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Racial and Sexual Discrimination Occurring to Korean Players on the LPGA Tour

Seung-Yup Lim
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Seung-Yup Lim entitled "Racial and Sexual Discrimination Occurring to Korean Players on the LPGA Tour." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Exercise and Sport Sciences.

Joy T. DeSensi, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Leslee A. Fisher, Diana Moyer, Gi-Yong Koo

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Racial and Sexual Discrimination Occurring toward Korean Players
on the LPGA Tour

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Seung-Yup Lim

August 2009

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the U. S.

The participants of the study were 11 Korean professional golfers who were enrolled as members of the LPGA in 2007. The qualitative methodology of interviewing was employed which consisted of semi-structured questions within cultural studies and feminist standpoint theory. Six semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted: three group and three individual interviews. After data collection was completed, the data was analyzed using inductive analysis method to create themes.

Consequently, this study discovered that the Korean players on the LPGA Tour had negative experiences toward the treatment they received during their careers in the U.S. In regards to the experiences related to their race, Korean players believed that racial discrimination existed in the LPGA Tour. They thought that they were singled-out, and it was easy that one Korean player's fault became generalized as all Korean players' problem. In addition, Media (e.g., *Golf Channel*) and the LPGA were indifferent to Korean players in terms of displaying Korean players on television and at the LPGA website. Above all, Korean players

were silent to the perceived racial discrimination due to their lack of fluency in English.

Regarding the experiences related to their gender, it was revealed that, as a social institution, the LPGA had played a significant role in producing traditional gender ideologies, by emphasizing female golfers' femininity. In addition, as a majority of the society, white male caddies as well as male Pro-Am players sexually harassed Korean players either verbally or physically. Most importantly, sexual harassment occurring to Korean players on the LPGA Tour could be considered sexual racism due to its nature that a majority group of people (white male caddies) of the society discriminated against minority women from an Asian country.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One day, one of my professors asked me the question, “Can you explain why there are so many Koreans on the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) Tour, and why they play so well?” As a fan of golf who studies the socio-cultural aspects of sport, I thought I should have the answer to these questions. However, I had no idea at that moment. Afterward, I explored the issue of the influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour, particularly focusing on the aspects of social justice of their experiences. This incident became the motivation for this study.

The LPGA, which was founded in 1950, is an American organization for female professional golfers that has its headquarter in Daytona Beach, Florida. The LPGA is known for running a series of professional golf tournaments from around the world between February to December each year. In 2009, the LPGA holds 31 official events in 10 countries with official prize money of nearly 55 million dollars (LPGA, November 19, 2008). In its early decades, the LPGA was run by and dominated by Americans until the first international player, Sandra Post of Canada, gained an LPGA Tour card in 1968. Afterward, the number of

international players on the LPGA has increased; currently there are 122 active international players representing 27 different countries in the 2009 season.

In particular, the number of Korean players has increased significantly since Se Ri Pak began participating on the LPGA Tour in 1998. In 2005 for example, there were 24 Korean players on the Tour, and their number increased to 32 in 2006. And then 45 players participated in the Tour in 2007 and 2008. Currently, there are 47 Korean players participating in the LPGA Tour for the 2009 season. The number of Korean players is significantly higher than any other nation, followed by Sweden with 14 players and Australia with 10 players in 2009 (LPGA, n.d.a). In addition, the number of Korean players would be higher if Korean-American players such as Michelle Wie and Christina Kim were included.

The influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour was fueled in part by the influence of the LPGA's new marketing strategy in the 1990s. Historically, since the 1970s, the LPGA has been working diligently to create a variety of marketing strategies to make the organization more profitable (Kwon & Kim, 2006). One of the marketing strategies they used was publicizing their athletes' sexual appeal. This approach brought satisfactory results, increasing their sponsorship from 10 percent in 1975 to 40 percent in 1978. In the 1990s, however, this marketing strategy had confronted its limitation. To illustrate, the LPGA kept promoting their own style of tournaments, focusing on only upper class white athletes, spectators (including galleries), and LPGA officials. Ty Votaw, Commissioner of

the LPGA in the 1990s, recognized the limitation of the athletes' sexual appeal and attempted to change it into globalizing the LPGA by inviting international players from other countries (Kwon & Kim, 2006). As a result, the LPGA became one of most preeminent internationalized sport organizations in the world (Golf Channel, n.d.).

During the past decade, the LPGA has been growing in many ways with the influx of international players, mostly from Korea. The performance level of the Tour improved and became more competitive. Although there might be other reasons that account for the overall decline in average scores of the Tour, according to Karrie Webb, a LPGA Tour player, the primary reason for this decline has been the influx of international players (Kwon & Kim, 2006). For instance, the average scores of the top players in each year were getting lower as Judy Rankin finished the 1973 season with a score of 73.08, JoAnne Carner finished the 1983 season with a score of 71.41, and Annika Sorenstam finished the 2004 season with a score of 68.70. In addition to this improved performance level, Votaw testified the success of the LPGA's new marketing strategy stating "attendance, TV viewership, web site traffic, and purses are up" (Blauvelt, 2003, October 10).

