representation of people's general ideas about MLB and Korean players? Despite these questions, I have obtained a sufficient number of subjects to conduct a valid ethnography (more than 100), and have spent sufficient time observing their online interactions over the past five years. In addition, I have conducted 15 face-to-face interviews with community members, mostly confirmed lurkers who are, nonetheless, very critical readers.

The final question concerns how members participate and interact with others in the community. As mentioned, people choose or create their own IDs or nicknames,

which come to represent them. Although it is possible to change nicknames or use multiple IDs, most people seem to prefer to keep one nickname for stability in constructing a persona and ease of recognition. When the community was taken over by *Dong-A Ilbo*, and technical issues forced name changes or reductions in multiple identities, I observed widespread discontent and unwillingness to change: members seemed to feel that the core part of their identities was damaged. In this sense, although members may participate and interact anonymously, their interactions do not take place in a totally anonymous condition.

The fact that the fans change their nicknames at any time in the community prevents people from developing their online identities. In many cases, the fans prefer to keep their nicknames relatively constant, which in turn allow others to recognize them based on the nicknames. In this sense, it would be naïve to assume that people on the net constantly change their identities. Rather, suffice to say that people have opportunities of discovering abilities and personalities while they take effort of constructing their characteristics in the community either through posting or replying to others' posts continuously.

While it is expected that people can construct any kind of identity on the Internet irrespective of gender, class and outward appearance (Bromberg, 1996),[128] revelations of some aspects of members' offline lives is almost unavoidable. Some mention cable problems with sports channels, which happens within limited regions in South Korea, or reveal their language ability by translating articles or reports from U.S. journals and

[128] Bromberg (1996) points out that identity play is a major activity on the Internet and that allowing such play is a major function of the Internet, where players explore otherwise unshared aspects of the self because the anonymity of the net acts as a mask through which one can reveal what one is like deep down inside (ibid).

websites. In addition, this community holds an offline meeting among the fans (seasonally, based on physical locality, or in the members' amateur baseball team). When I participated in one seasonal meeting in Busan, a southern city in South Korea, I was eager to meet certain members and discover their outward appearances and ways of acting/speaking. It is hard to say that my image of them from the community was totally different from their actual appearance; but in any case it was really interesting and often surprising to compare their offline selves to what I had imagined.

Either online or offline, or both, people often develop informal relationships in online communities (Wellman et al., 1996). Usually the first step is to recognize nicknames from the bulletin boards and then to initiate relationships either by commenting on posts or sending e-notes. I was able to discern a system of responses, which usually begin when person B leaves a comment under person A's post, receives a reply from A, and then thanks A for this response. Through observing these exchanges I also identified the intimate groups and the patterns of constructing their bonds: some groups meet after forming relationships online, in private gatherings as well as the offline meetings, and then refer to these face-to-face meetings online. One interviewee told me about a private group whose members discovered a common interest in music after originally meeting in MLBPARK; he regularly meets this group every few months. Of course, this transferral to offline relationships is easier if an online community also enjoys geographical proximity; in this case, many members of MLBPARK live in Seoul, the capital of South Korea.

Another characteristic of community interaction is that most of its activities are asynchronic. As mentioned, members use posts or responses as a major form of

communication because MLBPARK does not offer instant chat. Even if they leave a comment as quickly as possible, there is always a time gap which I feel is both a positive and negative influence on social interactions. From a positive aspect, this gap makes room for people to think over their thoughts before posting. On the other hand, the gap can become a reason for misunderstanding, when members leave their ideas without waiting for or paying enough attention to others' responses. Due to the non-simultaneous nature of the interactions, non-linear discussions frequently occur which some are able to join easily while others, even initiators, abandon before it concludes.

Combined Methodologies: Designing Ethnography on the Internet

While it is important to figure out different natures of ethnographers and subjects in Internet ethnography, I also need to figure out how to design ethnography on the Internet. In this process, I cannot help but wonder whether it is appropriate or even possible to apply several strategies culled from audience studies and traditional ethnography. I believe it is my task to design an ethnography on the Internet that appreciates the unique influence of the technical qualities of the Internet on human communication, without fetishizing the technology itself.

Similar to previous audience research conducted on the Internet (Baym, 2000; Bird, 2002; Miller & Slater, 2000), I utilize several methods including in-depth interview, observation, post analysis, analysis of particularly Korean contexts, and a review of the history of Korean nationalism. Baym (2000) used participant observation as a primary methodology, collecting posts, two sets of open-ended surveys and statistical information. Obviously, it is neither unique nor new to combine several methodologies in social-

science research; discourse analysis in particular employs similar strategies (i.e., investigating media discourses in relation to contextual changes). I feel that yet another challenge inherent in my research is to differentiate Internet ethnography not only from traditional ethnography, but also from discourse analysis.

Compared to how I would conduct a traditional ethnography, I treat my observations of the community, including analysis of the bulletin boards, as a major method and utilize data from face-to-face interviews as supplementary. This decision has both a theoretical and a practical basis: I cannot have access to every community member and it is impossible for me to meet more than 100 people who actively post. Owing to time and budget constraints, I interviewed 15 participants, including one moderator. As mentioned, many of these interviewees are not active participants, which brings up a surprising new dilemma: Why do the interviewees who seem to be very critical readers of sports news not actively participate in MLBPARK? Furthermore, how can I deal with the discrepancy between the interviewees and active participants? Such questions force me to explore an issue of representativeness (i.e., how to argue that the posts and/or interviews adequately and accurately represent Korean MLB fans and the community).

As a way to indirectly answer these questions, I am going to examine the implications of using member interactions within the online community as the main resource for Internet ethnography. This examination should also resolve, at least in part, the difference between Internet ethnography and discourse analysis. In an online community, most social interaction consists of posts and responses—activities which do not consist of behaviors and conversations. Although seemingly literal activities such as posts, responses and e-notes become the major objects of Internet ethnography, it is

necessary to approach posts not simply as literal activities but also as multiple activities. Therefore, I suggest the use of the word "posting" as a more useful term that indicates not only contents of posts but also the intentions and acts of members who upload their thoughts. By approaching posting not as mere texts but as traces left by members in the community, both the activity and content of posting become a crucial clue for understanding member identities and relationships. At the same time, posting can be regarded as a social activity in the sense that people form relationships and develop a collective identity through exchanging posts (Jenkins, 1992).

Posting as an object of ethnography has a heuristic purpose, meaning that it can be regarded as something between oral and written language. Rather than utilizing literal texts, posting is a "combination of pictorial, phonetic and textual sign" that might actually jeopardize the established structures of written language (Reid, 1996, p. 408). I am often impressed by the ways in which community members compose their postings, like hieroglyphics, to express their feelings and emotions.[129] The inclusion of visual images, for example, is a routinely utilized strategy. To me, it seems that people implicitly understand the alternative nature of posting, along with their unique, individual identities as posters. Therefore, they employ different metaphors for describing their ways of posting: they prefer to use the terms "sharing," "exchanging" and "adding" instead of merely referring to the act as their "writing."[130]

Another characteristic of posting is revealed by the different ways members exchange their ideas. Interactions are ongoing: replies are added continuously once a

[129] This style is caused by the fact that the fans have to type on keyboards in order to convey their thoughts. They therefore tend to reduce the number of keystrokes and to type some phrases as they are pronounced.

[130] In Internet spaces, the terms used to indicate communication within groups are different: posting, cross-posting, reading, lurking and flaming (Lotfanlian, 1996).

dispute begins, which creates an onscreen result similar to that of real-time chat. To me this result implies that, despite using literal texts, the way that members communicate with each other is like a conversation that functions in an open-ended way in relation to other types of ongoing interactions. In a discrete discussion thread, the subject matter has neither a concrete beginning nor end; an issue that elicits huge interest may digress into another topic without having reached a conclusion or even presenting an explicit reason for the shift. Also, people can easily participate and leave at any time: very soon, it may even become difficult to identify the initiators. Ways of communicating "seem to have a rhizomatic element for there is no beginning, no end, all happens in the middle" (Lotfanlian, 1996, p. 131).

I therefore suggest that posting should be regarded as the lively language of the denizens on the electronic frontier that reflects emergent cognitive styles and new worlds of interaction (Fischer, 1999). Posting does not comprise only texts, but encompasses the lively language of people in a community who temporarily but continuously stay, form relationships and construct individual as well as collective identities. Posting is not only an authentic object of ethnography, it also becomes an ample resource for exploring alternative features of human communication on the Internet.

It is important to keep in mind that the thoughts and feelings expressed by members in their posting may be neither transparent nor straightforward. While the issue of interpretation repeatedly occurs in Internet ethnography, I think that combining methodologies enhances understanding of the meaning of postings. The interviewees, reviews about Korean contexts, and studies about Korean nationalism would help me interpret the implications of the postings. Source materials in such multiple dimensions

are helpful in charting people's experiences in the community in relation to larger societal changes. My goal is to consider both macro and micro levels of cultural phenomena; in this case, the transformation of national identity among Korean MLB fans as revealed by an Internet ethnography. To this end, the methodologies I have chosen to use in combination are all concerned with changes in and contextual transitions of human interaction at a specific juncture, a useful viewpoint for investigating ongoing constructions of unstable relations between structures and individual practices (Mankekar, 2002). By highlighting structural changes and their influences, Internet ethnography can avoid succumbing to naïve populism and losing its critical perspective. Rather than simply taking for granted that the diverse responses expressed in posting are forms of resistance, I plan to examine their interactions in relation to nationalistic ideology and the governmental intervention in broadcasting MLB in South Korea.

A related task is how to manage and collate various resources through different methodologies. I have an enormous amount of materials to manage, including 60 hour-long interviews, academic discussions of nationalism, multiple media representations of Korean players in the late 1990s, and more than 10,000 bulletin board postings. At the same time, because information gathered in interviews can be different from or even contradictory to postings, I must carefully synthesize different outcomes according to their source. Hine (2000), who refers to this dilemma as a paradox of interview within Internet ethnography, observes that while pursuing face-to-face meetings with online informants might be intended to enhance authenticity, it might threaten the experiential authenticity that comes from an understanding of the world the way it is for informants.

Multiplicity of resources in Internet ethnography increases the value of my research, but should be treated with caution.

Conclusion:

This study begins with examining how the broadcasting of MLB contributed to reconstituting national identity during the IMF intervention in South Korea. The IMF intervention played a crucial role in transforming political and economic areas and challenging nationalism. This study explores non-unitary, diverse ways of consuming MLB among its fans by conducting an ethnography of an online community and interviews with some fans. I have argued that ethnographic intervention in the Internet is not only an efficient method of unraveling how people engage with media technologies in their daily lives, its use is imperative. Because ethnography is effective for the study of diverse and even alternative types of communities, it is a uniquely useful method by which to explore communication among people seeking to assert their creative agency over meaning construction and media use via the Internet. In this sense, ethnographic intervention in Internet research is more than just a strategy; instead it has become a "research process of forming communities and making conversations" with people who reside on the Internet (Murphy & Kraidy, 2002, p. 4). Therefore, I believe that Internet ethnography is pivotal both for generating understanding of how people engage with new technology and for understanding how the phenomenon of globalization is played out locally in relation to particular tradition, systems of belief and text (ibid.).

At the same time, such ethnographic investigation would be combined with investigation on the roles of national networks, the influence of the IMF intervention and

the governmental participation in expanding MLB. Internet ethnography also allows me to consider micro- and macro – dimensions of Korean MLB fandom: it connects the transforming process of cultural and national identities of MLB fans with political and political economic changes in South Korea. By connecting first memories of watching MLB to present experiences of consuming MLB, it can explain fans' diverse and complicated appropriation of MLB and its nationalist discourse. Following Appadurai, my intent is for this study of MLB fans in South Korea "not be read as a mere case," because "it is a site for the examination of how locality emerges in a globalizing world, of how colonial processes underwrite contemporary politics, of how history and genealogy inflect one another, and of how global facts take local form" (1996, p 18).

Chapter V

Everyday Lives of Korean MLB Fans in an Online Community

Online Space as a Community

> If we were truly able to trace the roots of our impatience
> when it comes to technology, I believe we would find
> that it has arisen not from anxiety, but rather from the expectation
> that technology will, almost naturally, become better (Jones, 1997a, p. 2)

This chapter explores everyday lives of Korean MLB fans in an online community, www.MLBPARK.com. It begins with an examination of Internet use in South Korea, which has been crucial in promoting the popularity of MLB, followed by an interrogation of how MLB fans construct both their individual and collective identities in this particular online community. Last, I suggest a materiality of the online community by proposing "time(less)ness," "(a)historicity," and "(trans)locality" as its major characteristics.

By being affiliated with terms such as virtuality, novelty, or new frontier, the Internet often projects futuristic images. Such an image had been well allied with a techno-determinism, in which technology constitutes a new cultural system that restructures the entire social world (Feenberg, 2002). However, the ways of using the Internet are not drastically different from other technologies: put simply, whites and males are predominance and English is major language. At the same time, dichotomy between online and offline existence is increasingly blurred and flimsy. In this vein, it

does not seem appropriate to use a phrase such as "real life" because nowadays, people live both offline and online. While people form new relationships with others through the Internet and build virtual spaces there with others based on similar interests, they often refer to these online spaces as "communities." The entailed questions are whether a "community" is an appropriate term for online spaces, what kind of a community an online space is, who populates it, and why people keep visiting, and even spending so much time that they can be said to reside in it (Morley, 1992).[131]

This chapter attempts to understand the nature of the online community among Korean MLB fans through examining their interactions both in online and offline. By doing so it aims to explore this online fan community in relation both to the social condition of Internet use in South Korea and to the specific implications of MLB within it. By interrogating the characteristics of online community, it will show how MLB fans utilize their community to constitute individual and collective identities though communicating with others, pursuing information, building relationships and generating cultural rules.

The Internet and the Growth of MLB Fandom in South Korea

South Korea as a Wired Society

Since the 1990s, the Korean government has deployed such propaganda as "Despite being late in modernization, let's become an advanced country in a network [information-oriented] society." Both the public and private sectors have heavily

[131] Morley (1992) argues that community is transformed, so living physically near to others is no longer necessarily to be tied to mutually dependent communication systems.

invested in information and telecommunications technology; for example, the development costs for information technology comprise more than 50% of the country's total development costs, and have risen to 1.40% of the GDP (Social Index). Due to its dense population and small territory, South Korea is able to make substantial and quick progress in information and telecommunications technology. As a result, South Korea can claim that it is one of the world's most wired societies, particularly in terms of Internet infrastructure.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], in 2006, broadband Internet was used by 25.4% of households, the second-highest rate among 30 countries (Munhwa-Ilbo, 05/04/2006), and between 2003 and 2005, South Korea was ranked first (Seoul-Shinmoon, 09/16/2003). Even in 2006, given the fact that the most-wired country, Republic of Iceland, has a population of only 0.3 million,[132] it might be possible for Korea to be called the most-wired country with a substantial population in its economic bracket. In any case, because about 80% of the Korean population own wireless phones, it is no exaggeration to call South Korea an advanced network society.

With this infrastructure, the rate of Internet use in 2006 reached 73.5% among the total population above the age of 6, according to the *Survey on Information-Telecommunication* published by the National Internet Development Agency of Korea [NIDA]. This rate has shown a consistent, substantial increase since 2001: from 51.6% in 2001 to 64.1% in 2003 and 71.9% in 2005. In particular, more than 97% of the population aged 6 to 29, and about 90% among those in their 30s, use the Internet.

[132] The population of Iceland is 309,699 as of April 2007 (from www.wikipedia.org).

Literally, almost every person between the ages 6 and 40 in South Korea has some experience with using the Internet.

Hours spent using the Internet are also considerably high in South Korea; in 2006, individuals averaged 13.3 hours per week and 12.9 hours per week in 2005. These numbers are even more telling when compared to average uses of other media. For example, Koreans watched TV about two hours per day in 2006, a decrease from three hours per day in 1999, and read newspapers for 22 minutes per day in 2006, down from 46 minutes in 1999 (Survey on Consumer Behaviors). Another survey explicitly shows that people who use the Internet regularly rely upon it in their everydayness. According to the *Report on Everydayness of the Internet*, released by the Korean Strategy Development Institute [KISDI], people who connected to the Internet more than once a month in 2006 stayed on it for an average of five hours (297 minutes) per visit. This is a tremendous increase from the average of 2.3 hrs (150 minutes) per day seen in 2002 (Kyunghyang-Shinmoon, 03/02/2006). Among the respondents, in 2006 17.2% used the Internet for a full 7.5 hrs. (450 minutes) per day, and 7.9% used it for more than 10 hours (KISDI). Such high numbers indicate the everydayness of Internet use in South Korea.

Surveys about location of Internet use provide another index with which to assess everydayness of Internet use in South Korea. Most Internet users (97.3%) access the Internet at home; however, users younger than 29 are more likely to access it at diverse locations such as their companies/schools, commercial facilities and others' homes, and to use wireless connections (NIDA). Clearly, while people can easily access the Internet at home, more than 95% of the age distribution of most-frequent users accesses it at literally any place. The report comments that, although these numbers reflect the

everydayness of Internet use, they may also indicate an increase of Internet addiction (KISDI).

Korean people mainly make use of the Internet for information searches (35.3%), listening to music (19.8%), work (19.2%) and study (18.5%), according to NIDA. People also feel that the impact of the Internet will be substantial on news media, education, jobs and leisure activities (*ibid*.). According to the *Survey on Internet Use* by the Matrix Research Institute, the purposes of Internet use seem to be age linked: teenagers utilize it for entertainment and community activity; those in their 20s use it for learning English and preparing for their jobs; and users in their 30s use it for e-funding/banking and educational activities for their children (Naeil-shinmmon, 03/17/2006).

People in South Korea also utilize the Internet for maintaining and expanding social relationships. According to NIDA, 13.3% of all users above the age of 12 report that the Internet contributes to their personal relationships, compared to 44% who credit phone contact (land line and wireless) and 41% who credit face-to-face meetings. Of users between the ages of 12 and 29, about 20% report that they depend on the Internet for relationships (*ibid*.). People also utilize the Internet to expand their personal boundaries: about 25% of users attempt to locate their friends or make new acquaintances, and 18% initiate contact with strangers. About 50% of users eventually have face-to-face meetings with people they have met through the Internet. Half of the respondents report that the Internet helps them develop new relationships beyond the gaps of gender, age, education, and place of residence, and also contributes to expanding their perspectives through having discussions with people whose opinions differ from their own (*ibid.*). E-mail use is also high among Korean Internet users: about 90% of them own their e-mail

addresses and use an average of 1.6 e-mail addresses. About 45% use messengers for seven hours per week, mainly instant chat with friends or for working on their blogs (*ibid*).

Such tremendous Internet usage has been the impetus for several social issues in South Korea. As mentioned, Internet addiction is already recognized as a serious social problem, particularly among adolescents. In a 2006 Gallup report, some commented that they feel depressed and anxious without being connected to the Internet, and that they become obsessed with the Internet once logging on (Kookmin-ilbo, 07/07/2006). National attention became focused on Internet addition in 2005, when the news broke that a couple of students died while immersed in Internet PC games (Naeil-shinmoon, 05/19/2005). The same year, a study by the Ministry of Information and Telecommunication reported that 20% of Internet users admit overusing it, and that 30% have tried to decrease their use (Naeil-shinmoon, 07/13/2005).

Besides addiction, Internet etiquette ("nettiquette") has emerged as an important social issue. According to a 2006 survey by the Government Information Agency [GIA], people feel that the level of cyber violence (defined as insults, leaks of personal information, character defamations, and online sexual harassment) has become serious. Of particular concern are *daguri* [collective attacks] and *agple* [vicious replies], which occur when anonymous Internet users attack a certain person collectively with personal insults, ridiculing images and allegations/rumors. In January and February 2007, a couple of entertainers committed suicide from stress and depression said to have been caused by *agple*s about their performances and supposed plastic surgeries. As more

people spend more time on the Internet, a group known as "keyboard warriors" has emerged that attempts to bait others and add *agple*s to others' posts.