Meanwhile, Korean players, as foreign players, also gained benefits from participating on the LPGA Tour. They had more opportunity to participate in tournaments and because of that, they had a chance to earn more prize money

than they would receive in the Korean Ladies Professional Golf Association (KLPGA). For example, in 2004, the LPGA held 31 events with \$39,870,000 in prize money, while KLPGA held 13 events with \$3,000,000 in prize money (Chosun Press, 2004, January 6).

In 2003, the top player on the LPGA Tour money list, which is determined by the players' total earnings of each year, earned over 23 times more than the top player on the KLPGA Tour. Furthermore, the number of tournaments in the LPGA was directly linked to players' experiences that helped Korean players improve their golf skills and confidence.

Korean players on the LPGA Tour have affected the KLPGA in promoting the Tour. In general, it was rarely seen that women's golf received more attention than men's golf. In Korea, however, women's professional golf was bigger in size and more popular than men's among Korean golf fans. Compared to the Korean Professional Golf Association (KPGA), the KLPGA had twice as many tournaments in 2001 (e.g., KLPGA 16 events, KPGA 8 events) (Kyunghyang Press, 2001, May 3). In 2003, the KLPGA held 18 events totaling 5.8 million dollars, while the KPGA held 15 events totaling 5 million dollars (Kyunghyang Press, 2003, January 16).

Controversies have emerged in relation to Korean players. According to Shin and Nam (2004), the notable presence of Koreans on the LPGA Tour both in numbers and high performance levels added pressures for non-Korean players

(e.g., American and European players). In fact, the average number of Korean players in a tournament ranges from 25 to 35 (17 to 24 percent) out of approximately 144 total participants. For example, 32 Korean players out of 144 total participants participated on the 2007 Ginn Tribute Tournament, and 31 Korean players out of 148 total participants participated in the 2007 Ginn Open tournament. This indicates that non-Korean players have less opportunity to be a member of the LPGA Tour because of the positions Korean players have taken.

The notable performance of the Korean women is another issue which has emerged on the LPGA Tour (Shin & Nam, 2004). For example, there were 9 Korean players in 2005, 11 players in 2006, and 9 players in 2007 in the top 30 of the official money lists (LPGA, n. d. b), earning about 45,697,060 dollars from the LPGA Tour since Se Ri Pak began to participate on the LPGA Tour.

Related to this situation, a controversial incident regarding Korean players occurred when Jan Stephenson, a long-time LPGA player from Australia, stated the following in an interview with *Golf Magazine*:

This is probably going to get me in trouble, but the Asians are killing our tour. Their lack of emotion, their refusal to speak English when they can speak English. They rarely speak. We have two-day Pro-Ams where people are paying a lot of money to play with us, and they (Asians) say hello and goodbye. Our tour is predominantly international, and the majority of them are Asians. They have taken it over. (Kessler, 2003, November 1)

What is more interesting is the second, third, and fourth ranked players were Koreans when Stephenson took this interview. Therefore, it is highly possible that

Stephenson targeted Korean players when she referred to “Asian” in the interview. She is known as player who disagreed with the new strategy of internationalizing the LPGA, which was executed by Commissioner Votaw, stating as follows:

If I were commissioner, I would have a quota on international players and that would include a quota on Asian players. As it is, they're taking American money. American sponsors are picking up the bill. There should be a qualifying school for Americans and a qualifying school for international players ... Sixty percent of the tour should be American, 40 percent international. (Kessler, 2003, November 1)

The controversial situation regarding Korean players on the LPGA Tour became more serious when Juli Inkster, another player on the LPGA Tour who is usually known to be very considerate, agreed with Stephenson’s opinion (Kwon & Kim, 2006). Also, Bobby Lincoln, a South African professional golfer who played in Asian tournaments, supported Stephenson’s perspective by stating:

I agree with her [Stephenson]. It's a funny tour because the [Asian] players play the round and off they go. No one ever goes to a function. No one talks even though they can speak a bit of English. She's quite right, off they go and they don't care too much. (Blauvelt, 2003, October 10)

Stephenson’s comment in the interview received great amount of media attention and most of the media criticized her race-based perspective. For example, Brent Kelley, a journalist, stated, “Jan Stephenson has put her foot in her mouth with comments some might call racist and few would call sensible ... It will get her in trouble, and it should. It is a truly stupid thing to say.” Roger Maltbie, an

American professional golfer, also said “Her comments are preposterous, and border on racist” (Kelley, 2003, October 10).