Developments in information technology and the expansion of South Korea's Internet infrastructure also provide MLB fans with opportunities to diversify the ways they enjoy MLB; these factors plus heavy per capita Internet use have clearly been important contributors to MLB fandom in South Korea. Yet another contribution of the Internet has been the creation and development of online communities comprised of MLB fans.

MLB Fandom on the Internet in South Korea

The Internet in South Korea has manifested in a burgeoning Internet culture generally as well as specifically promoting MLB fandom. Geographical proximity among the fans in South Korea particularly contributes to their online community's distinctive culture. This section discusses the relationship between Internet use and MLB fandom in South Korea through a review of the history of online community among MLB fans.

This history of the MLB online community follows the pattern of the overall popularity of MLB in South Korea. In 1997, what was arguably the first MLB fan site (www.yagoo.co.kr) was created among Korean fans.[133] Next were MYMLB (www.mymlb.co.kr) and iccsports (www.iccsports.com). At that time, people could not connect to the World Wide Web directly but only through tel-net systems, which were provided by telecommunication companies. These early communities were not stable, either in terms of membership or longevity. After the use of the Internet became

[133] Practically, it is impossible to provide an "evidence" of the history of the online community. Rather, I search the information of the history from the interviews and from posts in the bulletin boards of the MLBPARK.

prevalent and easy, several online communities such as MLBPARK, MLBBADA (www.mlbbada.com), MLBKOREA (www.mlbkorea.com), and MLBMAX (www.mlbmax.co.kr) were formed. As of 2005, these were the major MLB fan communities in South Korea.

One of the unique features of the Korean MLB fan communities is that they began essentially as personal homepages, not as commercial communities or subdivisions of newspaper companies or sports-related corporations. A couple of communities are even operated by one person (e.g. MLBBADA by "Peabada" and MLBKOREA by "semi-Chanho"). Depending on who is in charge, a community often has its own unique culture and rules, which enables most communities to remain autonomous and less commercial. MLBKOREA, for example, neither allows its members to talk about soccer nor to eulogize to any Korean players in MLB. At the same time, these communities are built upon the voluntary participation of numerous MLB fans. Despite huge efforts by owners/administrators, it is impossible for them to provide all the information and news on which the activities and vitality of the community are based. Therefore, the survival of these online communities depends upon the heavy participation of MLB fans, which implies that these fans are also heavy Internet users. MLBPARK, as a case in point, started as a private online group but was sold to a major newspaper corporation in 2005. However, the main operator of the corporation was one of the core founders of the community in 2001, and many of its traditions have remained unchanged.

This type of online community performs a life-giving function to Korean MLB fans, especially when the national networks are indifferent to MLB, as they were during Park's slump (2002-2004). Many fans who became interested in MLB in the late 1990s,

mostly because of Park, kept participating in the community to fulfill their desires to obtain information about MLB and to share their opinions. In turn, the content they provided and their interactions with each other both supplemented the limited information available in mainstream media and attracted new MLB fans, some of whom discovered MLB through online communities. In this way, online community becomes the basis both for satisfying the interests of existing MLB fans and for nurturing new fans in South Korea.

In South Korea, Internet use and MLB fandom are mutually dependent. The proliferation of online communities devoted to MLB may be a profitable and sustainable way to maintain MLB fandom in South Korea. Even though these communities contribute to nurturing local fanhood, they also reflect the activeness of sports fans in general.

Making the Community: Individual and Collective Identities

> My project is concerned with a subculture that exists in the borderlands between mass culture and everyday life and that constructs its own identity and artifacts from resources borrowed from already circulating texts. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 3)

With the strong infrastructure of the Internet in South Korea, Korean people increasingly depend on the Internet as a way of obtaining information and developing social relationships. Similarly, Korean MLB fans utilize their particular online community as a main hub not only for satisfying their interest in MLB but also for sharing their thoughts and feelings with other fans. As many fans become long-term community members, they often organize a kind of guild among themselves. All of their

interactions, including posts, replies, and e-notes (also known as private messages), contribute to bringing about a culture unique to that community. I suggest that all these activities contribute to the constitution of individual as well as collective identities among MLB fans, which also helps make their online spaces into a community. Rather than regarding individual and collective identities as separate, in this section I will explore three parts of the continuum of individual and collective identity construction among Korean MLB fans: information of consumption; alternative ways of communication; and culture of the community.

Information of Consumption

Learning something in their online community is a crucial part of the identities of Korean MLB fans; fans keep visiting and residing in their online community not only because they obtain information but also because they share their knowledge with others. Therefore, I suggest, the activities of searching for, obtaining and sharing information are crucial to fans' individual and collective identities. In online community, MLB fans produce, consume and distribute information in diverse ways that help generate unique features of each community and multiple roles for information within communities. I will refer to the unique features produced by information-related processes as "information of consumption." [134]

The primary reason that fans visit Internet communities is to obtain information about MLB; however, most of this information is provided by other fans. Although

[134] Lowenthal uses the term "idols of consumption" to refer to cultural phenomena offered by the manufactures of mass culture, which is contrasted by "idols of production" which had been maintained in the twentieth (quoted from "A Theory of Mass Culture by D. Macdonald). Similarly, I deploy the term "information of consumption" to highlight the nuanced and unique nature of information circulation in the Internet.

community administrators regularly update a few news features, hundreds of posts and related discussion are supplied by fans every day. Fans produce information in several ways: by copying it from other web sites; translating English versions into Korean; and by composing and transcribing their own thoughts. The levels of information, as well as the ways the information is produced, are also very diverse. Some posts are "heavily spur-of-the-moment opinion-driven" (Fischer, 1999) while other posts are the results of long deliberation and a lot of effort, including photos and detailed comments. These diverse products suggest that Korean fans actively search out and modify news about MLB from original sources (mainly sports-related web sites such as MLB.com and ESPN.com and other U.S. media outlets). Thus, the ways of producing information in the community seem to respond to the call for decentralization of information (Winner, 1986). At the same time, they seem to accomplish the idea of an interactivity, which has become something of a mantra for contemporary media companies (Boyle & Hanyes, 2004). If the Internet is above all a decentralized communication system, as Poster suggests, Korean MLB fans partially actualize the practices of decentralized information production.

One embedded, distinct feature of information in online community is that its production process progressively overlaps with consumption processes, to the point that it is becoming difficult to distinguish between production and consumption processes. This type of information overlap (in terms of both content and function) can be interpreted in two ways.

First, in the case of copying or translating information from other commercial websites to the community, the act of producing information in the community is

inseparable from the act of consuming it. The fans by and large depend on other web sites because of geographical differences and their inability to access other original sources (e.g., American print and broadcast media) in a timely fashion. Consequently, fans can produce something in the community only by consuming information from other commercial web sites, which they in turn advertise when they identify their sources.

On the other hand, posts that demonstrate the fans' creativity also become objects of commodification (Silverstone, 1994).[135] In online community, posts are evaluated by three parameters: how many hits (views) they receive; how many recommendations they generate; and how many replies are posted in response. On MLBPARK, the top five posts in these three categories are ranked as "Today Best Posts" and displayed in the featured sections every day. The reward for members whose posts are selected is enhanced recognition of their identities (Baym, 2000), and the most prolific ones eventually achieve high profiles with substantial popularity and support. When this happens, the sight of their IDs becomes a guarantee of numerous hits, recommendations and replies. In this way, individual fans become hot products through the production of their posts, and at the same time the community continues to rely upon commodification of human interactions (Humdog, 1996) both as evidence of its viability and as its content.

Similarly, the process of distributing information constantly intersects with the processes of production and consumption of that information (Ross & Nightingale, 2003).[136] As mentioned, most of the production processes utilize members' skills at retrieving and referencing other sources; the nature of hypertext enables Internet users to

[135] Silverstone (1994) suggests a paradox of consumption, in which we consume and are consumed, and consumption depends on production.

[136] Ross & Nightingale (2003) pay attention to the nature of human communication in which that we are simultaneously consuming and producing, sending and receiving.

multiply information on a tremendous scale (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). At the same time, fans easily synthesize, correct and even manipulate original news at their own discretion through the actions of cutting, copying and pasting. For example, fans intentionally select the parts of records and reports which are positive about their favorite players, and then insist that these players are superior based upon this selective information. In extreme cases, it becomes hard to determine the sources of posts after they have been copied several times. At these times, the process of distributing information again overlaps with ways of production and consumption.

These dynamic processes demonstrate that information in the community is both flexible and vulnerable to sudden changes. Because there are so many opportunities to change, rearrange, replace and even alter information in its original state, from its original sources, in the process of producing and distributing it within the community, fans do not always give full credit to breaking news or sensational topics. For instance, when a fan updates very sensational and exclusive news such as a mega trade between two teams, other fans often question the credibility of the news. Even if a fan specifies the original source, there is almost no way to guarantee the trustworthiness of the attribution, the new reference, or the credibility of the original source. In this way, not only does information in online community lose its reliability, it also often crosses the boundaries between true and false, real and unreal.

As a way of dealing with these ambiguities, fans often develop a "cynical reflexivity," neither fully discrediting nor embracing community-supplied information but rather approaching it "as-if." Debates that are specifically about the accuracy of information are generally conducted cynically, although in some cases, it does not matter

whether the information is true or false. Rather than spending time and effort to determine its credibility, fans tend to utilize both approaches as ways to clarify their opinions and entertain themselves.

These reciprocal, interdependent ways of producing, distributing and consuming information are crucial in the development of fan identities within the community. Products rendered by fans (posts and replies) are seen as parts of the self as well as parts of the overall product of the community (Poster, 1998). Moreover, posts and replies are recognized as part of a social process through which individual interpretations are shaped and reinforced via ongoing discussions. Online community can provide opportunities for personal growth and change, but not for everyone and not in every circumstance (Turkle, 1997). For example, online community can give fans a site at which they can access an unusual amount of information and creativity, but it does not automatically enable them either to discern accurate information or to increase their creativity. Similarly, although fans in an online community can enjoy access to an enormous amount of information and appropriate it by picking and choosing from what is available, their ways of using it are unpredictable; at times they underutilize some possibilities (Baym, 1995).

Alternative Ways of Communication

As posts become part of their individual and collective identities, Korean MLB fans also use nontraditional approaches to text-based communication (i.e., posts and replies). These fall into three broad categories: posts as both interpersonal and mass communications; post language straddling the line between written and oral; and debate

tactics. For MLB fans, these features of communication in online community are crucial to the forging of individual as well as collective identities (Peterson, 2003).[137]

According to Baym (2000) fans' posts can be regarded both as interpersonal and mass communication. Through their posts, fans at MLBPARK document personal feelings and thoughts and also attempt to share their thoughts with others.

As they watch the games, particularly when Park is on the mound, fans may post a few sentences that are mostly spurts of feeling about players and games. These short posts often draw complaints from other fans, who argue that the community is not a diary or a garbage can for personal feelings. Nonetheless, these short posts recur again and again. At other times, some fans share their personal and everydayness beyond the scope of MLB. For example, for a short time "Ticket man" posted detailed updates about developing a romance with a girl in the community. Early on, he expressed concern about doing this: "I think that others might be curious about the reason why I put such personal stories in this board almost every day, or they do not like it. Nonetheless, I simply want to leave my stories here and, hopefully, to have a sense of sharedness with some others." Although he did not post these updates for long, his story elicited huge numbers of hits and replies both positive and negative; some community members even announced that they had become fans of his story.

Such ambiguity between interpersonal and mass communication in posts helps some fans develop their emotional attachment to the community. Not only by obtaining information but also by sharing personal stories with others, these fans progressively increase their connection to the community and the group identity it offers. Thus fans'

[137] Peterson suggests that patters of interaction is the key to understanding how sociality in constructed or expressed in situations of media consumption (2003).

posts function as a form of personal expression and also as a source of collective identity (Jenkins, 1992).

Another characteristic of communication in the community is that language in the posts becomes a kind of hybrid that combines features of written and oral languages. To explain this combination, Turkle suggests that in Internet writing, "speech is momentarily frozen into artifact, but a curiously ephemeral artifact" (1997, p. 183). As discussed in the previous chapter, fans use numerous emoticons and images to express their feelings; in addition, they invent new icons and combine letters and images in original, inventive ways. Consequently, posts are often a combination of graphic, phonetic and textual signs (Lotfanlian, 1996).

Similar to the overlaps between oral and written language, as alternative ways of communication, posts include both informative and performative elements. In order to be a successful poster, both the kind of information one provides and how one delivers the contents are crucial. As Turkle (1997) suggests, computer screens are the arenas where fans project themselves into their own dramas of which they are the producers, directors and stars. In short, fans come to perform themselves through their posts. Texts or literal information is often supplemented with or even replaced by highly stylized and artistic output (Reid, 1996). Through these performative skills, some posters succeed in developing idiosyncratic characters; furthermore, collective identities are generated when groups of fans deploy the same skills together.

Three additional routinely utilized forms of alternative communication that aid in identity building are baiting, *zzal-bang* [bonus photos] and an "aesthetic of skipping." In online community, the term "baiting" refers to an act of agitating others or initiating a

controversial debate. (A related term, “fishing,” refers to sending out bulk spam commercial e-mails in hopes of landing new customers; literally, this is “casting a wide net.”) Baiting is different from flaming in that it does not always contain abusive language targeted at particular individuals. In order to elicit as many replies as possible, posts by so-called “shrewd” baiters, who mainly post very controversial ideas and/or opinions, are based on deliberated but paradoxical or even distorted rationales. Shrewd baiters also consistently post their thoughts and try to enhance recognition of their IDs in the community. The more replies and critiques they obtain, the more successful their baiting is. They experience pleasure through increasing their visibility as well as receiving blame. Thus, successful baiters are located in the midst of the most intensive community controversies and often have at least a few loyal followers.

> Koo: I am amazed at how brilliant baiters are with their posts. Nowadays, I am often curious whether the biggest baiters in the Internet are gathering into our community. It seems that the baiters are competing against each other to show off their skills. Rather than being agitated, I try to be cool with such baiting: for instance, I found it very amusing to search for the best one among numerous baiters. Nonetheless, it is true that the degrees of baiting become serious in the community.

Another popular tactic at MLBPARK is to add *zzal-bang* [bonus photos] at the end of posts, both to increase responses and to prevent posts from being ignored (it is often regarded as humiliation if posts have no replies or a low number of hits). Therefore, fans attach unrelated photos either of funny images or sexy female models. In order to get more hits, fans title their posts to indicate that *zzal-bang* is included. This heavy use of images shows the importance both of visual image as well as performative elements in online communication.

The term "aesthetic of skipping" refers to attitudes toward nasty provocations and baiting. Ambiguities in posts often lead to online misunderstanding and the exchange of nasty comments. As mentioned, baiters do their best to provoke others, particularly hot-tempered fans; however, regardless of who initiates such debates, fans who post slanderous remarks are in danger of being banned from the community from its operators. Therefore, some fans suggest the self-defensive tactic of ignoring intentional provocations or avoiding unnecessary debates, i.e. an aesthetic of skipping. By explicitly mentioning this term, fans remind themselves and each other that it is only a waste of energy to become embroiled in such unnecessary debates.

These alternative ways of communication enable fans to generate individual identities by developing their own skills as well as to construct collective identities by sharing these skills and tactics (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997).[138] Individual identities emerge through communication with other fans, and, at the same time, such processes help constitute collective identities.

The Culture of Online Community

Vignette: A Fan's Farewell Message

> *I have been here since Park opened in 2001.*
> *I had lurked in the community, and then…*
> *When BK was on the mound in the World Series,*
> *I cannot forget the thrilling moments which I shared with Ghan, Ucksam, Eross.*
> *I also remember Ex, and Rex who began to appear in the community in 2002, and Hitman, a teacher, Oi – all of them are in their thirties – in 2003.*
> *… When I look back on the traces I have left here, these are all valuable memoirs.*
> *…I apologize for my previous post, which reflects my hot temper.*
> *I know it is one of my shortcomings, but it is not easy to correct.*

[138] Croutea & Hoynes (1997) are concerned that deeply ingrained media habit prevented people form changing their uses of media, and that new media may even expand the gulf between the technological "haves" and "have nots."

So… I have to say it is time for me to leave this community.
Good bye my beloved Park! Farewell to all my acquaintances.
I have really appreciated the time here. ["ChoiTaeHyuck,"]

Korean MLB fans also make their online space a community through building personal relationships and developing social rules and cultural artifacts. Such social aspects of the fans' activities contribute simultaneously to the construction of individual and collective identities. I will explore how fans generate a culture of their community in two ways: first, how they build social relationships or friendships with other fans; and second, how common rules and cultural artifacts become routinized among them.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are several stages in the process of Korean MLB fans' relationship-building with other fans: recognizing others' IDs; adding replies to others' posts; exchanging e-mails or e-notes; and having face-to-face meetings. Relationships in online community are generally based on fans' online identities, which are represented by their IDs. By exchanging information about MLB and responding to each other frequently, fans find friends and may even regard other fans as their closest friends. These relationships tend to be built on shared interests rather than shared social characteristics (Wellman, 1996). In some cases, they extend the boundaries of online community and begin to meet in real time, face to face; a couple of interviewees reported having groups of friends whom they initially met in the community. Offline meetings indicate that fans strongly desire interpersonal relationships through face-to-face meetings (Bird, 2003). Such interpersonal relationships and on/off-line meetings among fans help them develop sense of special affiliation and connectivity, both to each other and to the community.

Personal relationships often emerge as hierarchical or hegemonic groups into which fans first become incorporated by recognizing each other's identity by ID (Baym, 2000). Members who interact in and around these groups often set the overall tone of a community and even dominate individual bulletin boards within it. Although fans participate in the community on an egalitarian basis, asymmetries or hierarchies emerge based on fans' varying degrees of influence. For instance, "Mogul" asked whether a hegemonic group existed in the online community when a group of fans initiated a campaign to withdraw attention from and add no replies to the posts of certain members.

> *Mogul*: I was shocked by the campaign, which encourages others not to add any replies to the posts of three fans. I don't agree with this campaign because we can add any opinions here, and I think none of us have right to prevent them from adding any opinions which might be different from and even sour to others…Rather, I think such a campaign is a personal attack as well as tyranny of majority.

Meanwhile, certain patterns and cultural practices, ranging from ordinary activities to language activities, become social norms and cultural artifacts among Korean MLB fans in their online community. As Baym suggests, being a member of a fan community entails knowledge of interpretive conventions and collaborative meta-text (2000). As discussed, new writing styles and other tactics become daily practices of fans as they post, and fans construct collective identities as they share similar patterns

Because online community is both anonymous and virtual, one type of ritual involves fans posting messages that reveal themselves as former lurkers and messages of farewell. Such messages are usually followed by welcoming and send-off replies; such reciprocal interactions are routinized and become normative traditions in the community.

Commonly shared practices terms such as baiting, *zzal-bang* and aesthetic of skipping also contribute to constructing South Korean baseball fans' online community's cultural elements and a sense of belongingness, as do the recognition of puns and neologisms. Words, styles, and images all comprise a unique vocabulary; for example, "OTL," which symbolizes helplessness and frustration, has been widely adopted. The fans share a common vocabulary, which is unique and thus defines them as constituting a distinct culture (Reid, 1996).

Similar to other organizations, MLBPARK has a conduct code of behavior that includes disciplinary actions such as deleting posts, suspending IDs temporarily or permanently, and blocking IP addresses. The current code, which was announced by the administrator in May 2005, includes details about the maximum numbers of posts per day and a rule that sexual images may be posted only at night. It also includes a general outline for social norms in the community because, on a practical level, a couple of moderators cannot manage more than one thousand posts per day. Therefore, members usually try to manage community interactions by themselves, either through encouraging each other not to use abusive or flaming language or through withdrawing attention from problematic posters. Members often ask the moderators to intervene more in their interactions and to ban spoilers of the community. The fact that a code of conduct exists, and that there is a need for consistent management, illustrate that this community, like other organizations, needs a set of rules and norms (Bird & Barber, 2002).[139]

The culture of online community shows that fans on the Internet need not only interpersonal relationships and even offline meetings, but that they also need certain rules

[139] Bird and Barber suggest that non-place communities develop norms and institutional memories based on common experiences (2002).

in order to manage the community appropriately. These social aspects indicate the similarity of online community to traditional organizations. The socialization and institutionalization that the fans experience by learning a common vocabulary and accepting the rules also influence the establishment of their individual and collective identities.

Materiality of the Online Community

Virtuality needs not be a prison…
It can be the raft, the ladder, the traditional space, the moratorium,
that is discarded after reaching greater freedom.
We don't have to reject life on the screen, but
we don't have to treat it as an alternative life either.
We can use it as a space for growth. (Turkle, 1997, p. 263)

As discussed, Korean MLB fans actively construct their online community, along with constituting their individual and collective identities within it. While the fans practice new forms of decentralized dialogue and create a new ways of communication in their online community, their identities are neither necessarily virtual nor unprecedented. Instead, they are interconnected with fans' offline lives and social contexts. What is necessary here is to illuminate specific features of the online community vis-à-vis its double-edged natures. The interactions among MLB fans show how the online community veers between the virtual and the real, and between online and offline existence. I refer to such dualities in an online community as its "materiality." The following discussion of the materiality of an online community focuses on three areas: "time(less)ness," "(a)historicity," and "(trans)locality." Finally, materiality is discussed

as a concrete and contextualized actualization of online community among Korean MLB fans.

Time(less)ness of Community: A Sense of Connectivity

As technology brings about the compression of time and space (Giddens, 1990) and popularizes the idea of the virtual world, the Internet challenges our traditional notions of time and space (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). In their online community, Korean MLB fans who live in different regions can not only meet and interact, they can connect to and reside in their community at any time, both ideally and practically. So it is important to assess the notion of time in the online community, i.e. how Korean MLB fans perceive time there.

According to South Korean MLB fans, the most important characteristic of time in online community is the "promise" that they can connect to the community "anytime." The term "anytime" both manifests a timeless aspect of the online community and also implies that this particular community is always open to and welcoming of any fans, like the "paradise" mentioned on its home page.[140] Thus, the idea of "anytime" furnishes the fans with a sense of connectivity to the community, which in part enables on-line Internet users to maintain strong emotional attachments to their online activities (Jones, 1997b). Through the promise of connectivity, many MLB fans can also find solace in interactive computer-mediated communication.

> *Crave*: Here, I can feel a tie with others who have similar emotions, sentiments, and thoughts. I am really thrilled to experience such commonality, and, due to such sharedness, it becomes really impossible

[140] At the bottom of the website, this community announces itself as "the only paradise which Internet users construct" (www.mlbpark.com).

> for me to stop visiting this community… I dare to say that I will leave [post] my feelings here today even if this place is going to disappear tomorrow.

While it is true that the promise of round-the-clock connectivity provides fans with an environment they find therapeutic, such timeless connectivity also indicates the possibility that fans are obsessed with their community. This possibility is borne out by fan observations and complaints about their "addiction" to the community. As Silverstone (1994) suggests, addiction, which is a particularly modern pathology, is closely related to such issues as security, separation, and the desire for communication.[141] Some fans are simply amazed at its magic, which attracts them into finding entertainment as well as a sense of belongingness. However, some fans also regret spending too much time and energy just hanging around MLBPARK.

> *EricGagne*: Despite [the short duration of my membership], this community has become a place in which I can fully express my feelings. As I recall, I have connected to the community every day since July 2005. Well… I have to say that it is time for me to say good-bye to the community and others because I am going to prepare for a big exam which might determine my future career. Nonetheless, I am not sure whether I really can stop visiting here because this place is so addictive…
>
> *Gerard*: We are simply wandering in the Internet. I find myself turning on the computer and logging in to this community after watching the midnight show. Such routines seem to be really meaningless and wastes of time. It is so shameful to imagine that someone else studies hard while I randomly spend time here.

However, the promise of "anytime" does not mean that fans are connecting to the community all the time. Rather than an actual connection to the Internet, it is more important for fans to have the promise of being able to connect to it whenever they wish. When the servers that contain the contents of the community do not work properly, fans

[141] Silverstone (1994) insists that addiction is transferable to obsession and is related to creations, too.

are easily irritated and unsettled by the failure of this promise. For example, a "connection error" message, which often appears during periods of heavy online traffic, always elicits huge complaints.

Another feature of time in online community is that, despite the promise of "anytime," there are several time-linked participation patterns. For MLBPARK, one of these is that it is usually most densely populated late at night, when most fans wish to relax and find entertaining news and informative postings from their homes. This is also the period (between midnight and dawn) when fans are most likely to post obscene stories, and the only time they are allowed to post sexual photos. When they do so, they indicate that their posts include content that is inappropriate for younger fans by adding "No under 19 [years old]" to post titles. Once several fans initiated this habit, it got huge support and was then adopted as a code of conduct by the moderators.

One twist occurred when a fan who lives in the U.S. asked whether he could post such adult contents during the night in his time-zone, which is 12 hours later than South Korea. This question was simply regarded as an odd inquiry, because most fans take for granted that the community's time zone is the same as the Tokyo time zone. Nonetheless, I think, this question unintentionally raises a critical issue regarding time: i.e. whether any specific time zone is necessary for online community because it theoretically exists in a virtual space. Such responses indicate that Korean MLB fans assume that all the posters live in one time zone, which is casually regarded as a national time zone, regardless of the fact that some of the posters live in different time zones, i.e. foreign countries. The above example implies that regularity of time exists in the community, in particular that local or national time remains important.

Another pattern is that many fans visit MLBPARK during the game days of Korean MLB players. Because of the time difference between the U.S. and South Korea, fans stay awake until the early morning to watch the games. While waiting for the start of the game or sharing their feelings after the game, they actively participate in the community by posting their thoughts and responding to others. Such a specific use of time is closely related not only to Korean fans' nationalist interests in MLB but also to their ways of enjoying MLB. Most fans watch the games alone on TV, owing to their broadcasting times; but, on the other hand, many of them simultaneously reside in the community as they watch the games on the Internet. Thus, it is possible for them to post their spontaneous reactions and opinions about the games and the Korean players to the community in real time.

The last feature of time in the community is that it often extends beyond the contradiction of time and timelessness when fans correspond in (a)synchronous ways. On the one hand, online storage of messages allows communication to be synchronous, so that many fans are able to simultaneously read the same posts and add opinions (Wellman, 1996). As discussed, a post can become an interpersonal as well as a mass communication. On the other hand, the temporal structure of online community is that of an ongoing asynchronistic meeting, which means that participants can also read and respond at different times (Baym, 2000). Such attributes give fans time to prepare and even deliberate their posts or replies. Interestingly, both Wellman and Baym suggest that such (a)synchronous features of online community help more people to be more responsible for their posts than they are in, for example, face-to-face conversation.[142]

[142] Wellman comments that such a synchronous aspect "gives people potentially more control over when they read and respond to messages." Contrarily, Baym suggests that "the fact that things can be read and

Suffice it to say that, along with alternative ways of communicating, I suggest that the unique nature of internet time provides fans an opportunity, not a guarantee, to be more reflexive in their participation.

In conclusion, I suggest that time in online community is multifaceted: the community's promise is that it exists and is accessible "anytime," while its members continuously develop the patterns by which time is spent. Particularly, their patterns such as assuming one time zone and heavy traffic on Korean leaguers' game days indicate that nationalist understanding of time is still strong among Korean MLB fans. The promise of connectivity any time enables fans to develop deep affinity with the community.[143] Their active, relentless participation in the community reflects their desire for belongingness, expressed by sharing feelings and thoughts with other fans as they watch games alone. When I asked the interviewees about their motivation, several answered that they simply want to have more time to talk about MLB, something they lack in their offline lives. Finally, such time(less)ness in online community, I suggest, both demonstrates that fans' lives there are coterminous with the patterns of their offline lives and encapsulates one slice of the community's materiality.

(A)historicity of the Community: the Territory of Anonymities

Online community has only recently become part of human daily life, but because advances in the technology on which it depends are so huge and occur so quickly, how long it can survive as a popular feature of the Internet remains uncertain. Technological

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responded to at one's leisure makes it possible for more people to participate and for people to contemplate and edit their messages before sending them."

[143] Miller and Slate suggest that these affinities are concerned with the practices of Internet use on a regular, everyday basis.

breakthroughs have provided people with numerous options for interacting in cyberspace, such as e-newsgroups, IRC [Internet-Relay-Chat], MUDs [Multi User Dungeons], and blogs [Web logs] (Boyle & Haynes, 2004).[144] Despite, or perhaps because of such rapid changes, the historicity of online community is continuously questioned and contested. Korean MLB fans mainly attempt to construct historic narratives of their online community in three ways: by emphasizing their intensive participation, remembering the "old days," and constructing community territory.

As introduced in the previous chapter, this online community among South Korean MLB fans has existed since February 2001. While their voluntary participation comprises most of the community, its existence is neither guaranteed nor free of challenges. As Bird (2003) suggests, maintaining a community takes work: members spend time and effort welcoming and nurturing new members and commenting reflexively about the community. MLB fans, who work to revitalize their online community even when it seems stable (i.e. with enough members and activity), encounter unexpected problems--particularly while the community is enhancing its fame in the MLB arena. For instance, it becomes difficult to maintain a stable community environment when huge numbers of new members visit MLBPARK. Especially during school vacations, temporary participants appear as serious problems who rarely have an emotional attachment to the community but only leave meaningless or controversial posts. The fans whose participation is more consistent try to mediate disputes and minimize the negative results of intervention by these relative strangers.

[144] Boyle and Haynes mention that webblogs are the latest incarnation of new media spaces, which follow fan websites or e-zines (2004).

At MLBPARK, a few conflicts have erupted when members contested the decisions of administrators, who own the website address and servers. When the website itself was sold to a commercial corporation in 2005, fans strove to retain its spirit of autonomy or independence. By declaring that they had made the history of the community, they contested the ownership of the community and insisted upon being credited for authorship of some of its contents (i.e. their posts and replies). In addition, in 2004 community members had asked administrators to remove low-end advertisements that contained very sexual images and content. At that time, administrators decided to take a financial risk but please the fans by replacing these advertisements with others. By highlighting their intensive participation and hard work in managing this online community, members attempt to construct their own history for it.

Another way fans try to forge historic community narratives is by posting memories of its early stages, including the enumeration by senior members of prolific posters who may have left the community. During these journeys down memory lane, fans express nostalgia for departed posters and recount funny moments with them. This pattern is a well-known way to keep a community's history alive by comparing its present state to its old days, usually accompanied by complaints about its current problems.

> *Sack artist*: In the beginning, MLBPARK was regarded as a 'paradise' although now it becomes hard to believe [that such a past existed]. Despite [claims of] "paradise," it seems that the term "addiction" encapsulates the current condition of this community.
>
> *Mohic*: Recently, I came to remember the old days when I shared meaningless stories of my [interactions] with other members. It was just two years ago: this place was filled with crude but very sincere humor and

> lots of smiles among intimate people. However, nowadays, I observe that dryness or fastidiousness has become a dominant pattern here.

Such attempts to remember the old days repeat a nostalgic desire, and often seem to suggest that what the community was always better than what it is. These complaints elicit positive as well as negative responses from fans who have since joined the community.

This type of interaction among members demonstrates how eager some are to maintain MLBPARK as the largest and longest-running MLB Internet community in South Korea. Ironically, the duration of the membership of these devoted members is unpredictable. Posters who may be prolific, or who have contributed greatly to the community, are as likely to leave as those whose membership is temporary or who do not post often or much.

Along with their attempts to construct an historic community narrative, members also attempt to construct community territory by drawing boundaries with other MLB fan sites. Many members of MLBPARK also visit other Korean MLB fan sites, sometimes while they are logged into MLBPARK. While several of these sites share similar information and issues, their members often develop an exclusive loyalty to one community, accompanied by a sense of rivalry with other sites. Fans tend to show hostility to MLBKOREA in particular, because this site routinely underestimates Korean players in MLB and ridicules nationalistic fandom in South Korea. Even though there is no rule that prohibits members of MLBPARK from visiting MLBKOREA, mentioning its name is not done at MLBPARK except in the context of blame or criticism. The animosity between MLBPAKR and MLBKOREA suggests that even in virtual space, people habitually draw demarcation lines that set up “our” territory against “theirs.”

Regarding the issue of territory, some fans encourage others to have a commitment to the community, particularly in terms of respecting the originality of posts. It is easy to copy and paste posts from one MLB site to another; in fact many posts on MLBPARK are taken from other sites. "Rocket" eloquently protests this practice:

> *Rocket*: I don't like the idea of copying and pasting posts of other Korean MLB fan sites into our community. For I implicitly regard other fan sites as potential rivals of MLBPARK. To be honest with you, I felt my pride as a member of this community hurt when I found out that our community is late with reporting the latest news of MLB compared to other sites, and when I found out that the posts in this community are simply copied from other sites.

Positive and negative opinions were posted in response. In any case, regardless of how much support "Rocket" received, this issue clearly demonstrates that some MLB fans have a sense of boundary against others.

These efforts (narrating community history, recalling its "old days" and marking its territory) illustrate that fans have a strong sense of territoriality around their community. It is true that the boundaries are easily blurred, and overlap with the history and territory of other fan sites, and there is something timeless about the nature of the online community of the Korean MLB fans (Smith, 2003).[145] Thus, it is worth noting that fans keep constituting and recreating their community's historicity. An irony is that community history becomes a story of denizens, both unidentified and temporary, who incessantly leave on their own and are also displaced by newcomers. In short, community historicity includes so much ambiguity and ambivalence that the history of a

[145] Along with arguing that there is something timeless about the concept of global culture, Smith suggests that this sense of timelessness is powerfully underlined by the pre-eminently technical nature of its disclosure (2003).

community, which fans are relentlessly and constantly constructing, may evaporate into anonymity, i.e. no one person's history.

(Trans)locality of Community: Geographical Proximity Still Matters

> *Vignette:*
>
> *In June 2005 I traveled to Busan, a city in the Southern province of South Korea, to participate in a meeting of the online community. This meeting, my first experience of face-to-face contact with people who had met online, gave me a mixture of tension and expectation. As expected, most of the MLB fans who showed up were males, but surprisingly, they varied in their ages. The oldest one has a daughter in high school. The fans shook hands and exchanged names (not real names but their community IDs). Suddenly, they began to recognize how they ranked from eldest to youngest, and to call each other by very informal titles such as "Hyoung" for seniors and "Dongsang" for younger people. Such a manner reflected on typically lad culture even with a Southern flavor. Then, they enthusiastically talked about their local KBO teams for a couple of hours. I asked myself, "What the heck are they doing? Are they so-called MLB maniacs? Why do they keep talking about their local teams?' Their intense conversation about their local baseball teams, along with their strong southern accents, bewildered me as if I was trapped in the wrong place.*

"Virtual" is an adjective commonly used to describe Internet spaces, which include online communities; therefore, several scholars routinely use the term "the virtual community" (Bromberg, 1996: Jones, 1995; Rheingold, 1996; Watson, 1997). According to Stratton, "the hyperspace of the Internet elides the geographical spatial formations of nation-states which underpin their claims to a national culture" (1997, p. 259). However, the term "virtual" often overshadows varying or even contradictory cultural practices on the Internet, particularly those related to its geographical affinity (Miller and Slate, 2000).[146] Through readings of MLB fans' interactions both in and outside of Internet

[146] Miller and Slate insist that being Trini is still important to be successful in the new free-flowing information age represented by the Internet.

community, I will explore a sense of place, which I refer to as the (trans)locality of the community.

Internet use, including watching MLB games and participating in online community, clearly helps to break the connection between physical place and social place. Most fans who reside in South Korea imagine the games that are played in the U.S. and actively, intensely discuss MLB-related issues; they seem not to have substantial problems with geographical gaps between where they are and where they look. Nor does the location of some Korean fans outside of South Korea, many in the U.S., does not cause substantial disparities in terms of enjoying MLB. As soon as an MLB fan posts in Korean, he or she can easily join an Internet community and interact with other fans.

However, the fact that fans can participate in the community from any location does not necessarily mean that geographical place is always meaningless. Fan aspiration for MLB is naturally linked with a desire to be in the U.S., particularly in MLB team stadiums. The primary reason for traveling to the U.S., according to many interviewees, is to watch MLB games in stadiums. During the World Baseball Classic [WBC], which was held in the U.S. in March 2006, a couple of fans exchanged information about their seats in Anaheim to find out that they had seats very close to each other. Their posts aroused huge envy from other fans who could only watch the games in South Korea, on TV or the Internet.

> *Mr. October*: Dear Sseami, I am sorry for not meeting you during the game. I sat in the first base corner, and felt [as if I was] in Seoul Stadium because the Anaheim stadium was filled with Korean fans. Now, I was totally exhausted, but I can say that this game was the greatest one.
> *DodgerBaseball*: Oops. Yesterday, I was also in the stadium. My seat was F133.

> *Sack Artist*: It is Mr. October [and DodgerBaseball] who I think [are] the happiest fans in the community because you were in the stadium twice. It would be a life-time experience to watch such a game on the spot.
> *Sseami*: Really….*DodgerBaseball*!!! I was in F134. We were so close.

Fans tend to make so much of the information provided by fans who live in the U.S., which they call "news on the spot," that some prolific posters are liable to be misunderstood as actually living there. "ledseo," for example, who updates news about the Texas Rangers from Dallas local newspapers, is often mistakenly assumed to live in Texas when he actually lives in South Korea. I had a similar experience: when I updated photos of the Chicago Cubs, accompanied by a translation of the news, I often received appreciation for providing lively news on the spot. (Ironically, I now live in North Carolina, which is hundreds of miles away from Chicago, and I updated the Cubs' news simply because it is my favorite team). Such misunderstandings seem to originate from a shared fantasy about living in the U.S. where everyone's dream league, i.e. the MLB, exists.

These examples show a mixed perspective about place(less)ness among Korean MLB fans. On the one hand, they acknowledge the geographical difference between the U.S., where MLB is located, and South Korea, where they live. On the other hand, fans can easily imagine MLB games in Korean stadiums and enjoy ready access to information about MLB teams and players. Geographical place may lose meaning as fans enjoy MLB in their community; however, fans still maintain a sense of place depending on their actual location. Moreover, their sense of place is never neutral: the U.S. is still the location of their desires.

Such a duality of place(less)ness also helps to construct a more complicated sense of (trans)locality in the community. Although the community itself exists in virtual space,

there is great emphasis on sharing a mundane life with others both on and offline (Miller and Slate, 2000). This was my experience at the offline meeting in Busan, when fans who originally gathered based on their common interest in MLB kept talking about local subjects—not only sports leagues but also news and events. During interviews, I also spent a lot of time talking about the KBO or used news about it as an icebreaker. Another example is how fans continue to compare Korean players in KBO with Korean leaguers in MLB and how, as savvy Internet users, they actively post the latest local news and topics to the bulletin boards and are quick to copy and paste news as well. Thus their Internet community, a cyberspace, still continues to work behind the scenes (Fischer, 1999) via the local interests of fans who "draw back cyberspace into offline processes and practices" (Wilson & Peterson, 2002, p. 455).