As antipathy toward Korean players increased on the LPGA Tour, Korean players were described as ‘outsiders’ of the Tour by the media. According to Kim (2007), sport narratives produced by U. S. sport media and are likely to depict the success of Korean women on the LPGA Tour within the concept of Asian women’s stereotype and gender norms. She also argued that these narratives construct racialized representations and furthermore establish a “we and they” opposition.

As demonstrated above, issues of Korean players on the LPGA Tour have generated a great deal of controversy. However, there is lack of empirical research to sufficiently examine social aspects of this particular phenomenon. Limited research has been conducted by Korean researchers (Kim, 2007, October; Kwon, 2006; Kwon & Kim, 2006; Shin & Nam, 2004). In Shin and Nam’s (2004) study, they investigated why female Korean golfers on the LPGA are thriving, and concluded:

At the core of their [Korean players] success are several traits that are consequences of their cultural upbringing: a work ethic that is the envy of the tour, a devotion to the game that is unparalleled, and indomitable mental toughness. (p. 223)

Meanwhile, Kwon (2006) investigated how Se Ri Pak’s victory in the 1998 McDonald’s Championship, one of major tournaments of the LPGA Tour,

received nation-wide attention in Korea when there are a number of negative images about golf in general in Korea. For example, the sport of golf represents power and wealth in Korea and has been used as a place where political/economic backdoor dealings are negotiated. For this reason, golf is viewed negatively by Korean people (Hankook Press, 1998, July 21).

Although the mass media in general has been addressing the issues related to Korean players on the LPGA Tour, there is a lack of empirical research exploring the socio-cultural issues associated with the influx of Korean players.

Statement of the Problem

Since the significant influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour began in 1998, Korean players have overwhelmingly presented on the Tour both in their number and performance, generating several issues both in the U.S. and Korea, such as antipathy toward Asian players by non-Asian players (i.e. Jan Stephenson's interview). This issue has been noted in numerous newspaper articles and magazine interviews published dealing with Korean players in the past few years (Arkush, 2003; Blauvelt, 2003; Branch, 2006; Brown, 2003). However, very little scholarly research has been conducted on this topic, and notably, these studies have neglected to investigate Korean players' in-depth perceptions of their experiences while they participate on the LPGA Tour. In this respect, it is significant to understand the Korean players' perspectives regarding

their experiences as a participant on the LPGA Tour. This necessity of understanding Korean players' standpoints initiated this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the United States.

Significance of the Study

Although there is much written in news papers and magazines regarding Korean players on the LPGA Tour, the amount of scholarly research is not sufficient to understand the socio-cultural and social justice issues of the Korean women on the LPGA Tour. In this regard, this study is significant as a foundation for future studies related to international sport participations.

Since athletes began playing in the other nations in the late 19th century, a number of social discordance was emerged in and out of sports (Maguire, 1996). As foreign players in the U.S., Korean players on the LPGA Tour are also involved in social discordance, and they might have been treated as subordinate group members on the Tour. Regarding this, political feminists promote women to garner their experiences and use it for social movements; further they

recommend the subordinate group members to use their experiences for political actions. By exploring Korean players' experiences, this study will help the LPGA better understand the standpoints of Korean players, and eventually will provide an actual evidence to be used for potential social movements or political actions to eliminate injustices occurring within the LPGA Tour.

Framework of the Study

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, a framework has been selected which draws from a number of theories and allowed me to address sport as a serious social phenomenon. In this respect, this study was grounded in cultural studies that regards culture as political and popular culture as the arena in which race/ethnic conflicts (Hall, 1998; Slator, 2005). In this study, I viewed the influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour as a socio-cultural phenomenon in which racial conflicts may occur between Korean players and non-Korean players (e.g., American and European players).

Female Korean players may be considered a subordinate group in the U.S., male-dominant society. Feminist standpoint theory provides essential examining of the systemic oppressions in a society that devalues women's knowledge, assuming that women's lives and roles in almost all societies are significantly different from men's. It is also argued that women have a broader understanding and knowledge to survive in the male-dominant society. It is because they, as a

subordinated group, have to understand both men and women's perspectives, with which women may challenge to the existing male-biased conventional society to enhance their human right (Narayan, 1989). Thus, feminist standpoint theory can be considered as not only a significant theoretical framework through which the experiences of Korean players is explored and understood, but also a way through which Korean players can relate their experience in a significant way. I believe that the perspective of feminist standpoint theory enables me to understand Korean players' experience more clearly. More on these theories will be addressed in the review of literature.

Scope of the Study

This study focuses on Korean female professional golfers on the LPGA Tour who are available for the interview during Spring 2008. It does not include all Korean women players on the LPGA Tour. Thus, the result of this study cannot be generalized across all South Korean women playing on the LPGA Tour.