Another community connection to locality is made possible by the geographical proximity among fans in South Korea. Almost every fan can meet any other fan in less than a one-day trip, if they live in South Korea. I traveled from Seoul to Busan for the offline meeting, which took five hours by train, and one fan drove for three hours from a different province. Officially, when the online community convenes its semi-annual offline meetings in Seoul, fans from every province can participate if they sacrifice at most a couple of days. Besides this type of official gathering, several interviewees regularly meet with other fans. Even if they do not meet face to face, such geographical closeness among fans helps them construct a sense of locality.

> *FishSoup*: What if we have a chance of meeting everyone offline? Can we shake hands and develop a harmonious mood? Personally, I feel sorry for the recent changes in the community: I sense the divisions between groups of fans and overall distrust for each other.

Counter to the common assumption that the Internet constructs a sense of virtual space or placelessness, the interactions of MLB fans in their community indicate that there is a recursive relationship between virtual and offline (Wilson & Peterson, 2002). This reciprocal relationship helps fans both "hold to an older sense of self and place" (Miller and Slate, 2000) and constitute a sense of locality in their online community. Thus the fans, who are attracted by a global sporting event (MLB), also show strong attachment to local and national issues as well as to their literal places. This (trans)locality of Internet community contributes to both its materiality and to crucial elements of fans' individual and collective identities (Harvey, 2000).[147]

Conclusion: Constructing a Multiplicity of Identities in Online Community

With a strong Internet infrastructure, Korean MLB fans make use of online community as a resource for developing individual as well as collective identities. Online community provides the opportunity not only to share information and personal stories but also to interact with each other and generate community culture. At the same time, technological capacity in the community makes it possible for the fans both to easily obtain a variety of information and to communicate with each other in alternative ways. Such procedures are critical to the development of another dimension in fans' online identities, which are intricately related to their offline identities. As discussed, Korean MLB fans in online communities continuously add materiality to cyberspace by constituting senses of time, historicity and locality.

[147] Harvey (2000) suggests that in remaking our geographies we can remake our social and political world, of which relations are both reciprocal and dialectical.

In addition, two further implications emerge from this analysis of MLB fans' activities in online community: the possibility of multiple identities; and the overlap between online and offline lives. First, daily activities of MLB fans in their community show that they can develop a multiplicity of identities there. I refer to such multiplicity as both fragmented and coherent because, through maintaining consistent IDs and updating posts, fans enhance recognition of their IDs and expand their personal relationships with other fans. At the same time, behind the screens, the fans are able to bring out what they are like deep down inside. In particular, technological innovations are playing into the creation of new social and cultural sensibilities in online communities (Turkle, 1997).

However, given the multiplicity of fan identities, I also suggest that fans in online community constitute their identities not only as MLB fans but also as fans of their local baseball team and as community members. The terms "we," "fans," "members," and "Koreans" are constantly interchanged, without recognizing a necessity for distinction (Gillespie, 1995).[148] From such a multiplicity of identities among MLB fans in online community, a flexible self can be imagined. At the same time, this multiplicity suggests relatedness among diverse identities as well as interconnectedness of national identity with the constituted identities of fans.

Second, the community's inherent duality in terms of time(less)ness, history(less)ness, and (trans)locality highlights the penetration between online and offline via the identities of fans in the community. Fan identities are negotiated, reproduced and indexed in a variety of ways between online and offline interactions (Wilson & Peterson,

[148] Similarly, Indian immigrants in London respond to the different genres of TV programs by collectively and individually positioning themselves as citizen, social actors and consumers in various relations to parental diasporic cultures (Gillespie, 1995).

2002). As I witnessed at the offline meeting in Busan, online groups can be centered around local or national identities. As Miller and Slate (2000) suggest, it would be misleading to assume that experience of the net leads either to nationalism or to cosmopolitanism. Suffice to say that nationalist sensibilities are still imbedded in the fans' ways of enjoying MLB and participating in the online community. Despite the promise of anytime access, most fans visit their community regularly, in ways that dovetail with their offline activities. Thus, Korean fans are constantly experiencing their community and enjoying MLB within the larger continuum of their offline lives.

To conclude, analysis of Korean MLB fans in their online community illuminates how fans develop individual as well as collective identities there. Duality, interconnectedness and multiplicity of and within the community suggest that "closer attention be given to deconstructing dichotomies of offline and online, real and virtual, and individual and collective" (Wilson & Peterson, 2002, p. 456). Moreover, I suggest Korean MLB fans do not passively receive cultural elements: instead, they can actively produce, distribute and consume MLB as a way of pursuing pleasure. Of course, it is never guaranteed how the fans utilize the resources that the community possesses for leisure and consumption.

Chapter VI

National Fans of MLB in South Korea

Local Fans of Global Sports: Emergence of Individuated Nationalism among Korean MLB Fans

Vignette: Asian MLB Fans Watch the Yankees' Game at Old Dominion University

In September 2005, I traveled to Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia to see an interviewee, Chunboo Kim, who I had first met during the summer. Kim was an exchange student at Old Dominion for the fall semester, and we planned to go to RFK center in D.C. to watch an MLB game. Before our departure, on Friday evening, we happened to watch a Yankees game with his Japanese friend, who was also an MLB fan. While most of the American students were busy going to parties, only three Asians kept watching the MLB game in the lounge of the dorm. What an awkward picture this made! Then an American student who was taking an interest in us screamed when he recognized a Japanese player with the Yankees. "He is a Japanse…I knew him, Maa...stu…" Kim's Japanese friend quickly responded to him, saying, "Thank you. Thank you!." But the American did not stop, and enumerated a couple more Japanese players in MLB, at which the Japanese friend seemed to be really pleased. It was fun to observe a really gauche communication between two strangers about MLB. During the trip, however, certain questions kept haunting me: "Why did or should the Japanese say 'Thank you'?"; "Was I jealous that the American only remembered Japanese MLB players, not Korean leaguers?"; and "Why did the American even keep mentioning Japanese players' names?"

This chapter explores how the global popular [MLB] is embedded in (re)constituting national identity among Korean MLB fans, with a focus on the tensions or dilemmas that they experience under the nationalistic aura surrounding MLB fandom in South Korea. In investigating Korean MLB fans in 2005, I suggest two things: first, the national is still critical to the success of MLB in South Korea; and second, structures

of the national are being transformed in the process of consuming MLB in their online community. Following Williams (1977), I use the phrase of "structures of the national" for explicating "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" in which Korean perceive or understand nationalism and nationalistic sentiments in enjoying MLB in South Korea (p. 132). This term "structures of the national" enables me to investigate diverse elements as a "set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension" and as "a social experience which is still in process, often indeed not yet recognized as social but taken to be private, idiosyncratic, and even isolating" (ibid., p. 132).[149]

Finally, I argue that experiencing MLB does not cause Korean MLB fans to nurture cosmopolitan or hybrid identities; rather, cultural practices among Korean MLB fans exemplify the characteristics of "individuated nationalism."

I suggest the term "individuated nationalism" to explain the complicated and even contradictory merging of the national with the idea of individuality within the cultural practices of Korean MLB fans. The characteristics of individuated nationalism can be interpreted on two levels. On the one hand it indicates that national sentiments, including nationalistic rhetoric, discourses, and fervor, are still prevalent or at least endemic among Korean MLB fans. On the other hand, individuated nationalism refers to a way of rationalizing fans' national interest as a set of personal choices and tastes. Thus, the notion of individuated nationalism implies that, in South Korea, nationalism is still embedded in people's everyday lives, but it can be justified and even chosen as an identity based on individual memories and experiences rather than as a moral imperative

[149] The term "structures of feeling" also pays attention to "the tension between the received interpretation and practical experience," and to a kind of feeling and thinking which is "social material, but each in an embryonic phase before it can become fully articulate and defined" (Williams, 1977, pp. 130-131).

imposed by society or the government. In the following sections, I will demonstrate how Korean MLB fans are constituting and transforming both the idea of the national and structures of the national in the midst of enjoying MLB and interacting with other fans in the online community.

Contemporary MLB Fandom in South Korea

Precipitated by new telecommunication technologies, the globalization of sports also instigates discussion on identity issues (Miller et al., 2001).[150] Particularly, the global expansion of U.S. sports encourages critical researchers to investigate identity issues among global sports fans (Maguire, 1999).[151] Unlike other American cultural commodities such as Hollywood movies, pop songs and TV shows, sports occupy an ambiguous position in this global era (Andrews & Cole, 2005). As discussed, the expansion of U.S. sports into South Korea in the 1990s is a clear example that the Korean government utilized nationalistic sentiments in order to promote the popularity of MLB. Although as mega-media events sports work as harbingers of globalization, in this sense, they may be not carrying the project of globalization in its fullest sense (Rowe, 2003, p. 281). In other words, sports have been recently globalized but they remain inherently connected to national and local roots.

[150] The development of the global sport 'system' is closely connected to the emergence of global media communications, and the contemporary experience of sport is intertwined with global media concerns (Maguire, 1999).

[151] Basically, the perceived treat to local cultural identities has often been characterized as a form of Americanization. Nonetheless, there remain opportunities for national governments to do more than accede to the decisions of markets under the rubric of the inexorable progress of globalization (Howell, Andrews and Jackson, 2002).

How do local fans deal with such an ambiguity? How do those who enjoy global sporting events respond to or embrace its national and local roots? How important is "cultural proximity" for them to enjoy global sports? And are the identities they construct through consuming global sports more nationalistic or cosmopolitan? Because the consumption of global commodity-signs inextricably occurs within localized settings, it becomes more imperative to articulate the relationship between the global and the local (Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur, 1996). Efforts of explicating the interplay between the global and local forces contribute to understanding the reshaping of cultural spaces of identity within the new global media (ibid.). Particularly, it becomes more and more important to understand how the accelerated circulation of American commodity-signs has led to the rearticulation of national and local cultural identities (Andrews, 1997).

Although one often encounters the conclusion either that globalization is constrained by local roots and circumstances or that the expansion of sporting events is regarded as the interaction between the global and the local (Pen-Borat & Pen-Borat, 2004), it is still necessary to describe the concrete, diverse, and even contradictory responses of local fans who are constantly negotiating between national roots and global products. The nation still plays a role as "an enduring 'space of identity' …accompanying the spread of transnational global capitalism" (Andrews & Silk, 2005, p. 175). Such in-depth research needs to combine ethnography with an historical approach; otherwise, it might end up either pointlessly advocating audiences' resistance or appropriation or by falling into economic determinism.

As a way of beginning the discussion, this section traces different moments of becoming MLB fans in South Korea: before, through and after the IMF intervention.

Then, it points to several moments in MLB history: the trade of Park in the midst of the 2005 season, other Korean players in MLB, and the World Baseball Classic [WBC].

Becoming MLB Fans Before, Through and After the IMF Intervention

Vignette:

> *It was 1997 that, for the first time, I was enthusiastically watching the MLB games, in which Park was on the mound. As a new employee in a big conglomerate in South Korea, at that time, my daily life was fatigued with more than ten average working hours per day. Meanwhile, there were occasions like an oasis during the lunch hour when I watched Park's game with my co-workers. Despite the short period of time that I could watch, I was thrilled with his performances while cheering and shouting at his pitches as well as celebrating his dominance on the mound with the co-workers. If any exaggeration might be allowed, to watch his game during the lunch period was the most exciting moment within my short but relentlessly agonizing working career, which, fortunately or not, came to end in nine months.*

As discussed earlier, the year 1997 was doubly significant to Korean baseball fans. As Koreans, they underwent and observed a national crisis brought about by the IMF intervention and, as baseball fans, for the first time they had the satisfaction of watching live MLB games on the national network (KBS) due to Park's success there. In 2005, almost a decade later, Park and his images as a national hero were still prevalent not only among South Koreans in general but also among MLB fans in South Korea. Park's name still ranks among the most-requested topics on major Korean search engines (on Portal and Empass, first among baseball players and fourth among all athletes).[152] Although Park did not pitch well in 2005 compared to his heyday, his presence in MLB is influential enough to evoke a lot of memories among the fans. Park is therefore still a crucial icon among Korean MLB fans and their online community, particularly as a bridge between contemporary fans and their experiences in the late 1990s.

[152] One fan cited such rankings from the major search engine to the community on Aug 30th 2005.

Reminiscences of Park's heyday evoke a wide range of reactions from fans, from excessive eulogies to sarcastic mockeries, and one wonders whether this diversity is simply the result of a wide range of personalities within the community. My sense is that these different attitudes are still bound to the historical conjuncture, i.e. the IMF intervention:

> *MeDsax*: It is age that makes the crucial difference between fans who enthusiastically supported Park and fans who criticized him. The latter who expressed their loathing of the nationalistic rhetoric seem to be younger that the first. Contrarily, people who praise him are the fans who clearly remember his performance in relation to the difficult days in 1997 and 1998. They, who became fans of MLB during that period, are usually in their late '20s and early '30s, and still intensely advocate Park.

As "MeDsax" mentioned, a convenient way to categorize the fans is in terms of the periods when they become MLB fans (before, during, or after the IMF intervention). Despite the danger of oversimplification, these categories are useful in understanding the complex topography of fans' responses to Park and the nationalistic rhetoric.

People who became MLB fans during the IMF intervention were usually interested in sports in general and originally in the Korean Baseball League (KBO); they switched to MLB when the public network (KBS) began to broadcast Park's MLB games in 1997. Their access to MLB news was mainly through KBS and Korean newspapers, whose coverage focused so intensely on Park and his team (the L.A. Dodgers) that it would not be an exaggeration to say that, for a while, the L.A. Dodgers was an unofficial national team among Korean fans. This shared mentality was linked with nationalistic sentiment to a certain degree; remembering Park in the late 1990s, for example might be a common pastime of this group.

Another group of fans were already interested in MLB before the IMF intervention. They tended to be fanatics about global sports, including U.S. sports in general, and actively accessed different TV channels such as the AFKN (American Forces Korean Network), and satellite televisions such as Star TV, to watch global sporting events. Many of the interviewees recounted youthful experiences either of watching MLB or of sharing MLB-related books with their families before KBS began to broadcast MLB games in 1997. To them, Park and his contribution to MLB fandom in South Korea is a double-edged sword. On the one hand they are impressed that a Korean emerged as a star in MLB, which already fascinated them, and they were glad to be able to enjoy the games more conveniently and more often. "Rockies" mentioned that "it is true that due to his success in MLB, we can watch the MLB games in our living rooms." On the other hand, this group of fans often expresses some discomfort with the excessive nationalistic discourse around MLB because, for them, MLB games are not merely a national sporting event but rather their most favorite league. By suggesting that "the IMF was just a fleeting moment," a fan ("Fat Belly") ignored the web of nationalistic discourse around MLB.

Compared to the first two groups, people who became MLB fans after the IMF intervention did not share personal experiences of watching Park's games in the late 1990s. Nonetheless, at times they display strong national sentiments as consumers of MLB. Some of them just admired Park as a legendary figure, without nurturing a personal attachment to him.

> *Ramisil*: I was sorry to miss the heyday of Park in MLB. It was 2002 before I became an MLB fan through playing the PC game *Triple Play*. While playing the game, I played as Park during pitching modes, which

> made me like him. Unfortunately, Park went in a slump as soon as I began to watch the games.

Some fans in this group simply did not accept the symbolic significance of Park as the first Korean player in MLB during the national crisis, but instead ignored his career and often complain about how the mass media represented Park simply as a national hero:

> *Scot Boras*: Someone mentioned that they got 'hope' from Park during the IMF intervention, and that this was enough. I do not agree with the description of the mass media in 1998, in which Park was described as 'giving solace or hope.' It was simply exaggeration. Park played simply for himself and the only benefit we got was MLB broadcasts over the public network.

By and large, these fans liked MLB because it is there that the best baseball players compete against each other, rather than because of the Korean athletes who play in it. They seem to be relatively younger than the first two groups, and are able to access MLB through diverse routes such as cable, satellite TV, and the Internet as well as directly from U.S. sources.

This categorization of three kinds of groups among MLB fans is not intended to be exclusive or unconditional. Rather, it is an attempt to highlight Park's importance vis-à-vis the societal transformation of South Korea. These categories are useful for understanding the bifurcation among contemporary fans' perspectives on Park and the nationalistic descriptions of him.

Current Issues in Korean MLB Fandom: Trade of Park, Other Korean Players and World Baseball Class

After signing a highly lucrative contract with the Texas Rangers in 2002, Park either struggled on the mound or remained on the disabled list. Once arguably the most

high-profile human commodity in the nation's history (Chung, 2003), he was in danger of being shamefully labeled a "buster" who only collected big money without making any contribution to the team. His annual salary, not taking into account sponsorships and commercials, was $14 million between 2002 and 2006 ($70 million for the five-year period). Fortunately, Park was able to at least pitch regularly as a starter in the 2005 season, although his performance was inconsistent from game to game. However, regardless of his performance, his presence still was enough to elicit huge fan involvement in the games. "Mountaineer" commented: "To stop watching Park's games is harder than to quit smoking because it is thrilling as much as frustrating. I became too attached to his games since 1997 when I first watched him in the MLB."

In the middle of the 2005 season Park was traded to the San Diego Padres, a move that elicited clamorous responses from fans because it affirmed his failure in the Texas Rangers. However, Korean fans generally welcomed the trade because the Rangers' home stadium (Ameriquest Field, in Arlington) is notoriously difficult for pitchers. Moreover, Park could return to the National League [NL] West, the same league in which he had had so much experience and success with the L.A. Dodgers. His return to the NL created the expectation that he might regain his force and ability as an ace pitcher.

After Park's amazing success in MLB in the late 1990s, elite Korean baseball players "want to be 'like Chanho'" and left Korea for MLB or the Japanese league (Chung, 2003). In 2005 there were five active Korean baseball players in MLB: Chanho Park (Texas Rangers), Heesop Choi (L.A. Dodgers), Jaeung Seo (New York Mets), Sunwoo Kim (Washington Nationals) and Byunghyun Kim (Colorado Rockies). Korean fans and media called these Korean MLB players "Korean leaguers." The emphasis on

their nationality, i.e. Korean rather than on characteristics of each player obviously serves to strengthen nation and national identities (Wong & Trumper, 2002). Even though the impact of other Korean leaguers cannot be compared to Park's, these Korean leaguers were always in the media and fan spotlight in South Korea. Korean cable TV, which first contracted with MLB in 2005, basically structures its broadcasting schedules around the rotation schedules of these players. Therefore it was not surprising to observe that national sentiments were still embedded in Korean MLB fandom in 2005, notwithstanding the possibility to enjoy a variety of MLB games provided by new media technologies.

After the end of the 2005 season, the first WBC [World Baseball Classic] took place in March 2006 in the U.S. This was major league baseball's first international event,[153] mainly initiated and organized by MLB. A total of 16 countries from various continents participated, and many major leaguers joined their national teams. Historically, "international sports contests became a form of patriot games in which particular views of national identities and habitus codes were constructed and represented" (Maguire, 1999). The WBC could become an example of working between the global and the national; for this first time, national belongingness and competition were efficient promoters. Nonetheless, outside the U.S. and East Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, baseball enjoys popularity mostly in Central America. It is hard to expect that the WBC will be as successful an international event as the World Cup. Before the event, expectations both for the WBC and the Korean national team were not high. Not only did the event seem to be improvised by MLB, people expected

[153] As Miller argues, "the most concentrated and powerful intersection of nation and sport take place at these media-saturated, time- and space-compressed, international competitions" (1999)

the Korean team might be crushed by other teams such as Japan and the U.S. Overall, the WBC was regarded simply as a commercial project that engages the national sensibilities of local consumers to promote MLB internationally (Andrew & Silk, 2005). When the South Korean national team won six games in a row, similar to what happened in the 2002 World Cup, interest in the WBC surged not only in the South Korean Internet community but also on a national level. The responses of Korean MLB fans reveal that "the apparently more exploitative, economic motors of globalization may be contested at local level through populist yet divisive discourses such as explicit nationalism (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2004).