As a Korean male investigator who had never been involved in women's professional golf, I understand that I may have potential limitations regarding the topic of this study such as the influence of my own male perspectives on women's professional golf. Thus, a possible limitation to this project is my own gender and lack of golfing experience. Even though I played golf for a couple of years with a certain amount of knowledge of the sport, I am in some ways unable to fully

understand the professional Korean women golfers' experiences. Professional women golfers spend most of their available time in practicing golf, and live differently when they were a student-athlete in Korea. After becoming a professional, they moved across the U.S. participating in tournaments. This is a different life from the recreational golfers, and, thus, their experiences are different. Fortunately, however, from my experience as an international student residing in the U.S. for a couple of years, I am able to understand the experience of Korean players whose race and ethnicity are labeled as non-dominant or subordinated in the American society. I can somewhat relate to how Korean players on the LPGA Tour understand their own status and the importance of their experiences throughout their career in America. Similar to my personal experiences in American society, Korean players may have been through different types of unequal treatment and situations because of their race. Therefore, these similar experiences may help me understand Korean women players' perspectives.

Definitions

In this section, I have defined the terms used within the context of this study. However, it is possible that these terms can be differently used in other contexts:

The LPGA Tour. Golf tournaments that are organized and carried out by the United States Ladies Professional Golf Association.

Korean Players. A group of female professional golfers, whose nationalities are South Korean and are all registered and played on the LPGA Tour as international players in 2008. This study does not include Korean-American professional golfers, such as Cristina Kim or Michelle Wie.

First and Second Generation Korean Players. Korean players on the LPGA tour are largely divided by two groups based on the year they started playing on the Tour. First generation Korean players are referred to the Korean players who started playing on the Tour from 1998 to 2003. On the other hand, second generation Korean players are referred to the relatively younger Korean players who entered the Tour after the first generation Korean players' success. The second generation Korean players entered the Tour since 2004.

Social Justice. Social justice refers to the concept in which justice is achieved in every aspect of society, rather than merely the administration of law. It is generally thought of as a concept, which affords individuals and groups fair treatment and an impartial share of the benefits of society (Atkinson, 1982). In this sense, social justice is defined as, “branch of the virtue of justice that moves us to use our best efforts to bring about a more just ordering of society – one in which people’s needs are more fully met” (Rodes, 1996, p. 620). Solorzano and Yosso (2001) also defined social justice as, “working toward the abolishment of racism, sexism, and poverty, and the empowerment of underrepresented minority groups” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 595). In this study, the concept of social

justice was relate to racial and sexual treatments experienced by Korean players on the LPGA Tour since they have Asian female identities in the white male dominated society.

Cultural Studies. According to Wright (2005), cultural studies should be contestable, have the potential for change and be open to debate, including at least one of following foci: (a) theory; (b) power; (c) social justice; (d) social and national identity/identification; (e) taking the popular seriously; (f) social difference and diversity; (g) interdisciplinary drawing; (h) being flexible; (i) being praxis driven; (j) specificity of individual projects and location; (k) never creating or endorsing canons; and (l) negotiation, revision, and rejection. In this study, social difference and diversity aspects, and social justice were specifically addressed.

Feminist Standpoint Theory. Collins (2000) argued that feminist social science should be conducted through the standpoint of women or particular groups of women because they are better equipped to understand certain aspects of the world as a subordinate group in the conventional male-dominant society. In this study, feminist standpoint theory is defined as a social theory that is used to understand Korean players' experiences as women on the LPGA Tour.

Organization of the Study

The following chapter discusses theoretical backgrounds of the topic including the history of women's golf in the U.S., the influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour, and socio-cultural influences of Korean players on the Tour. In addition, a theoretical explanation of cultural studies is discussed. As a theory to the topic, feminist standpoint theory is also discussed in the next chapter. Chapter Three outlines the methodology of the study. Specifically, it covers how pilot studies were completed, the selection of and profiles for participants, the methods used for data collection, and analysis method. Chapter Four contains the findings and discussion along with the theories presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Five presents overall conclusions about the study and suggestions for future investigations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the U.S. In this chapter, I reviewed literature regarding history of professional women's golf in the U.S., Korean players' influx, its effects, and controversies. Plus, I discussed my understanding of cultural studies, literature regarding Korean players' cultural aspects, feminist standpoint theory, and its usefulness to this research.

Women's Professional Golf in the U.S. and the Relation to Korean Players

A Brief Overview of Women's Professional Golf in the U.S.

Historically, women in the U.S. were introduced to golf shortly after women in Britain entered into competitive golf when the first British Women's Amateur Championship was held in 1893. Two years later, the first American Women's Amateur championship was held under the guidance of the USGA in November 1895, at the Meadow Brook Club, Hempstead, Long Island. The first American women's golf associations were founded starting with The Women's golf Association of Philadelphia in 1897, followed by the Women's Metropolitan

Golf Association of New York and the Women's Golf Association of Boston in 1900, and the Women's Western Golf Association in 1903. As women's golf associations were established, American women, including the Curtis sisters (Harriet and Margaret), went to British Amateur Championships that were extended to an unofficial match of England versus the United States (Kahn, 1996).

It was in the mid the 1920s that women started professional golf in the U.S. The representative female professional golfers were Bessie Fenn, Virginia Hayes, May Dunn, Helen MacDonald, and Virginia Pepp. In the 1930s, there were only four tournaments for professional women golfers that were Hardscrabble Open in Arkansas, the Texas Open, The Western Open, which launched in 1937, and Titleholders at the Augusta country club. Although the latter two tournaments were regarded as the premier events, they had no prize money at the early period of its beginning (Kahn, 1996).

In 1944, the first organized women's golf organization, The Women's Professional Golf Association (WPGA), was established by three founding members: Hope Seignious, Betty Hicks, and Ellen Griffin. When the WPGA was in its infancy, it experienced financial and manage mental difficulties. Betty Hicks, the first president, describes the difficulty as below:

The first organization of women's professional golf was conceived in wrath, born into poverty, and perished in a family squabble. Thus was the Women's Professional Golf Association born: a bawling scrawny child of

early day feminists, a beggar of a child pleading for tournaments and for amateurs to become professionals to play in those tournaments. (Kahn, 1996)

It is said that Seignious, the daughter of a cotton broker, invested great amount of father's money in the Tour that was in need of funds. Although the WPGA confronted such difficulties at the beginning, it began to be more professional and public with the support from Wilson Sporting Goods and the effort of Fred Corcoran, Marketing Director. However, the organization confronted its demise in 1949 due to problems such as no funding base, lack of communication between officers, the vast size of the country, the slowness of communicating by letters, lack of cohesion, and opposition (Hauser, 1998; Kahn, 1996). Nevertheless, the association served the important role of being the first professional body that established the groundwork for the formation of the LPGA (Hauser, 1998).

From Its Beginning to the 1980s. In the early years of the association, the 13 founding members devoted themselves to the development of golf as a professional endeavor for women. Board members worked to establish the LPGA without receiving any form of guaranteed compensation for their efforts. The board members played several roles for the association as they planned, organized, and participated in tournaments. In addition, they drafted by-laws, and oversaw membership procedures. Board members Betsy Rawls, Marilyn Smith and Peggy Kirk worked to increase popularity in women's golf by emphasizing

members' style and personality. During its first season (Tampa Open, January 19 to 22, 1950), the LPGA held 14 tournaments with \$50,000 in total prize money. Growth occurred gradually as the number of events increased to 21 in 1952. By the end of the 1950s, the LPGA increased the number of tournaments to 26 and the amount of prize money increased to \$200,000 (LPGA, n.d.c).

After a modest beginning, the LPGA experienced increased popularity and acceptance in the 1960s (Worldgolf.com, n.d.). Attendance grew and the association's participating members encountered financial stability and support from the public. The Tour further established itself as a respected sports organization as television coverage increased throughout the 1960s and businesses within the golf industry began to sponsor events (LPGA, n.d.c).

As the number of tournaments and the amount of prize money increased in the 1960s, the legendary golf trio of Kathy Whitworth, Mickey Wright, and Betsy Rawls dominated the Tour. They won a combined 225 tournaments during their careers (Hauser, 1998). Particularly, Whitworth, who joined the LPGA Tour at the age 19 in 1959, accumulated 88 tournament victories during her career. Her 88 career victories were the highest record in the U.S. history of men's and women's golf (Kahn, 1996). In addition to the tournament wins, Whitworth received the Vare Trophy seven times (1965-67, 1969-72), which is given to the player with the lowest scoring average at the end of each season. She also captured the LPGA Player of the Year Award seven times (1966-69, 1971-73)

(LPGA, n.d.d). Meanwhile, Wright, who is considered as the greatest woman golfer, joined the LPGA Tour in 1955 and won 82 tournaments, including four U.S. Open titles, four LPGA Championships, and one Dinah Shore Tournament. In 1963, she won 13 tournaments, and was the leading money winner for four years. Wright won five consecutive Vare Trophies from 1960 to 1964 (Kahn, 1996).

The LPGA Rookie of the Year Award was a major prize that was created in 1962 to recognize a player's highly successful inaugural season. Mary Mills, who won nine events, which included three major championships, became the first recipient of the prize (LPGA, n.d.f). Other prestigious awards in addition to the Rookie of the Year Award were the Player of the Year Award, established in 1966 to recognize a player who achieved consistent excellence throughout the year. The first recipient of the award was Kathy Whitworth (LPGA, n.d.c).