"The National" Still Matters in Korean MLB Fandom

The case of MLB fandom in South Korea clearly shows that "the national" is the key to the unprecedented success of global sporting event [MLB]. I refer to "the national" as nationalistic sentiments, discourses, and rhetoric surrounding MLB fandom in South Korea both from the mass media's representation and from the activities of Korean MLB fans in the community. MLB fandom in South Korea shows that the national is a de facto parameter that is contested and negotiated by and with global popular culture, and how the national is intertwined with the expansion of the global sporting event. I suggest that the national is still critical to the success of global popular culture in local places. After defining "national fans" among Korean MLB fans, I analyze two ways that Korean MLB fans reproduce the national: making (community) history and creating interpersonal boundaries on national grounds in the midst of consuming MLB.

Who are “National Fans” of the MLB?

I have chosen the term “national fans” to describe Korean MLB fans whose key interest is only in Korean players and their performances. National fans tend to display a very nationalistic approach to watching and enjoying MLB; for example, they take for granted that they, as Koreans, unconditionally support any Korean players in MLB, and easily shift their favorite teams according to whether or not Korean players are included. My use of this term, however, is not intended to divide the fans in the community simply into two groups, i.e. national fans and non-national fans.

On the other hand, national fans as individuals and as a group can be equated with the state of “national fandom,” which has been a strong tendency among MLB followers in South Korea. From its beginning, as discussed in Chapter III, nationalism has been entrenched within MLB fandom in South Korea. In 2005, the majority of the fans in the online community leaned toward, or had the potential to lean toward, national fandom. Several interviewees who do not identify themselves as national fans nonetheless admit that they became more interested in Korean players and experienced more thrilling feelings over Park’s victories. Thus, on certain occasions, fans whose interest in MLB extends well beyond the Korean players in it are known to behave as if they are national fans.

Therefore, I am going to use the term “national fan(dom)” to refer both to people and their tendency to 1) willingly embrace the nationalistic discourse of MLB fandom in South Korea and 2) maintain major interest in the Korean leaguers. It is also important to recognize that national fan(dom) is neither a homogenous nor fixed collective identity but instead ranges widely depending on exclusivity and constancy.

In 2005, it is not always easy to be the national fans in the Internet community. They often encounter complaints from other types of fans, and even undergo inner conflicts when their favorite teams or players are pitted against Korean leaguers. While it is true that the implications of the national become highly complicated, Korean MLB fans kept reproducing the national in the process of enjoying MLB in the community. The following sections illustrate the detailed complexity of (re)constituting national history and national boundary within Korean MLB fandom.

Making National History: Remembering Park in the late 90s and Repeating the Rivalry against Japan

In 2005, Park not only still exists as an iconic figure in contemporary MLB fandom but also plays a central role in eliciting a multiplicity of controversies and responses. His peak as a professional baseball player seemed to end in 2001, the year after the end of the IMF intervention in South Korea, but his nationalistic images still flourish in current MLB fandom along with the fans' endless time travel back into the late 1990s. In addition, they also shared, germinated, recreated and reinforced memories of him in the Internet community (Ingold, 1996).[154] Thus, Park functions as a national time machine in that he reminds the fans of the late 1990s, the time when, coincidentally, his glorious days and the national economic crisis overlapped.[155]

On Park's 2005 game days, fans were still driven to make journeys into the past in which they revisited personal experiences of watching his glory days in the late 1990s.

[154] Ingold (1996) argues that persons and events are not intrinsically of the past: rather they become so only in relation to the moving prospect of the present.

[155] Maguire well explains the individual bonds with national memories through sport: he suggests that the emotional bonds of individual with the nation can have 'sleeping memories' which tend to crystallize and become organized around common symbols – national sports teams being one example (1999).

> *Mystery*: Today's game of Park reminded me of his golden days. At that time, I was only a high school student, so I had to ask teachers to watch the games together in the class rooms. In the late 1990s, he was really my idol, and is still one, though.

Fans also commemorated Park's glorious days when he reached his 100th MLB win, on June 5th 2005. Through honoring and celebrating his accomplishment, such a milestone inevitably reminded them of when he had played a commanding role in games and easily maintained an average win of 15-games per season.

> *Nettian*: It was just a few days ago when, with my co-workers, I gave shouts for his pitching while watching his games during lunch time. With his one victory, I was happy for a day or even a week. I really missed Park of the past [during the IMF intervention]. I really missed you [Park].

For several fans, recollecting Park during the late 1990s was connected with memories of traumatic events in their personal lives, including stories of bankruptcy of their family business or paternal unemployment. As images of Park were woven into the lives of these fans, their recollections both reiterated and reinforced his identification as a national hero, which was ubiquitous during the national economic crisis.

> *Lost Time*: In 1997 and1998, I was just over thirty years old. I was a guy who could be happy or inconsolable, according to how well [Park] played. At that time, the company kept firing employees… the mood of my office really sucked. I temporarily forgot this depressing environment through his games… yes, I clearly remember such moments. So, I kept supporting him whether he pitched well or not.
>
> *Satellite*: Didn't your family experience a blow during the IMF intervention? My family and my neighbors suffered the unemployment of family members. My parents had to work part-time in order to maintain our living. Meanwhile, Park became a solace in my personal life, which might be coincidental, but I hugely anticipated his every game at that time.

Posted memories of Park did not always elicit positive responses. Some fans were tired of the sameness of the repertoire around him, which mainly highlighted his contribution during the national crisis and described him as a national hero. As "Pegasi51" said, "I don't understand what 'we'[156] indicated when some mentioned 'Park gave us hope during the IMF intervention.' It was a too naïve idea to accept 'we' as whole Koreans." Fans who were really sick of others' excess and exclusive interest in Park even declared that this community is not a fan site only for Park.

It seems reasonable to state that, for Park's most devoted Korean fans, memories of his glory days in baseball are not confined to the dimension of the past. Moreover, repeating and/or reiterating such memories provide appropriate reasons for contemporary fans to support him and to display their continuing loyalty. By capitalizing on the fact that "Park was the only Korean in MLB," for instance, one fan encouraged others to "remember what he had done for us during the IMF period." Thus remembering Park is an active intervention of making collective or national history in the community both by reconnecting the past with the contemporary moment and by interjecting the fans' personal desires into the community through Park's images (Kuchler, 1996).[157]

Meanwhile, Korean MLB fans were making the national history by highlighting the rivalry between Korea and Japan, which inevitably entails the discussion of history the colonial occupation by the Japanese empire (1910-1945). During the WBC, which basically consisted of the competition among the national teams, Korean fans were

[156] The fans habitually utilize the 'categorized' use of 'we,' According to Miller and Alec, 'we' refers to a social or cultural category of persons, and sports fans do categorical 'we's and actual players do both types (1998).

[157] Kuchler argues that past is an active engagement in the present as well as a constituent of the real world (Ingold, 1996).

thrilled with performances of the Korean national team, which included several Korean MLB players, and, especially with its victories against the Japanese team during the event.

As Bairner (2002) suggests, rival political identities were constructed in (international) sports. Japan has been the biggest rival of South Korea in almost every sporting event. Such obsessive competition with Japan exists not only because Korea was colonized by Japan for 36 years but also because sports is a possible way for South Korea to both compete against and emulate Japan. This rivalry is present even in MLB, where the South Korean mass media and fans at one time paid more attention to Japanese players than others (e.g., comparing the records of Korean and Japanese leaguers and claiming that the Koreans are better than the Japanese). Park and Nomo, who began in MLB with the L.A. Dodgers at about the same time, are regarded as the most exemplary rivals. The WBC provided another venue for Korean MLB fans to augment a national narrative about the rivalry between Korean and Japan (Harootunian, 2004).[158]

Due to the way play was set up in the WBC, three of South Korea's six games were against Japan (in the regional, second, and semifinal rounds). The Korean team won the first two games but lost to Japan in the critical match, the semi-final; as a result, Japan advanced to the final and became the first WBC champion when it defeated Cuba.

Before the first match, the leader of the Japanese team, Suzuki Ichiro who plays for the Seattle Mariners, incited the traditional rivalry by stating that it would take 30 years for the Korean team to overcome the Japanese team. This blunder offended many Korean fans and later became the object of mockery after Japan lost its first two games. During the first match between South Korea and Japan, Korean fans enjoyed seeing

[158] Harootunian (2004) is suggesting that the form of the nation-state constituted the primary category through which historical writing 'reconstructed' the past for the present.

Ichiro hit by a pitch in the middle of the game, and called out on an infield fly as the final batter. National fans in particular were excited to see both Ichiro and Park, who represented Japan and Korea respectively in MLB, especially when the win was credited to Park.

> *Again*: The cream of the cream in today's games was the situation with two outs in the final inning. Park was against Ichiro, which might be possible only in the comics. Anyway, Park crushed the pride of Japan, Ichiro, and closed out the game. What a victory!!!

The second game also gave nationalistic stimulus to the fans when, as mentioned, Seo, the Korean pitcher for the New York Mets, planted the Korean national flag in the diamond after Korea's (second consecutive) victory. This incident encapsulated the national sentiments shared by players and fans alike and also illustrated the national desire to both emulate and fight off the enemy, in this case Japan, as well as to show off its prowess in an international event. Right after the second game, the Internet community was filled with the fans' exclamations of pride in the Korean team and how cathartic it was to defeat Japan. "Simon" exclaimed: "Unbelievable and incredible!!! What a moment this is, to fix the national flag in the L.A. Angels' stadium, to which the Korean leaguers returned thanks to overseas Koreans." Some even suggested that the government should give the players military exemptions based on their national contribution as cultural ambassadors.

However, in a different kind of celebratory mood, some fans exaggerated the implications of the victory over Japan by attempting to underestimate not only the Japanese team but also the Japanese leagues and baseball in Japan as a whole. Some fans,

suggesting that it was time to pop the bubble about the Japanese leagues, downplayed the history, infrastructure, and overall support of baseball in Japan.

> *CobyBraza*: For sure Japanese baseball is overrated. Although Japan is better than us, it is not a big gap.
>
> *Tim*: I don't agree that Japanese baseball is number two after U.S. baseball.

Some fans referred to historical events when interpreting incidents during the WBC. One such incident happened during the game between Japan and the U.S. when Japan lost the game because of a bad call in the 8th inning, which of course was made by American referees. While some fans sympathized with Japan, others smiled grimly and stated that it was worth seeing this unfair treatment after suffering through the exact same thing on the part of the Korean team for decades.[159] Japan, or the memory of the colonial occupation by Japan, still haunted Korean fans and their appreciation of games against Japan.

> *Fire*: It was clearly a bad call by American referees. But, we don't need to get upset. Japan has to suffer the same unfairness that we have experienced for decades.
>
> *Pojols*: This incident made me smile grimly because I remembered what Japan had done to us in the past

This intentional animosity reached its peak when Japan became the first WBC champions and some Korean fans called Japan shameful and/or lucky. "Park 61" posted that "none of the teams will acknowledge that Japan is the first champion of the WBC. Only Japan regards itself as a champion. The true champion is South Korea." Their rationale was that Japan, which had lost to the Korean team twice in the event, did not deserve the title.

[159] In this way, sport was used to reinforce the invention of a nation's selective mining of history (Levermore and Budd, 2004).

The overall responses to the rivalry and to Japan remind one that national sentiments, along with abstract and emotional memories of national history, recur in fans' ways of enjoying international events. As one fan said: "Despite [the fact that we are all] Asians, I [a Korean] don't want to be connected with the Japanese. To be honest, I am disgusted with the Japanese who regard themselves as the best in Asia."

However, some fans revealed their complexity in their criticism of the Japanese team and its players, particularly those who were also fans of MLB Japanese leaguers such as Ichiro and Nomo. Many fans also tried to balance their opinions by denouncing opinions that generalized the Korean team's wins into its general superiority over Japan's baseball capacity. They ignored nationalistic comments against Japan by treating them as evidence of the authors' lack of knowledge about baseball.

As discussed, Korean MLB fans intentionally or not kept building national narratives upon their favorite sports league, i.e. MLB both through recollecting Park's glorious days in the late 90s vis-à-vis the national economic crisis and through repeating historic animosity between Korean and Japan. Particularly, Park, as a national time machine, continues to furnish such nostalgic mantras as "We are Koreans and We are One."[160] Commemorating Park in the community suggests that the presenting of the past in memory is a self-relational process in fashioning identity (Kuchler, 1996). Memory seems to be at the core of identity: it connects who they are to who they once were (Storey, 2003).[161] In the online community, individual remembrances resulted in collective activities through sharing the ideas and undergoing the disputes among several

[160] Andrews and Cole argue that the nation remains a virulent force in everyday lived experience in the new millennium (2002).

[161] Storey (2003) builds the concept of "collective memory" in order to explore the roots of cultural identities.

fans. These commemorations bridge personal experiences of watching MLB to the Korean experiences of the late 1990s and even of early twenty centuries when (South) Korea underwent the national crises. The ways of making national history among Korean MLB fans demonstrate that the national is critical with the popularity of MLB in South Korea.

Building National Boundary: Racial Discrimination and Citizenships of the Korean leaguers

Not only making national history, Korean MLB fans were building national boundaries through having intensive discussions about such issues as the racial discrimination against, and the citizenship issues of Korean players in MLB. While the national fans were concerned with Korean leaguers, these issues particularly served to create senses of ethnic, racial and national boundaries within Korean MLB fandom.

One recurrent agony experienced by the national fans has to do with their perception that Korean leaguers receive unfair treatment or are even discriminated against by their teams, general managers particularly, because of their different ethnicity and nationality. This kind of conflict is usually associated with managerial decisions to bench Korean leaguers. This was not so much an issue with Park as with other players who had not established secure positions within their teams (e.g., Kim in the Nationals and Seo in the Mets).

Many Korean MLB fan fans believe that all Korean players have the potential to dominate the games, and insist that their managers should give them chances to show their ability. Naturally, in many cases, the managers' decisions fall short of these expectations. With Kim, for instance, "Chol & Metal" requested "retiring Robinson [the

Nationals manager] who became slightly senile. He is one of the axes of evil in MLB." "Byunt" also criticized Robinson as a "racial discriminator who is unfairly prejudiced against Asians except Japanese." Interestingly, most general managers who have Korean players on their teams are the target of similar complaints from national fans, although the intensity of the complaints varies. Although fans' ideas about racial discrimination against Korean leaguers may always be true, these controversies gave me the opportunity to explore contested desires of national fan(dom) about enjoying MLB.

An in-depth analysis of the debates around Heesop Choi, first baseman for the L.A. Dodgers, reveals that the controversy originated with Tim Tracy's [the manager's] decision to institute a "platoon system" (that is, to utilize two players as starters in one position according to the opposing pitchers). Choi, a lefty, would start only against right-handed pitchers, and would share the position with Olmedo Saenz, a veteran right-hander. At first this system pleased the national fans; it seemed a reasonable fit for Choi, as a second-season starter, because the intermittent nights off would help him maintain his stamina and pace. In addition, given that the majority of MLB pitchers are right-handed, Choi would probably have many more at-bats than Saenz. The platoon-system worked well for both Choi and Saenz early in the season: Choi hit a grand slam and, in one memorable game, three home runs. But as Choi continued to perform brilliantly, the national fans increasingly demanded that he should start every game.

When Tracy adhered to the platoon system, his original plan, fans became very irate and criticized not only that decision but also his overall management strategy. Some fans ridiculed his facial features, calling him "that stupid big jaw," and some even declared that "today, the L.A. Dodgers need to be blown out [i.e., to suffer a huge loss],

so there emerges huge criticism against Tracy," accompanied by the hope that such a blow-out game would be beneficial to Choi. At the same time, fans urged Choi to "take on more a bullying and swaggering posture by chewing bigger bubble gum in order to erase the submissive and humble image typically associated with Asian players." When Choi's pace dwindled off after he participated in the home-run derby at the All-Star Game, ironically or not the national fans decided that his slump was because of "Tracy's stupid decision to keep the platoon system."

Such complaints and abuse inevitably draw strong objections from other fans,[162] some of whom supported Tracy's decision and strategy and dismissed the national fans' arguments as childish grumblings. "Hoosein" sarcastically points out that "a great commander in MLB [Tracy] all of sudden becomes narrow-minded with a 'big stupid jaw,' because of one Korean player." Some fans tried to provide more balanced opinions by estimating the pros and cons of Tracy's qualifications as a manager. "Sheed" mentions, "I am not sure whether, given his records, Tracy is a great manager, but I don't think that Tracy discriminates against Choi because of his Asian nationality." Other fans asked the national fans to respect other MLB fans, and even criticized them for their abusive remarks and for cursing Tracy and the L.A. Dodgers.

The fans' allegation of racial discrimination against the Korean leaguers contribute to increasing the sense of ethnicity and nationality among some fans, which often makes the fans believe the unfair treatment and discrimination against the Korean leaguers. It is not important whether Tracy was biased racially against Choi. Rather,

[162] As Martine and Miller (1999) suggest that a nation is clearly not the only club to which a sporting team and sports fans can belong.

such an allegation mirrors the nationalistic obsession of some fans as well as helps to intensify overall national boundary in Korean MLB fandom.

Another important issue that helps draw the national boundary is the question of who "national players" are in MLB, a question that is also closely connected with the issue of citizenship and mandatory army service, which is one of the most basic duties of Korean males.

As soon as Park emerged as a national hero in 1997, his mandatory service became the hottest issue when the rumor began that sons of the presidential candidate had been illegally exempted. The issue is still unavoidable for every Korean leaguer who goes to the U.S. before fulfilling this duty. After some Korean leaguers obtained exemptions in 1998, this issue emerged again in 2005 when the Korean national team summoned Korean leaguers for the WBC. Coincidentally, because baseball was dropped from the Olympics in 2005, many fans suggested that Korean leaguers should be given exemptions if the Korean team achieved success in the WBC. This would be similar to the privilege that the government gave to Korean soccer players in the 2002 World Cup. However, other fans argued that the significance of the WBC, which only began in March 2006, cannot be compared to the impact of the World Cup. Referring to the fact that military service is the minimum duty of Koreans, they argued that every Korean leaguer should go into the army. Of course, some fans do not care whether Korean leaguers fulfill their military duty or not; they only hope to enjoy more performances of Korean leaguers in MLB.

Because spending two years out of play is a really huge burden for Korean leaguers, a rumor began that Choi (the Dodgers first baseman) might apply for U.S.

citizenship in order to continue his professional career. Becoming a U.S. citizen would mean, of course, that he would be exempted from the mandatory army service in South Korea. Coincidentally, a (minor) Korean player was indicted for attempting to get an illegal exemption, and this incident instigated fans to speculate on the possibility for other Korean players to apply for US citizenship to escape from such legal issues. Then, fans began to discuss their opinions about acquiring U.S. citizenship, particularly whether or not Choi could or should still be regarded as a "national player" if he traded his Korean citizenship for U.S. citizenship. Fans' views of the matter fell into three basic categories: pro, con, and mixed.

Fans with no objections to Korean leaguers acquiring U.S. citizenship (the pro group) argue that any professional (athlete) has the right to pursue his or her dream. They especially emphasize that the Korean leaguers earn their living and also spend most of their time in the U.S. and reason that even if they become U.S. citizens, they can still be excellent Koreans both in terms of ethnic identity and national standards. They insist that "abandoning citizenship should not be treated identically with betrayal of the country," adding that such an idea is the result of exclusive nationalism or jingoism. Some fans simply feel sorry that Korean leaguers might lose the opportunity of a lifetime (to become major leaguers) simply because they have to perform military service in Korea.

> *DogoTak*: I will support our players regardless of whether they fulfill their duties. If they choose to serve in the army, it is a virtue for them; otherwise, I can enjoy their performance in MLB more. It would be too harsh for the Korean leaguers to give up their dream just due to the military service. If we blame them for giving up [their Korean] citizenship, we have to criticize all the immigrants in the U.S.

Fans who oppose Korean leaguers acquiring U.S. citizenship (the con group) emphasize that giving up Korean citizenship just proves that these players are pursuing their own interests by abandoning their national identity, which of course includes military service.

> *Chdao1*: To acquire U.S. citizenship simply proves that Choi gives up Korean citizenship in favor of his personal success. Every Korean male has to sacrifice his time in the army for two years. The Korean leaguers are Koreans before baseball players. They should be blamed if they opt to get U.S. citizenship in illegal or expedient ways.

These fans also point out that the two years are equally precious to other people, including MLB fans, and question why only Korean leaguers deserve to enjoy such a privilege.

Some fans express a mixed attitude: they do not object to the idea that Korean leaguers acquire U.S. citizenship to pursue their own dreams, but they would withdraw their support for them, since they are no longer "our proud Korean leaguers." Such a mixed attitude indicates that the fans are ready to understand the players' possible sacrifice of spending two years in the army as well as to respect a player's personal choice about which citizenship brings them the most benefit. This attitude demonstrates that the fans approve that any person may pursue his or her individual goal at the expense of citizenship. Nonetheless, their respect does not indicate that they are insensitive to the issues of nationality or military service. According to its rationale, a player who becomes an American citizen is simply an American player of Korean ethnicity, which for them is not a meaningful identity. The fans would keep supporting the Korean leaguers on the condition that they fulfill the requirement as Korean, i.e. the mandatory army service as much as the fans sacrificed their two years in the army while pursuing their own dreams.

This mixed attitude shows that fans who respect personal choices based on individual interests still value Korean citizenship for "their" MLB players. This tolerant but nonetheless substantially national attitude is well summed up by

> *NorthWind*: I went into the army without hesitation because I plan to live and work in South Korea. If the Korean leaguers avoid the duty of military service and choose to give up [their] Korean citizenship, I won't blame them for their choices. But they are no longer my favorite Korean leaguers. Instead they are simply American players who are also ethnic Koreans, which does not have significant meaning to me.

While enjoying a global sporting league, i.e. MLB, Korean MLB fans were still sensitive with such issues as racial discrimination, citizenships and the mandatory military service. Through highlighting racial and national difference, the fans tended to keep dividing their worlds into "us" and "them," of which crucial parameter is national issues. Particularly, the issue of fulfilling mandatory military services is interconnected not only with citizenships of Korean leaguers, but also with individual responsibilities as Koreans. I suggest that Korean MLB fans, intentionally or not, keep building national boundaries through enjoying MLB in the community, and that such MLB fandom efficiently demonstrates how the national is intertwined with the global popular culture in South Korea.

Structures of the National are Transformed in Korean MLB Fandom

Vignette: Encountering a S.F. Giants Fan in 1997

> *In 1997, I visited the U.S. for the first time: after quitting my job, I wanted to spend my last holidays there before starting to prepare for graduate school. While I stayed with my friend, a Korean who was an undergraduate at UC Berkeley, I encountered another Korean who was one of his friends. At that time,*

Park, who had been performing sensationally, was making MLB and the L.A. Dodgers popular in South Korea. The Dodgers were treated almost as a Korean national team: all of the Korean fans supported them. Coincidentally, during my visit to Berkeley Park was scheduled to pitch against the San Francisco Giants, long-time rivals of the Dodgers. The friend, an orthodox fan of the Giants, began to complain about the Korean media's poor treatment of MLB teams (other than the Dodgers) and, without hesitation, declared his support for his team, the Giants, even though Park was on the mound. His position, at that time, was more or less shocking to me who took for granted that Koreans should support Park and his team. I said to myself, "How daring he is to announce he is supporting the opponent of Park and the L.A. Dodgers."

As discussed, Korean MLB fans continuously make national history and a national boundary in the midst of enjoying global sports, i.e. MLB. However, any nationalistic argument, if presented without a plausible rationale or substantial evidence, faces other fans' oppositions. As the fans expressed a variety of responses to the disputes of racial discrimination and of national players, the national fandom among Korean MLB fans is becoming multifaceted and fragmented. Thus, I suggest that the "structures of the national" are being transformed in the process of consuming MLB among Korean MLB fans in the online community. After exploring the diversity within Korean MLB fan(dom), I illustrate the detailed changes within the structures of the national into two ways: Korean MLB fans rationalize nationalism as a question of personal tastes and as economic strategy.

Diversity of Korean MLB fans: "Park-ppa" [pro-Park] vs. "Park-kka" [anti-Park]

Although the national fandom is a major trend in the online community, Korean MLB fans also have diverse motives and different interests in MLB. In other words, some fans show cynical or even negative attitudes towards nationalistic discourses and sentiments in Korean MLB fandom. For example, a group of fans claims themselves as

"authentic" MLB fans, who have long-term loyalties to specific franchise teams, not influenced by national interest (Crawford, 2004).[163] As a way of showing diversity of Korean MLB fans, I will investigate two extreme fan groups in the community, of which crucial demarcations are different or even opposite attitudes to Park, a.k.a. a national hero.

Two extreme fan groups in the community are known as "Park-ppa" [pro-Park] and "Park-kka" [anti-Park]. Park-ppa includes fans who idolize Park as a national hero and relentlessly emboss the positive aspects of his performances irrespective of the games' real outcome. Park-kka is a group of antagonistic fans who intentionally disregard what Park did even during his heyday. Originally, the terms "ppa" and "kka" were Internet neologisms in South Korea, utilized to express contempt for shallowness and the low qualities of youth and fan culture. Linguistically, "ppa" and "kka" are suffixes that denote opposite tendencies or attitudes. Thus, people who identify themselves or who are identified by others as Park-ppa and Park-kka can be viewed as obsessed individuals who have intense interest in Park but in opposite directions (Crawford, 2004). Neither term was welcomed by the fans; they have remained very controversial and are mainly used for verbal attacks. One fan summarized their commonly accepted definitions:

> *MeDSax*: "ppa"s are regarded as fans who advocate Park despite his poor performance, and rationalize fortunate outcomes during the games as parts of his ability. They also never embrace any criticism against Park. Contrarily, "kka"s are fans who dare to attack him personally with insulting remarks. Meanwhile, "Middle"s are fans who supported Park as much as they cheered for other Major Leaguers, who accept some criticism [of him], and at the same time cheer him on because he is a Korean.

[163] According to Crawford (2004), any attempt to define what constitutes a fan will inevitably involve highly complex and subjective codes of 'authenticity' – i.e. who and what is deemed as 'legitimate' patterns of support, and how and what is not.

These groups, “Park-ppa” and “Park-kka,” have traditionally engaged in disputes about Park’s pitching on his game days. The former was always searching for positive elements, and the latter was always busy finding fault. In addition, both made totally opposite predictions about his late-career performances, which is odd because these evaluations and projections were based on the same games and performances. These disputes often led the two groups to debate Park’s contribution to South Korea and Korean MLB fans during the IMF intervention.

Basically, Park-ppa emphasizes that Park was the first Korean player to play with enormous distinction in MLB, and that he furnished Koreans with great joy, hope and refreshment during the IMF intervention. Because Park could not pitch regularly in 2002, 2003, and 2004, in 2005 they were gratified that they could watch his games regularly.

> *MLB Fans for 15 years*: Probably, I, now in my middle 30s, belonged to “ppa.” It doesn’t matter to me whether Park performed greatly or not. It was consoling enough to see him playing in the game. Of course, I was extremely happy if he dominated the opponents, and mistakenly felt that everything went well. I will support him forever.
>
> *Johan Liberto*: It seems that I have watched MLB for almost ten years. I had been a “Park-Ppa” although I hated this term, and I am still a kind of “ppa” because I nervously watch his games.

Given Park’s roles during the IMF intervention, this group does not hesitate to promulgate nationalistic discourses such as “we, Koreans, owe him too much, and it is time for us to pay him back through delivering patient and endless support.”

> *CroCob*: During the IMF intervention, everything seemed to be dull and pathetic. Then Park made us excited, which some people accepted as hope. These people who tasted hope through him still hoped that he would continue pitching in MLB.

On the other hand, “Park-kka” apply very sarcastic remarks to the nationalistic discourses and are often disturbed by the national(ist) aura around Park. This group mentions their lack of connection with what Park accomplished in the late 1990s and argues that therefore it is unfair to call them “ungrateful.” Meanwhile, they emphasize that Park has now become (in their opinion) the most infamous buster and argue that true MLB fans should not support someone who wastes the team budget simply because he is a Korean.

> *Extreme Fortunate*: I think that any MLB fans, who claim themselves authentic fans, should not support Park, who only wastes money of the team. I cannot give Park an exemption for wasting huge amount of money without any contribution because of the fact that he is a Korean.

Park-kka tries to tease Park-ppa by underrating his records and by mentioning ridiculous facts about his pitching. By enumerating his weak points, they also defend themselves and their point of view.

> *Devil with Angel’s Mask*: Park insisted on putting a specific catcher [Chad Kreuter] on his games, which in a long-term perspective did harm to the L.A. Dodgers. Besides, he did not step up whenever the team desperately needed his contribution. He also had very infamous records such as having two grand slams by the same hitter in an inning, giving a home run to Cal Ripken Jr. at his last appearance in the All-Star Game, and allowing Barry Bonds his 71st home run, which tied the record of the most home runs in a single season. He always struggled with bases-on-balls and hit-by-pitches.

By calling national fans “foolish-looking shallowism,” Park-kka often criticized national sentiments for its shallowness or opportunism. Park-kka also ridicules the flip-flops in the Park-ppa’s team allegiance by comparing them to migratory birds (i.e. that they change their favorite teams according to where Park goes). After the trade of Park to the Padres, “Chun” laments that “from now on, the San Diego Padres will become the franchise team of the Koreans like the L.A. Dodgers did in the late ‘90s.” Not only

against Park, Park-kka shares a negative attitude against the Korean leaguers and followed national interests among the national fans.

> *Newlife 385*: I am an orthodox fan of the Colorado Rockies, and really wished that none of the Korean leaguers would join my team although it happened at last. After Kim joined the team, some fans who never had any interest in the Rockies suddenly condemned Todd Helton [the team captain], and blamed bullpen pitchers for screwing up Kim's games. I really hate such shallow and narrow-minded people.

The logic of Park-kka is particularly intriguing because it is the counter-response to the entrenched nationalism found in MLB fandom in South Korea. In other words, Park-kka was invented in opposition to, and continues to be provoked by, nationalistic rhetoric from both the mass media and other Korean MLB fans. Park-kka regularly express their weariness with such phrases as "national debt," "a savior during the IMF intervention," and "a national hero," complaining that such nationalistic comments, which ignore non-Korean MLB players and teams on which no Koreans play, are over-the-top and even disgusting.

The analysis of two extreme groups in the community illustrates that Korean MLB fans are neither one-dimensional nor inflexible to the national fandom. The fans often generate cynical responses not only to the naïve ideas of national fans but also to nationalistic rhetoric in the mainstream media. However, it needs to be reminded that these two groups are similarly rooted in nationalistic obsession while they responded to it in opposite ways. As one fan mentioned, "people like Park-kka tend to blow off their national affection in a distorted and violent way." The rationales of Park-kka also show that its exaggerated hostility toward nationalistic rhetoric is largely provoked by mass media discourses. Thus, this analysis suggests two complicated arguments: nationalism

is entrenched in the diverse Korean fans groups to some extents and at the same time, the implications of the national have been contested, complicated and even blurred. In the next section, I will explore how structures of the national are being transformed among Korean MLB fans.

Nationalism as Personal Tastes

One salient way of appropriating the term "the national" in the community is to rationalize their nationalistic attitudes, either positive or negative one, based on their personal memories and experiences. That is to say, Korean MLB fans justify their national fandom as their personal tastes. Thus, I suggest that such a way of interpreting national fandom as personal tastes indicate that nationalism no longer works as a moral order or government's propaganda, but is justified as the outcomes of individual choices. The disputes about an "objective" position and the call to the national team in the WBC elucidate the changes in perceiving nationalism by the fans.

Even though the majority of community members tend to favor the Korean leaguers, another trend involves fans who identify themselves as the "pure fans" of MLB. Their main argument is that an "objective" position, instead of national fandom, is a requirement for enjoying MLB. Their foremost premise is that MLB fan(dom) should exist without the contamination of nationalism. By criticizing the national fans for being shallow and/or narrow-minded, they assert that they, the "pure fans," armed with an "objective" position, are the only ones eligible to be called "authentic" fans of MLB. To maintain an objective position, pure fans urge other fans to adhere to such reasonably objective parameters as productivity, profitability, and self-management.

Pure fans praise the productivity of each player, evaluating individual records in terms of wins, losses, RBIs [Run Batted In], and (for pitchers) ERA. Without a doubt, baseball is a sport of records—it maintains the most detailed and complex records and ways of calculating statistics for individual players as well as teams and leagues. Pure fans are particularly eager to adopt newly developed statistics: they keep updating data from these latest statistics such as OBP (On-Base Percentage) and OPS (On-Base + Slugging Percentage) for batters, and DIPS (Defense Independent Pitching Stats) and WHIP (Walks + Hits) for pitchers.

Along with their concept of productivity, pure fans also emphasize how profitable players are and even query whether a player's performance is worth his annual salary. "Martian" asks "how the authentic fans might defend a pitcher whose annual salary is up to $14 million but gives up a grand slam in the first inning." Arguing that Park is really overpaid, "Martian" continues, "it is nonsense for authentic fans to support such an unprofitable player." They advocate players who can product enough runs and hits or innings and winnings which prove their efficiency compared to their salaries.

Another element emphasized by pure fans is that players who manage and train their bodies well for the game deserve their love.[164] By targeting Park, whose injury screwed up three years of his career, they advocate bodily self-discipline as one of crucial virtues of professional athletes. They pointed out that it is players' responsibilities that players are always ready to be competitive and dominant in the games. Thus, pure fans suggest that authentic MLB fans should be concerned with how productive their favorite

[164] Their emphasis on self-discipline is coupled with the discourses of the New Right which put the problems of health and well-being in terms of personal, moral responsibility (Loy, Andrews and Rinehart, 1993).

players are, and even to select their favorite players based on such objective parameters rather than nationalistic sentiments.

Not surprisingly, the idea of an "objective" position advocated by the pure fans faced substantial oppositions in the online community. Many fans who do not even self-identify as Park-ppa express discomfort with the pure fans and their notion of objectivity; indeed, many fans regard the perspective of the pure fans as elitist or as self-distorted logic. Many fans took particular offense at the seemingly condescending attitude of the pure fans, who tended to snub other fans by treating them as lacking in knowledge about MLB.[165] One prolific fan summarizes such a discomfort:

> *Sack Artist*: I cannot understand how some fans who mainly supported the Korean leaguers are regarded as a low-end group. We similarly enjoy MLB, so why do we need to be taught and enlightened by these so-called maniacs? They preached, "How ignorant and benighted you are! How can you even mention nationalism while enjoying THE MLB?"…

Still other fans problematize the idea of fan objectivity by arguing that because it is natural for sports fans to be subjective the very idea of "objectiveness" is an oxymoron.

> *Go Helton*: I wonder when the notion of being objective changed. I assume that people who are supposed to make an objective comment are experts who have sport-related jobs. In this community, I am skeptical about how many fans who claim to be objective really have such a qualification. Before exploiting the term 'objective,' we should admit that we are not experts… We know that Park, now, is one of the busters. So what? Be objective with him? If you [the pure fans] maintain your objectiveness, watch the games objectively! But, never post such opinions to enlighten us! You are not supposed to enlighten us. This space is not your personal diary; rather, it is the community of people who like and enjoy the MLB.

[165] The position of the pure fans reflect those of elitist opinions towards art and high culture: in this vein, Crawford insists that such fans will consist of a very small 'elite' group of supporters (2004).

In a similar way, these fans defend national fan(dom) of MLB by saying that because fans are necessarily subjective, their nationalistic interest in MLB needs to be treated as one kind of individual choice, similar to the objective reasoning practiced by pure fans. "Wingslike" announced, "I will watch MLB in my own style whether others criticize my style for being too national or irrational."

> *Verybonds*: I do not find any strange or unusual symptoms from the fans who expressed, as Koreans, more than "objective and rational" responses to Park. Such responses are really similar to Boston's residents who are frenzied about the Red Sox. Why are Korean fans who support Park treated as parochial or exclusive-minded?

By declining the idea that an objective position is only a rational way of being a MLB fan, these fans justify their national motivations for supporting Korean leaguers. They argue that there is nothing wrong with MLB fans being subjective or emotional, either when supporting only Korean leaguers (like the national fans) or reserving their loyalty only for their favorite teams (like the pure fans).

> *Bermartiness*: It is natural as fans to be subjective rather than objective and to be emotional rather than rational. I do despise some hypocrites who pretend to be real MLB fans by looking down on other fans who like the Korean leaguers.
>
> *Hip-hop Rapper*: To be MLB fans is different than becoming fans of our local teams. MLB is a sporting league just of the U.S. There is no reason to be organic fans in order to become MLB fans. Why is it problematic for me to follow my favorite Korean leaguers rather than a specific franchise team?

Surprisingly or not, Korean MLB fans are not afraid of admitting their national fandom in MLB, at the same time, they proposed their national interest as one of legitimate reasons for being MLB fans. In response to the objective position of the pure fans, fans of the Korean leaguers justified their national interest as natural, even rational choices while

rejecting the concepts of “original” or “orthodox” fans within MLB fan(dom). This rationale in part proves that national cultures insulate their members from direct exposure to global influences and enable them to interpret global culture according to their values, and to reformulate and use it according to their interests (Hargreaves, 2002). Based on personal experiences, memories and the circumstances in which they consume MLB, the fans rationalize their national fandom as personal tastes and choices.

Another incident that gives us a hint of changes in the structure of the national was the fans’ diverse responses towards the call to the Korean leaguers to join the Korean national team in the WBC. After the 2005 season, fans were hyped for this new international baseball tournament, which was held in March, 2006. Controversy erupted over the selection of South Korea’s national players, specifically about whether Korean leaguers should respond to calls to join the national team. The problem was that participation might have interfered with their preparation for the 2006 MLB season. This had already been an issue for Park, who struggled early in the 1999 season after his stint in the 1998 Asian Olympics. Surprisingly, Park announced that he would join the national team in spite of fan concerns about his preparation for the 2006 MLB season.

Jaeung Seo, a pitcher for the New York Mets, got involved in the controversy without announcing a definite standpoint. First he made an ambiguous reply to the call to join the national team, saying he was not certain of joining because his condition was not good, so he might not be a helpful addition. Fans expressed a variety of opinions in response.

Fans who insisted that Seo should play for the national team generally embraced a typical nationalistic rhetoric, arguing that because the nation-state is essential for all Koreans, any individual must consider the national interest before personal ones.

> *Mcom01*: It is possible that Seo will not participate in the national team. I think that Seo needs to reconsider this issue on a macro level because the nation-state is requisite for every individual's existence.

Another fan suggested that Seo should repay the nation-state for his exemption from mandatory army service, a privilege he obtained by participating in the 1998 Asian Games (along with Park), by joining the national team. Some fans, who were really angry at his ambiguous position, called him shameless.