In the 1970s, Jane Blalock, Carol Mann, Ray Volpe, and Nancy Lopez were considered as significant figures that played developmental roles for the association. For example, Mann was responsible for the change of administrative direction of the LPGA. Volpe was hired as the first LPGA's commissioner in 1975 and he was the first person that utilized professional marketing expertise to the organization. As a result, the association experienced unprecedented growth as the total amount of prize money available to participants increased to \$6.4 million (Kahn, 1996).

The decade of the 1970s was dominated by JoAnne Carner, who debut the Tour at her age of 30 and still plays on the Tour, with the record of 23 victories in the 1970s out of her 43 career titles. A few years later, Jan Stephenson from Australia came to the Tour in 1974 (LPGA, n.d.c), and became the sex symbol of the Tour within a few years. She attained popularity with her fresh young attitude, style, and performance. Stephenson was named 1974 Rookie of the Year (Hauser, 1998).

The decade of 1970s is significant in women's sport as a consequence of the enactment of Title IX in 1972. In this period of time, women's sport teams and programs were rapidly developed, global women's rights movement started, the health and fitness movement was publicly spreading in society, and media coverage of women's sports increased (Coakley, 2007, a). As a result of such social changes, golf became more widespread in college and high school sport programs, enabling more girls to join these teams. Afterward, a new wave of talented young players who were aided by increased opportunities to participate in scholastic and intercollegiate golf began joining the Tour in the 1980s (e.g., Beth Daniel, Betsy King, Juli Inkster, and Patty Sheehan) (LPGA, n.d.c).

John Laupheimer succeeded Ray Volpe as commissioner of the LPGA in April, 1982. Under his guidance, the amount of available prize money increased from \$6.4 million to \$14 million. During his tenure, LPGA headquarters were moved from New York City to Sugar Land, Texas. Later, headquarters were

relocated to Daytona Beach, Florida in 1988 when William Blue was working for the association as a Commissioner (Worldgolf.com, n.d).

From 1990s to Present. At the opening of the 1990s, the success of the men's Senior Tour redirected sponsors' funds away from the LPGA. In this situation, Charles Mechem, new LPGA Commissioner who was assigned in 1990, was respected by players and sponsors as successfully increasing the number of tournaments up to 36 events, with \$21.43 million in prize money (Kahn, 1996).

The LPGA more actively welcomed international players from various countries in the 1990s. Some of the remarkable international players who came to the Tour during this time were Annika Sorenstam from Sweden, Karrie Webb from Australia, and Se Ri Pak from South Korea. Sorenstam came to the Tour in 1994 as a rookie player, and she captured the Rookie of the Year Award. Sorenstam won 69 tournaments, earning over \$20 million by 2008 (LPGA, n.d. g). Two years later, Karrie Webb of Australia came to the Tour and became the recipient of the Rookie of the Year Award in 1996. Notably, she became the first rookie player who accumulated more than \$1 million in winnings in a single season (LPGA, n.d. h). Meanwhile, Se Ri Pak of Korea also achieved a substantial amount of success on the LPGA Tour and was inducted as the 24th member of World Golf Hall of Fame (LPGA, n.d. i).

The 2000 season LPGA Tour was the biggest women's golf tour than any other women's tour in the world in terms of prize money per tournament. In 2000,

the LPGA held 42 events with \$38 million in total money prize. In the following year, the LPGA held one more tournament than the year before and offered a total of \$43.5 million in prize money. With the increased purses, five players earned more than \$1 million during the 2002 season: Annika Sorenstam (\$2,863,904), Se Ri Pak (\$1,722,281), Juli Inkster (\$1,154,349), Mi Hyun Kim (\$1,049,993), and Karrie Webb (\$1,009,706) (LPGA, n.d. c).

In 2003, female golfers first competed on the Professional Golf Association (PGA) Tour. The first woman to compete in the PGA tournament, the Bank of America Colonial Tournament held in Fort Worth, Texas, was Annika Sorenstam. In this tournament, she hit 5-over 145, and tied 96th out of 111 players who finished first two rounds (Lefort, 2003, October 10). Afterward, a few other female golfers such as Suzy Whaley, Michelle Wie, Jan Stephenson, Laura Davies, Se Ri Pak, and Sophie Gustafson competed in the PGA tournaments.

Meanwhile, a Mexican professional golfer, Lorena Ochoa, came to the LPGA Tour in 2003, and began to dominate the Tour afterward. She received the Rookie of the Year Award and won 23 events through 2008 (LPGA, n.d. j).