> *Huwon*: Doesn't Seo, as a Korean, think about the time when he will retire from MLB and return to South Korea? Doesn't he expect a true welcome from his mother country? If he refuses to join the national team, many Korean fans will also withdraw their support for him. And he should acknowledge how fortunate he was with the privilege of exemption from mandatory military service. I hope that he is willing to play for the nation-state.

Another group of fans also urged him to participate in the national team, but with a slightly different logic: Unless Seo joined the national team, other Korean leaguers who had not obtained military exemptions might not be selected for international events, which is the only way they could legally get exemptions. These fans insisted that Seo should join the national team in order to set a good precedent, which would ultimately contribute to increasing the number of MLB Korean leaguers. Their advocacy of Seo's participation coexisted with desire to watch more Korean leaguers' games in MLB.

Other fans argued that Seo's decision should be respected, whatever it might be, and basically refused the idea that the national interest must always supersede personal

choices; one even stated that pressure for Seo to join the national team was the result of "wrong nationalism." Fans also supported Seo's right to make an independent decision by pointing out that the 2005 season was the first in which he had pitched more than 200 innings; therefore, joining the national team might be too burdensome for him as well as possibly detrimental to the team itself.

> *ChanhoGoGo*: Such rhetoric as "Enhancement of national prestige" and "As public interest" was utilized intentionally to ignore the freedom of personal choice. The situation seems to pressure him to accept the national call. The scapegoat is always the players themselves.

Another fan emphasized that "Seo himself attained the privilege [of military service exemption]—it is not just a gift from the nation-state, but the result of his effort, so he does not need to feel sorry for not participating in the national team."

These diverse responses to this issue, i.e. the call to the national team, demonstrate that Korean MLB fans did not prioritize national interest before individual desires. They advocated the Korean leaguers' choice for preparing the next season, which might serve their own desires of watching more MLB games with the Korean leaguers. Thus the fans defend Seo not only for advocating the freedom of individual choice but also because they hope to see better playing from him in MLB next season. Korean MLB fans no longer perceive national interest as a sacred concept: rather, national interest is increasingly contested with individual desires and goals.

Nationalism as Economic Strategy

Another change within the structure of the national is that an economic aspect is increasingly important in Korean MLB fandom. For instance, the WBC explicit made

use of nationalism for eliciting national interest in the MLB from Korean baseball fans. At the same time, the fans discussed the issue of "national profit" in relation to broadcasting MLB in South Korea. Thus, I suggest that, within Korean MLB fandom, nationalism is more and more related to economics issues, not only to political and ideological ones. Consequently, such cases reflect on the changes in the structures of the national among Korean MLB fandom. To unveil the concrete shifts, I will examine two issues in the community: the role of nationalism in WBC, and the fans' dispute over "national profit."

News that the WBC was to be held in March 2006 broke in the South Korean Internet community in early July 2005. Ironically, at the time, the IOC (International Olympic Committee) voted to drop baseball from the Summer Olympic Games, starting in 2012. Not only because of unfamiliarity with the WBC, which was after all a new event, but also because of this news about the Olympics, fans were furious with MLB's response to the IOC and treated the launch of the WBC very sarcastically. They pointed out that MLB (which they called shamelessly selfish) would have cared more about the IOC vote if it had a vision of globalizing baseball itself.

> *Lonely Wolf*: The issue is that the MLB bureau has paid too little attention to the IOC and the Olympics. If baseball is ousted from the Olympics, MLB deserves the blame. If it holds the WBC and ignores the Olympics, I think that MLB is not interested in expanding baseball itself, but aims only to make money.

Similarly, some fans stated that "the WBC was a means for advertising MLB. Instead of the Olympics, MLB indulges in petty wiles through this event." Such hostile responses to the WBC were closely related to Koreans' low expectations of the national team in the event. Many fans predicted that the countries that had more MLB players, such as the

U.S. and Central American countries, would dominate the event. They were also concerned about the games against other Asian countries, particularly Japan, which was of course a major contender for the championship, and Taiwan as well, which had become a threatening opponent. On the other hand, some fans were pleased that they could enjoy watching MLB players even in the off-season, and they hoped that the WBC would contribute to expanding baseball in the world. Fans' initial responses to the event, therefore, could be called ambivalent: they recognized MLB's intention, i.e. to utilize the WBC, through arousing national frenzy from Asia and Latin America, as a way of globalizing MLB, while they were excited with the possibility of watching MLB players in the event.

> *Sheed*: The WBC seems to succeed in terms of commercial ends because it will be held in March, so many MLB players join their own teams. Based on the earning ratio, the U.S. will get the most money because it will probably win the event. Nonetheless, I anticipate this event.

During the WBC, fans often pointed out its hypocritical aspects, particularly how it seemed to be skewed so that the team USA would advance to the final round.[166] The system of the WBC clearly favored the team USA, which could avoid facing other strong contenders such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela until the final game. Nevertheless, such an intention was spoiled because the team USA lost two games against South Korea and Mexico in the second round of the event.

[166] As it was structured, two teams from each of four regional groups would advance into the second round, which is quite standard. Then, the structure got twisted: both teams would belong to the same group in the second round, and moreover, the second round was a round-table while a tournament would usually begin from the second round. Such a twisted system was configured to prevent any team, particularly team USA, from being eliminated for losing just one game. Then, the two best teams from two second-round group would advance to the semi-finals. What is more irregular structure is the two teams from the same group would have the semi-finals rather than crossing the groups. In this way, the team USA would avoid other contenders such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela until the final game.

Such circumstances made fans suspect that the WBC was an event just for expanding the market of MLB through eliciting national fandom from each country. However, this ambivalent reaction changed when the Korean team won six games in a row, including two victories against Japan and one victory against the U.S. Not only fans in the Internet community but also Koreans in general and the South Korean mass media became increasingly enthusiastic. The victories against Japan promoted nationalism to its fullest extent in South Korea. After the second win, in Anaheim, Seo put the Korean national flag on the mound and the image traveled worldwide over the Internet. Fans were quick to point out that the mental strength and national commitment of the Korean teams were the basis for this unprecedented accomplishment in Korean baseball history.

> *Rose*: United through patriotism, the Korean team is dominating the Japanese and U.S. teams. Baseball is called a mental game, so Korean leaguers are not intimidated by their opponents and show their mental superiority. I am so very proud of our players: at least today, the Korean leaguers are the best in the world.

Many fans expressed gratitude to the Korean team for giving them the opportunity to enjoy exciting moments as well as to feel national confidence and self-esteems as Koreans. They were proud of the Korean team, which made the world recognize the capacity of Korean baseball and Korea.[167]

It is true that the national fervor for the WBC made huge impact on Korean MLB fandom, but such sudden national fervor was not embraced by all fans. Some were quite concerned about the reaction of the mass media and its rhetoric. Fans also pointed out that commentators used too nationalistic a tone and tried to provoke nationalism in their audiences. "Perfect" says, "I am really offended by a commentator who exaggerated his

[167] Levermore and Budd argue that sport has played a role in constructing 'new' nationalism and nation-states, especially in effort to legitimize the creation of state by being 'recognized. (2004).

opinion that Korean national team suffered from unfair decisions by the American umpire, and by an announcer who made sarcastic comments about the opponents." After the games between the Korean and U.S. teams, many fans complained that the mainstream media was being too nationalistic.

> *Mauer*: The Korean team beat Team USA on its own ability. But I am quite irritated with articles that highlight how the umpire made decisions favorable to Team USA. I did not find substantial flaws in the umpire of that game, and I don't understand why the mass media always tries to provoke the audiences such a way.

For the semifinal game, which put the Korean team against Japan for the third time, a prepared "Mass Street Rally" took place in South Korea with cheerleaders and performers such as popular singers on stages. The Korean mass media broadcast not only the game but also updates of the street rally throughout the day. On the date of the semifinal match, "Bos86" mentioned that "MBC scheduled baseball-related programs all day long. MBC seems to be desperate for audience ratings." The fans were by and large sarcastic about such sudden interest from the mass media, pointing out that the mass media only followed the ratings instead of having a genuine interest in baseball.

The case of the WBC shows that a global agency such as MLB fully recognizes nationalism as a tool for selling or globalizing itself (Gillespie, 1995).[168] As Silk, Andrews, and Cole (2005) argue, "the proliferation and spatial reach of the transnational coporation [MLB] does not necessarily transcend the local with respect to national

[168] In a research of 'Punjabi Londoners,' Gillespie (1995) found that ethnic difference is a marketing tool, and suggested that one aspect of globalization is the corporate exploitation of local differentiation.

loyalties."[169] Thus, the success of the Korean national team in the WBC contributed both to globalizing MLB in South Korea and to increasing national confidence among Korean MLB fans. At the same time, Korean MLB fans perceived that the WBC utilized nationalism in order to expand MLB's markets into the globe. Conclusively, the case of the WBC and its entailed impact on Korea MLB fandom show that nationalism is used for an economic reason rather than political or ideological ones.

Another issue that reflects the changes of the structure of the national is an ongoing discussion on the relationship between "national profit" and enjoying MLB as Koreans. The idea of national profit in relation to MLB was present even in 1997 when MLB first became hugely popular, in the form of public concern that foreign currency [i.e., U.S. dollars], would be wasted if the public network spent money on MLB broadcasting rights in the midst of the national economic crisis (Chung, 2003). Compared to the debate in 1997, which was simply divided into the pros or the cons of spending public funds on broadcasting rights, in 2005 the fans evinced multi-layered and thoughtful opinions about what actually constitutes national profit. I suggest that the fans' disputes over national profit demonstrate that Korean MLB fans are increasingly approaching the issues of broadcasting and enjoying MLB in South Korea as an economic term rather than as political or economic ones.

In 2005, broadcasting MLB in South Korea changed after the contract purchased by MBC, a public network, expired and, surprisingly, X-sports, a small cable network, contracted to pay MLB $10 million per year for three years. Before the season, this bid was seen as too risky and reckless because MBC had already lost so much money over

[169] Silk, Andrew and Cole(2005) suggest that the nation can be corporatized and reduced to a branded expression of global capitalism's commandeering collective identity and memory. I think the case of the WBC is an example of using the nation or nationalism as a brand.

broadcasting MLB during Park's injury, a three-year period during which ratings had plunged.[170] Without Park's revival, it was generally believed that X-sports could not turn a profit. As Park continued to pitch regularly and other Korean leaguers played in other teams, however, the popularity of MLB increased and viewing rates soared again. Quoting the rating survey of August 11, "Korean Ball" noted that "on Park's game, X-sports has rating of 6%, which has been unprecedented for X-sports."

Due to the exclusive contract between X-sports and MLB, no public networks, including the two national networks (KBS and MBC), were able to broadcast the games or any footages of the games for their news programs. This was probably because the public networks would have to pay permission fees to X-sports, whose contract with MLB was exclusive, even for short clips. As discussed in Chapter III, such a lack of information about MLB's Korean leaguers on Korean public networks was very different from the situation in 1997, when the public networks were actively integrating Park's games not only in their sports news but also in the regular news programs. Soon, fans who, without access to cable TV, could not see footage of Korean leaguers' performances on the evening news, begin to complain.

Sharp and intense debate about broadcasting MLB over the public networks erupted, in particular when Park was pitching for his hundredth career win. These arguments either advocated for the public's right to watch or supported the use of market principles in deciding whether or not to broadcast MLB games. Neither group unilaterally supported or denied the public's right or market principles. Instead, the ways they developed their rationales illuminates the complex connections between national

[170] On the Congress hearing, one senator alleged that MBC, a public network, lost $ 9 million for four year contract with MLB between 2001-2004 (Prussian, 10/11/2004).

profit and their interests as consumers, and between national interest and their desires as individuals.

Some fans emphasized that public networks have a responsibility to satisfy public or national needs (in this case, the desire to watch Park's games). Because his games were generally regarded as national sport events, fans regarded them as "a public good" (Miller et al., 1999). According to this position, for networks to exclude Park's news and clips was an abandonment of national duty.

> *Ramon*: Today, the MBC sports news does not mention Park's nice pitching at all. It is too frustrating for me as a fan of Park and as a loyal watcher of MBC news. It is pathetic for MBC as a national public network to leave out news about Park. MBC is just a very selfish corporation.
>
> *Sack artist*: It seems that not only MBC but also other national networks by mutual consent have decided not to mention Park in their news programs. All the networks are jealous of X-sports. In the past, they sent correspondents to the baseball stadiums in the U.S. to report the news about Park.

Some fans who advocated the idea of the public right also blamed X-sports for demanding high fees for clips of Park's games rather than the public networks for not paying such fees. According to this point of view, by trying to make a huge profit X-sports took advantage of the public and held a national desire hostage.

> *Mets1*: I am sure that the popularity of MLB would diminish if the national networks kept being silent about the Korean leaguers. As a right of public access, X-sports should provide clips of MLB games to the national networks. Hey, officers of X-sports: Please offer news materials to the national network! Ultimately, increased interest in MLB would be helpful to your company.

Other fans asserted the opposite position: that decisions about broadcasting MLB games, and clips on news programs, should be made according to market principles, and that

such decisions ultimately might increase media coverage of the MLB games. Their detailed, diverse suggestions included asking the public networks to pay higher fees to X-sports because "the public networks attempt to exploit X-sports in the name of the public right of knowledge." They also argued that MBC should pay an appropriate fee to X-sports, because the contract between MBC and MLB four years earlier had been primarily responsible for the increase in broadcasting fees.

> *Uhm*: The problem is that, under the pretext of the public interest, the national networks tried to get a free ride when obtaining MLB footage from X-sports. MBC should have been more aggressive about purchasing broadcasting rights if it wanted to advocate the public right.

Another suggestion was for X-sports to provide clips to the national networks at a lower price, which would increase X-sports' profits and also increase interest in MLB. Here, the logic was that delaying news coverage of MLB on MBC, merely over money issues, would ultimately damage the reputation of X-sports and harm its profit margin. Even if it provided clips for free, X-sports would "get more financial gain because the public interest in MLB would be increased through coverage of MLB and Korean leaguers on the news programs of the public networks."

The discussion of national profit implies that the national is repeatedly enmeshed with MLB fandom in South Korea. Broadcasting MLB is still discussed in terms of a national or public right, which means that the performances of Korean leaguers are treated as national things, not simply as individual careers or achievements. Nonetheless, Korean MLB fans also support the ideals of market principles rather than only advocating the idea of the national profit. The disputes over national profit and the fans' diverse

perspectives to it, I suggest, show that the fans are taking serious of economic impact of MLB, and they did not regard national profit as a sacred, monolithic concept.

Conclusion: Individuated Nationalism among Korea MLB Fandom

As discussed, MLB fandom in South Korea might be regarded as a result of interactions between the global and the local. However, Korean fans' ways of enjoying MLB show that a simple dichotomy between the global and the local is neither an appropriate nor effective theoretical frame to explain MLB fandom in South Korea. Such a limitation of the global/local dichotomy largely originates from the ambivalent position of sports in globalization: the success of global sporting events largely depends on their local roots (Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004).[171]

Moreover, the entrenchment of nationalism in South Korea increases the limitation of this dichotomy, which fails to explicate the nationalistic sentiment surrounding MLB fandom. As Rowe argues, sport's compulsive attachment to the production of national difference may constitutively repudiate the embrace of the global (2003). In South Korea, nationalism is still an influential and crucial factor in constituting both the growing interest of Korean fans in MLB and the mediation of globalizing strategies by MLB (Bariner, 2001).[172] Analyses of the significance of Park and the controversies around national fans clearly demonstrate that the local is not the

[171] Ben-Porat and Ben-Porat suggest that the close affiliation of sports with national cultures and identities has the potential to undermine, rather than support, global integration (2004).

[172] Bariner (2001) argues that there is no indication that a globalized event eradicates the role of nationality.

other of the global (Miller et al, 2001).[173] Rather, as my study exemplifies, MLB fandom uses the local and the global for different purposes, i.e. to enhance national or even statist belongingness and unity, and to increase its own profit and promote its own values (Tomlinson, 2001).[174]

Moreover, I suggest that "the national and the global" rather than "the local and the global" is a better frame in which to explicate MLB fan(dom) in South Korea. As Andrews and Silk (2005) state, the nation is of central and prefigurative importance in global promotional imperatives. In other words, the cultural practices of Korean fans must be examined in terms of the premise that the national (which includes governmental intervention, nationalistic discourses, and nationalism) is a de facto parameter that is contested, negotiated and reconstituted by globalizing trends. Analyses of fan remembrances of Park vis-à-vis the IMF intervention and of the national frenzy over the WBC illustrate that sports can serve as the most emotive vehicle for harnessing and expressing bonds of national and cultural affiliation (Silk, Andrews & Cole, 2005). In particular, fan discussions about "national players" reveal that official citizenship and the citizen's duty, i.e. mandatory military service, are instrumental to fans' decision making around issues of support. Also, the fans' discussions on the issues of racial discrimination and the military services demonstrate that nationality is still the core of their interests.

[173] Miller et al. provide an ESPN's slogan, "Think globally, but customize locally" as its example (2001).

[174] Tomlinson suggests sports products as an important and visible symbol of social status and identity' in 'the construction of a world of symbols, ideas and values' (2001).

Therefore I suggest that "individuated nationalism" can efficiently describe how globalizing tendencies in South Korea, e.g. the expansion of MLB, are mediated by local structures, including the nation-state and the nationalistic discourses.

I suggest that experiencing MLB in South Korea helps reconstitute national identity and transform the structures of the national; albeit nationalism is still critical to the success of global popular culture. As discussed, different attitudes to the national fandom, and diverse approaches of national profit suggest that the implications of the structure of the national have been contested, complicated and even blurred. Korean fans often generate cynical responses not only to the naïve ideas of national fans but also to nationalistic rhetoric in the mainstream media. Fans also appropriate or reinterpret the "national" in diverse ways, based on their interests. In reference to the word "national," for example, one group advocates the national responsibility for the national team and the other advocate individual desires of the Korean players.

However, these changes in the national do not imply that the idea of the national is eradicated or changed into the transnational. For instance, the examples of Park-kka and pure fans illuminate how the national or national sentiments are entrenched in Korean MLB fandom. Both groups, who originate mainly from the opposition to nationalistic rhetoric, also show their obsession with the national. Such responses indicate that the national, through its transformed implications, is closely connected with the various ways that Korean fans enjoy and consume MLB.

Finally, I argue that individuated nationalism reveals the complicated and even contradictory processes by which the national is intertwined with the idea of individuality

in South Korean MLB fandom (Calhoun, 2002).[175] As pure fans advocate the idea of "objectiveness," other fans understand and partly accept certain hallmarks of neoliberalism as the qualifications of professional individuals. For instance, the fans spoke highly of such criterion as productivity, profitability, and self-discipline or management when they evaluate MLB players. On the other hand, by rationalizing nationalism as individual choices, national fandom can be justified as legitimate and maintain popularity among Korean fans.

It is still too early to make a judgment on individuated nationalism or to ask whether it is regarded as a better or worse type of nationalism compared to the oppositional or developmental nationalism, which, for decades, were hegemonic discourses within Korean nationalism. It is also too early to conclude that individuated nationalism indicates the emergence of neo-tribes, i.e. loose, fluid multiple groups in which individuals participate, and move in and out of several times each day (Bauman, 1998). Nonetheless, it is true that individuated nationalism is a result both of Korean fans' long, self-reflexive deliberations and of their intensive debates of the relationship of the national to MLB fandom, not only of government enforcement or ideological manipulation. Individuated nationalism is still being contested and reconstituted through the ongoing interactions of the fans in the Internet community. Thus, it is important and necessary to keep paying attention to, and attempting to understand, the multiplicity of national fans of MLB in South Korea.

[175] Calhoun (2002) suggests the dialectic relations between the polar terms – nation and individual, and adds that the ideas of nation and individual developed together in Western history, too.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

Through exploring South Korean MLB fans and their online community, I examined the transformation of national identities of people who enjoy and experience global sports in their local places. The analyses of Korean fans and their community showed that the national is still crucial with the success of the global sports in South Korea, but at the same time, the structure of the national among the fans has been substantially changed.

Global Sports and Nationalism/Nation-States

In this study, I examine the expansion of global sports vis-à-vis the transformation of nationalism and nation-states with emphasis on three aspects: nationalism in the global era; structural reform of nation-states as a result of interactions with global agencies, and the interconnection of global sports to nationalism/nation-states.

First I investigate the duality of nationalism in the global era, in which it is undergoing revision as well as manifesting itself in new ways. In reviewing theories of nationalism, particularly as it relates to Korean nationalism, I conclude that the study of nationalism must be grounded in the study of the historical and contextual concreteness of a society. South Korea's nationalist ideology, which had been hegemonic for decades, faced substantial challenges in the late 1990s.

Although modernist and primordial perspectives on nationalism provide general insights into its characteristics, they are limited in that both have been developed through consideration of European history, and then both, particularly the modernist view, privilege Western experiences of nationalism. Neither can properly explain the development of nationalism in Asian countries, which have undergone dissimilar industrialization processes and colonial occupation. Therefore, I insist that it is imperative to explore historical specificities and their influences on nationalism in order to understand nationalism's presence in a specific society or nation-state.

The two critical incidents in Korean modern history, colonial occupation by the Japanese empire (1910-1945) and the civil war (1950-1952), resulted in two dominant nationalist discourses, oppositional and developmental. They also established the notion of nationalism as powerful and omnipresent in Korean everyday life, so much so that it became not only mythic but also a moral imperative that every Korean must respect and adhere to. Moreover, Korean nationalism has been intensified systematically through governmental propaganda, a state-approved curriculum about national history, repetition of daily routines, historic commemoration, and international sporting events. In the 1990s, this hegemony was damaged not only by the economic crisis but also by academic discussions, shifts in the political landscape, and changes in the everyday life of Koreans.

Rather than declaring the end of nationalism, I suggest that Korean nationalism has been transformed through its response to several challenges. I further propose that the transformation of Korean nationalism can be understood in part through examining how global sports, i.e. Major League Baseball, was consumed in tandem with nationalistic discourse in South Korea, and how such nationalistic representations

contributed to reconstituting an altered nationalism there. The endurance of Korean nationalism through its crisis of the late 1990s shows that nationalism can survive globalization, particularly in a non-Western society, but not without substantial changes in its form and status.

Second, I investigate transformations of the nation-state and local governments as they compete against, negotiate and compromise with global agencies. By examining the structural reforms of Korean society that were required by the IMF and their aftermath, I conclude that the Korean government retained control of their implementation and coordination. Nonetheless, the emergence of transnational corporations, speculative funds and other powerful institutions such as the IMF and WTO has changed and often diminished the roles and degrees of influence wielded by nation-states and local governments. As a way of illuminating these changes, I examine the transformation of certain economic and political sectors of Korean society during the economic crisis (1997-2000) and concluded that the structural reforms were selectively accomplished by what could be regarded as compromises among different interests (transnational and domestic conglomerates, the IMF and the government). These compromises also represent an attempt to stabilize conditions for foreign investment by guaranteeing market predictability, financial transparency and a flexible labor market; it is not clear that the transformation of the Korean government and its connection to economic sectors was a central goal of the structural reform in the late 90s. However, some functions of the Korean government did change because of IMF requirements; for example, after 2000 the government no longer played a direct and central role in executing economic

plans, but retained crucial roles both in negotiating with global agencies and coordinating domestic economic sectors.

This analysis of these changes in the Korean government reveals that the roles and influences of local government have also been constrained and decreased by global forces. Nonetheless, it does not prove that local governments are powerless or inefficient. Instead, they are still crucial agents of the structural reforms requested by global agencies such as the IMF and are critical to the negotiation of international treaties.

Third, I examine the interconnection of global popular sport (MLB), to Korean nationalism and the Korean government. In doing so, I draw two conclusions: first, that media representations of Park in MLB directly contributed to promulgating the idea of a national individual as an explicitly altered form of nationalism; and second, that the ways that government intervened in expanding MLB in South Korea encapsulated the shifting roles of local government.

As the hegemonic influence of both oppositional and developmental nationalism began to decline under the pressure of the economic crisis, media representations of MLB and Park in South Korea contributed to reconstituting an altered nationalism as a hegemonic ideology. The three major characteristics of an altered nationalism which this new governmentality attempted to promote in the late 1990s, are a self-governing individual, global economic success, and personal responsibility for both family and nation-state. I propose that representations of MLB and Park generated the idea of the "national individual" at this time, as a model for a new kind of citizenship. In turn, both this altered nationalism and the idea of national individuals promoted the roles of individuals who, for the first time, were considered to be responsible for their own well-

being as well as for the well-being of their family and the nation-state. The idea that every Korean should be competitive in the global market relieved the government of its burden of social welfare. It became an ethical responsibility for national individuals to achieve their goals in global competition, which would then assist national development.

On the other hand, as I argue, the Korean government played a key role both directly and indirectly in broadcasting MLB and increasing Park's popularity. This began in 1997, when public networks began to broadcast MLB nationally and to treat news about Park's performances as national items. Governmental officials also explicitly referred to Park and used his image in conjunction with their own agendas; he was even drawn into a political issue during the 1997 presidential election. Nonetheless, the role of government could more accurately be described as a coordinator, rather than an executive producer; its concerns had shifted to orchestrating overall processes instead of directing and controlling each component.

I argue that the ways global popular culture (MLB) has expanded in South Korea have intersected with constituting altered nationalism and have also corresponded to the structural reforms of the nation-state itself. Representations of MLB provided examples of national individuals as models for the altered nationalism of the late 1990s, just as the ways that government intervened in expanding MLB are analogous to other changes in its roles that took place during the IMF crisis.

In this study I emphasize that people, mostly in the Third World or developing countries, are forced to face globalization in their local places, not in 1st world metropolitan areas. Although the influences of globalization are undeniable in economic,

political and cultural dimensions, such experiences often end up providing support for nationalism and local governments.

Global Sports and National Identity

In the dissertation, I investigate how the global sports are embedded in (re)constituting national identity among local sports fans, and then how national identity has been transformed in this process. In exploring the popularity of MLB, a form of global popular culture, in South Korea, this study focuses on global sports as a key element in national identity, the presence of national sentiment in global popular culture, and the transformation of "the structures of the national" among the sports fans. Finally, I argue that experiencing this form of global popular culture does not cause Korean MLB fans to nurture cosmopolitan or hybrid identities; rather, cultural practices among Korean MLB fans exemplify the characteristics of "individuated nationalism."

First, I examine the roles of global sports in constructing and transforming national identity among local fans. This study locates sports as a serious life activity and a form of cultural expression. By analyzing cultural phenomena around MLB fandom in South Korea, I argue that consuming global sports contributes to the construction of national identity among global sports fans.

Consuming sports is no longer considered a waste of time or simple hobby: fans actively search for their favorite sports leagues, teams and players, and develop relationships with others who share the same interest. Both by obtaining more knowledge about their favorite sports and sharing information and feelings with others, fans use sports to constitute individual and collective identities. Particularly, global

sports occupy a complicated or even contradictory position between globalization and national identity; they can be a new pioneer as well as a repudiation of globalization. Cultural practices among Korean MLB fan show that MLB fandom in South Korea is a result of interactions between the global and the national. Nonetheless, Korean fans' ways of enjoying MLB in community indicate that a simple dichotomy between the global and the national is neither an appropriate nor effective theoretical frame. The cultural phenomena around Korean MLB fans demonstrate that global sports utilize national sentiments to increase their markets and promote their popularity. While global sports corporations attempt to increase their profits, nationalism can function as a facilitator that contributes to nurturing organic or locally rooted fans.

By treating sports as a serious cultural form in everyday life, I conclude that consuming sports contributes to developing individual as well as collective identities among Korean sports fans. It is obvious from my observations of MLB fandom in South Korea that global sport highlights the dichotomy between the global and the national: nationalism is still an influential and crucial factor in attracting Korean fans to MLB.

Second, I propose that the national can be still critical to the success of global sport in local places. The case of MLB fandom in South Korea clearly shows that the national (nationalistic sentiments, discourses, and rhetoric) is the key to the unprecedented success of global sporting events there. This study analyzes two ways that Korean MLB fans reproduce the national: making (community) history and creating interpersonal boundaries on national grounds in the midst of consuming MLB.

Because nationalism is still embedded in the everyday lives of Koreans, MLB fandom in South Korea is predicated on the assumption that the nation, manifested in

governmental intervention, nationalistic discourse, and national sentiments, is contested and negotiated by with global popular culture. In the online community, individual acts of remembering Park and his glory days is an echo of such active intervention, both in the senses of reconnecting the past with the present and of rearticulating MLB fans through memories of Park, and memories of images of Park, as a national hero. These commemorations bridge personal experiences and the Korean experience of the late 1990s; in fact, they are often intertwined with explicit memories of national crisis under the IMF intervention. In addition, Korean MLB fans often connect MLB to national history by referring to the nation's historic rivalry against Japan.

At the same time, Korean MLB fans draw national boundaries through their community via heated discussions of citizenship issues and the racial discrimination faced by Korean players in MLB. Issues of choice, mobility, adaptability, and profitability, as well as of history and current politics are brought up in discussions of Korean MLB players' citizenship, and discrimination based on ethnicity and nationality. Discussion of these issues also serves to create a national boundary around Korean MLB fans.

Therefore I suggest that the nature and character of MLB fandom in South Korea efficiently explain how the structures of the national are intertwined with the expansion of global sports. Whether intentionally or not, while Korean fans enjoy MLB they construct national history and boundaries. Such seemingly conflicting practices prove the ambiguous relationship of global sport to national identity.

Third, I insist that the structures of the national are being transformed in the process of consuming global sports among local people. The ways that Korean fans

enjoy MLB illustrate the detailed characteristics of the changes within the structures of the national. I suggest that Korean MLB fans rationalize or understand nationalism as both a question of personal taste and economic strategy.

My analysis of Korean MLB fans illustrates that the implications of the national have been contested, complicated and even blurred, as fans often generate cynical responses not only to the naïve ideas of national fans but also to nationalistic rhetoric in the mainstream media. The fans also appropriate or reinterpret the term the "national" in diverse ways, based on their interests. Thus, I insist that Korean MLB fans rationalize their nationalist attitudes as their own, based on individual memories and experiences. The entanglement of global popular sports with national identity shows that nationalism is no longer a moral order: rather, it becomes subject to personal tastes. At the same time, within Korean MLB fandom, nationalism is increasingly discussed in economic senses rather than in political or ideological ones. It is not surprising to observe that the success of the Korean national team in the World Baseball Classic [WBC] contributed to encouraging national fandom in South Korean and, consequently, to globalizing MLB in South Korea. The case of the WBC shows that a global agency such as MLB fully recognizes nationalism as a means for selling or globalizing itself. At the same time, Korean MLB fans intensively debated the relationship between national profit and enjoying MLB as Koreans. However, some fans advocate the ideals of market principles rather than national profit. Such diverse perspectives of national profit also indicate the changes in the structures of the national: national profit is not longer a sacred, monolithic concept.

I conclude that experiencing MLB in South Korea helps reconstitute national identity and transform the structures of the national; nationalism is still critical to the success of global sports. I suggest the term "individuated nationalism" to explain the complicated and even contradictory merging of the national with the idea of individuality. The notion of individuated nationalism implies that, in South Korea, nationalism is still embedded in people's everyday lives, but it can be justified and even chosen as an identity based on individual memories and experiences rather than embraced as a moral imperative or the result of government enforcement or ideological manipulation. Korean MLB fans utilize their national fandom as a source of individual identity based on personal experiences, memories, and the circumstances in which they consume MLB. Therefore, MLB fandom in South Korea can be regarded as a result of interactions between the global and the local and individuated nationalism is a result both of Korean fans' long, self-reflexive deliberations and their intensive debates about the relationship of the national to MLB fandom. As with nationalism generally, individuated nationalism is also being contested and reconstituted through the ongoing interactions of Korean MLB fans.

Fans (Audiences) in an Online Community

I have two aims in choosing an online community as a research subject. First, I wish to affirm that an online community, including interactions and relationships among its members, is a legitimate and useful resource for media studies. Second, I want to suggest ethnography is a way of exploring everyday lives of people on the Internet. By

conducting an Internet ethnography, I provide a detailed case study of an online community.

Media audience studies attempts to explicate how people utilize media programs and technologies in their lives. In order to pursue a holistic understanding, many researchers adopt an ethnographic approach, for example, watching TV programs with research subjects and even residing in their homes. Such methodological schemes are criticized for their brevity and lack of theoretical rigor. Nonetheless, the emergence of new media technologies brings about new opportunities and challenges to media studies. As a way of responding to the demand for ethnographic rigor and to take advantage of new mediascapes, I have chosen an online community and people's interaction in it as a research object. This study shows that an online community is one of the most useful fields for observing and making contact with a population.

I argue that only an ethnographic approach, which requires theoretical and practical rigor, can enable us to understand how people are engaged with new media technologies, particularly the Internet. Based both on a review of previous studies about Internet community and on my personal journey through an online community, I attempt to elaborate a nuanced way of conducting ethnography in the Internet. Three key issues are my location as an ethnographer, the field or object, and the practicalities of designing an ethnographic method. An Internet ethnography includes observation and participation in an online community, analysis of online bulletin boards and face-to-face interviews with Korean MLB fans.

At the same time, I attempt to combine an ethnographic approach with other qualitative research methods. For this purpose, I examined economic data and political

and institutional changes in South Korea during the late 90s, reviewed theoretical discussions about nationalism and national identity in South Korea, and analyzed mass media representation of MLB. Assisted by the understanding of the systematic or macro aspects, I suggest that the Internet ethnography contributes to explicating the transformational process of cultural and national identities of MLB fans without falling into naïve populism. This wide-ranging set of methods, including an Internet ethnography and other qualitative methods, is an attempt to understand the complex web of the transformation of national identities vis-à-vis political and economic changes in South Korea.

Second, I conduct an Internet ethnography of an online community of Korean MLB fans (www.mlbpark.com), including a detailed analysis of their activities. In doing so, I generate two conclusions, showing how Korean MLB fans construct both individual and collective identity within an online community and tracing its materiality through certain fundamental characteristics.

Beginning with the sensational popularity of MLB in the late 1990s, Korean MLB fans have utilized their particular online community as their main resource not only for satisfying their interest in MLB but also for sharing thoughts and feelings with other fans. I explore three aspects of identity construction: information of consumption; alternative ways of communication; and the culture of the community. Information of consumption refers to the special features of information-related processes among fans in the community, in which production, consumption and distribution are interconnected and overlapping. Such reciprocal ways not only help generate features unique to each community, they are also crucial in the development of fan identities within the

community. Alternative ways of communication spans three broad categories: posts as both interpersonal and mass communications; post language as straddling the line between written and oral communication, and posts as examples of diverse debate tactics. All of these interactions, including posts, replies, and e-notes (also known as private messages), contribute to bringing about a culture unique to each community. Korean MLB fans also make their online space a community through building personal relationships and developing social rules and cultural artifacts. Together, all these elements of online community enable fans to generate individual identities by developing their own skills as well as to construct collective identities by sharing these skills and tactics.

While the fans enjoy information of consumption, communicate with each other, and create group culture in the community, their constructed identities are not necessarily virtual or unprecedented. Instead, they are interconnected with fans' offline lives and social contexts, which renders it necessary to illuminate specific features of the online community as they relate to offline life. This study suggests that interactions among MLB fans show how the online community veers between the virtual and the real, and between online and offline existence. I refer to these dualities as a community's materiality, which I discuss in terms of three contradictory states: time(less)ness; (a)historicity; and (trans)locality or place(less)ness. Time(less)ness in an online community demonstrates that fans' lives there are coterminous with the patterns of their offline lives. Community historicity includes so much ambiguity and ambivalence that the history of a community, which fans are relentlessly and constantly constructing, may evaporate into anonymity ("no one person's history"). Finally, place(less)ness helps to

construct a complex sense of (trans)locality in the community, which reflects its real lack of location and the multiplicity of locations from which its members participate.

The analysis of Korean MLB fans in their online community illuminates how fans develop individual as well as collective identities there, and how this development parallels, and is sometimes the outgrowth of, much larger influences. But Korean MLB fans do not passively receive cultural elements; instead, they actively produce, distribute and consume MLB—and share their experiences with and journeys through the larger culture—as a way of pursuing pleasure. Just as nationalism and the national can fulfill the lives of some citizens but not all, online community can provide opportunities for personal growth and change, but not for everyone and not in every circumstance. Therefore, it is important and necessary to pay attention to the everyday life of fans in their online community, the contexts that shape their offline lives and their nation, and how these elements interact.

Limitation and Suggestion

At the stage of completing the project, it is almost inevitable to admit its limitations along with the feeling of mixture between dissatisfaction and desire. For the purpose of suggesting further directions, I will enumerate several limits of this dissertation at this stage: lack of discussion of a gender issue within altered nationalism among Korean MLB fans; need for producing nuanced claims of individuated nationalism, and necessity for increasing rigor in conducting ethnography in the Internet.

First, this project needs to consider the role of gender both in the discussion of nationalism and in the activities of the online community whose majority is males.

Arguably, the discussion of nationalism has been gender-biased, or at least, it has been in large gender-blinded. Particularly, the issues of nationalism and national identity in South Korea reflect hegemonic masculinity of its society. Nationalism in South Korea is predominantly about the story of male heroes such as generals, politicians and even sports celebrities. The context that this project has delved into is no exception to this gender bias: Park, as a national son, projected an image of a new national individual and his representation in the media contributed to reconfiguring nationalism in South Korea. In doing so, I could not unveil the complexity of nationalism in relation to its hegemonic masculinity. Such a lack becomes more conspicuous in terms that the majority of my research subjects are males. Supposedly, about 85 % among the members of the community are males, and such a male dominance among the active participants or prolific posters would be increasing. Given this circumstance, the role of gender or the lack of female in the community needs to be discussed to make more nuanced claims on transformation of national identity among local sports fans.

Related to the first limit, secondly, I need to produce more nuanced claims of individuated nationalism. Structurally this project can be divided into two: the first analyzed the economic and political changes of the Korean society and their entailed consequences on the crisis of nationalism. The latter explored the interactions and activities among small groups of Korean MLB fans in their community, and discussed transformation of national identity in it. Intentionally or not, such a division produced an inconsistency regarding the scopes of research subjects, the scales of arguments and the levels of theoretical abstraction. In this vein, the term individuated nationalism invites more or less moderate tone: individuated nationalism is suggested as a notion for figuring

out a slice of transformation of national identity among global sports fans rather than as a next hegemonic nationalism that reflects the whole society. To argue more substantive and general arguments, I also need to examine diverse dimensions of national discourses, including mass media.

Thirdly, this project requires more effort in refining its methodology. The Internet ethnography that I suggested as an appropriate method for exploring the Internet and its people needs to be theoretically developed and to be conducted more rigorously. To improve methodological concerns, several different approaches are required. It is necessary for me to practice and exercise more ethnographic research for developing efficiency and skills within the fields. I also need to clarify my research directions in conducting Internet ethnography: it requires to redefine objects and fields, and, subsequently to argue theoretical or philosophical justification in its method. For further the Internet ethnography, it is imperative to clarify the frames and scopes of observation and analysis, particularly the relationship between online and offline lives in an online community. Thereafter, it is possible to produce substantial arguments of the influence of an online community on the transformation of (national) identity of people.

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