The LPGA accelerated the internationalization of women's golf by hosting the first-ever World Congress of Women's Golf in New York City in May 2004. Nearly 150 representatives from 19 countries and 33 golf associations from around the world participated in the event and discussed the necessity of a unified women's world ranking system. At the end of the event, the five major women's

professional golf associations: the LPGA; Ladies European Tour (LET); Ladies Professional Golfers' Association of Japan (JLPGA); Korea Ladies Professional Golf Association (KLPGA); and the Australian Ladies Professional Golf (ALPG) sanctioned the world ranking system and named it as "Rolex Ranking." In the system, "Any professional or amateur woman golfer who has competed in at least 15 official events over a two-year rolling period is eligible to be ranked" (LPGA, n.d.q).

Internationalization of the LPGA Tour

The LPGA Tour was dominated by American players from its inception through the late 1960s. After the first international player, Sandra Post of Canada, gained the tour card in 1968 and became the recipient of the Rookie of the Year Award that same year, the LPGA Tour gradually became dominated by international players. During 19 years from 1990-2008, 13 Rookie of the Year Awards were awarded to international players. Meanwhile, the number of international players increased as well, totaling 122 players from 27 countries participating for the 2009 season. The largest numbers of international players hail from Korea. Forty-five players are from Korea, followed by Sweden with 15, Austria with 11, Canada with 6, Taiwan with 5, and so on (LPGA, n.d.k).

According to Kwon and Kim (2006), the internationalization of the LPGA was accelerated by the cultural necessity of the association in the 1970s. To illustrate, the LPGA was run by and run for white people because golf was

popular among white upper-class people. However, the LPGA experienced criticism when other sports organizations (e.g., National Basketball Association and Major League Baseball) tried to diversify their leagues. In order to catch up with such cultural demand, the LPGA needed to have more players with diverse backgrounds in their ethnicity and nationality.

Ray Volpe, the Commissioner in 1975 tried to transform the organization so that it would become more commercial and profitable. He began reorganizing the association by reducing players' decision-making rights, applying professional marketing strategies, and maintaining a closer relationship with media. In addition, he used players' sex appeal to promote the sport. Jan Stephenson, Laura Baugh, Cathy Reynolds, and Judy Rankin were at the center of the new marketing strategy. A few years later, his effort increased sponsorship from 10 percent in 1975 to 40 percent in 1978. However, this strategy encountered obstacles. The new strategy that would emphasize players' sex appeal was no longer effective in making the LPGA marketable. In this regard, the new Commissioner, Ty Votaw who was assigned in 1999, actively initiated internationalizing the LPGA. He emphasized that the LPGA should launch itself into the process of internationalization by accepting more foreign-born players and become the place where best players over the world could play regardless of their nationality and ethnicity (Kwon & Kim, 2006).

As briefly stated, Annika Sorenstam from Sweden is a remarkable international player who came to the Tour during this period of time. After she entered in the LPGA Tour in 1994, she received the Player of the Year Award in the following year, and became the winner of 82 tournaments by 2007. In the last 14 years, she obtained eight Player of the Year Awards and six Vare Trophies. Her 82 tournament championships are tied for second most number of wins in LPGA history (1st, Kathy Whitworth 88 wins, and 2nd, Mickey Wright 82 wins) (LPGA, n.d.g).

The other distinguished international player is Kerrie Webb from Australia. She began playing in 1996 and received the Rookie of the Year Award. By 1997, Webb won 42 tournaments, obtained two Player of the Year Awards and three Vare Trophies. Her 42 wins is 12th best in LPGA history (LPGA, n.d.h).

Lorena Ochoa of Mexico should not be overlooked among the international players of the 2000s. Ochoa began playing on the LPGA Tour in 2003, received the Rookie of the Year Award, and topped the money list in both 2006 and 2007. She is the first person other than Annika Sorenstam to top the money list since 2000. Ochoa has earned over \$2 million in the 2008 season. Sorenstam has accumulated \$1.4 million during the 2008 season, good for second place on the money list (LPGA. n.d.i).

As a result of the influx and success of the international players, no American player has topped in the money list since Betsy King in 1993. The last

time the Americans won more than international players was in 1997. From 2000 through 2006, non-American players won 22 of 28 major tournaments. Of the 33 events in 2006, only seven tournaments were won by American players. Kristie Kerr's three victories are the highest of any American player. In contrast, international players have excelled, as Ochoa won 6 events, Webb won 5, Sorenstam won 3, and 11 events were won by nine different Korean players (LPGA, n.d.m). Among international players, Korean women won the second most tournaments (63 victories) next to Sweden (97 victories). Particularly, Korea produced the most Tour champions among foreign countries, as 17 Korean players won at least one tournament, followed by Sweden with 7 tour champions, Scotland with 4 tour champions, and Australia with 3 tour champions (LPGA, n.d.k).

Internationalization of the LPGA Tour has resulted in increased sponsorships from foreign companies as well. An increase in tournaments held outside the U.S. has increased as 11 tournaments out of 36 in 2008 were held outside of the U.S.: Mexico, South Africa, Singapore, France, England, Canada, China, South Korea, and Japan. Particularly, three tournaments (MasterCard Classic Honoring Alejo Peralta, Corona Championship, and Lorena Ochoa Invitational Presented by Banamex and Corona) were held in Mexico which has been attributed to the popularity of Ochoa. In addition, three tournaments were sponsored by Korean companies (Samsung, Seoul Broadcasting System, and

Sema Sports) in 2008 (LPGA, n.d.m). These tournaments held by foreign companies outside of the U.S. are the result of Ty Votaw's new strategy to globalize the LPGA (Kwon & Kim, 2006).

Korean Professional Golfers on the LPGA Tour

History of the Influx and Performance. One misconception among golf fans is that the first Korean player on the LPGA Tour was Se Ri Pak. However, there were two Korean players before Pak, including Ok-Hee Ku, winner of 1988 Standard Register Turquoise Classic, and Woosoon Ko, winner of 1994 and 1995 Toray Japan Queens Cup (LPGA, n.d.m).

After Ok-Hee Ku and Woosoon Ko, the player who received noticeable attention and opened the door for Korean players to the LPGA Tour in the 2000s was Se Ri Pak. Before Pak came to the LPGA Tour, she won 30 tournaments in Korea as an amateur. In 1996, she turned pro and played on the KLPGA Tour for two years, recording six tournament wins. In 1997, she joined the LPGA Final Qualifying Tournaments and obtained exempt status for the 1998 season. In her first year, she won four tournaments, including two major championships (McDonald's LPGA Championship and U.S. Women's Open), and captured the Rookie of the Year Award. She has since won 24 events on the Tour, including five major championships, through 2007. She became the first Korean and youngest member of the World Golf Hall of Fame on November 12, 2007 at the age of 30 years, 1 month, and 15 days (LPGA, n.d.i).

One year after Se Ri Pak joined the Tour, Mi-Hyun Kim came to the LPGA Tour in 1999. Kim turned pro in 1996 in Korea and played on KLPGA Tour for two years, recording nine tournament wins. In 1998, Kim passed the LPGA Final Qualifying Tournament, and gained exempt status for the 1999 season. In 1999, Kim became the recipient of the Rookie of the Year Award with two wins and 12 total top-10 finishes. By 2007, she won eight tournaments, earning over \$7.8 million (LPGA, n.d.n).

In 2000, four additional Korean players came to the Tour: Jung Jang, Grace Park, Soo-Yun Kang, and Gloria Park. Unlike Se Ri Pak and Mi-Hyun Kim, they did not achieve notable accomplishments on the Tour, but they became a part of what is known as the “Korean womens’ power” of the LPGA. Grace Park won six tournaments, including one major tournament and achieved 57 top-10 finishes. She earned over \$5 million dollars (LPGA, n.d.o), and Jung Jang won two tournaments, including one major championship and achieved 61 top-10 finishes. Her earnings also exceed \$5 million (LPGA, n.d.p).

Since 2000, the number of Korean players on the LPGA has increased every year as 7 players in 2001, 8 players in 2002, 13 players in 2003, 18 players in 2004, 25 players in 2005, and 31 players in 2006 were playing on the Tour. In 2007, 14 Korean rookie players played on the LPGA Tour, making the tour a so-called “Koreans’ playground.”

As the number of Korean players on the Tour increased, the number of tournaments won by Korean players increased as well. In 1998, Se Ri Pak won four tournaments and finished the season with the second highest amount of earnings. The following year, Pak ranked second on the money list as she added four tournament championships to her list of accomplishments. Mi-Hyun Kim also experienced a successful season as she placed third on the money list and won two tournaments. Several Korean players experienced success during the 2001 season, including My-Hyun Kim whose earnings led to a seventh place finish on the money list. Other Korean golfers placed high on the list as well; Se Ri Pak finished twelfth, Grace Park finished nineteenth, and Jung Jang finished forty-fourth. The 2002 campaign was another successful season for Korean players as they held several spots at the top of the money list. Se Ri Pak was second on the list and added five tournament wins to her resume, Mi-Hyun Kim was fourth on the list and added two tournament wins to her list of accomplishments, Grace Park placed sixth and won one tournament, while Hee-Won Han and Hee-Jung Park finished fourteenth and twenty first on the money list respectively. These results enabled Korean players to win three more tournaments than the Americans in 2002 (Kwak, 2007).

By the 2007 season, Korean players won 63 tournaments in the LPGA's history. During their time on the LPGA Tour, over 20 Korean golfers have won at least one tournament. The list includes: Se Ri Pak (24 wins), Mi-Hyun Kim (8

wins), Grace Park (6 wins), Hee-Won Han (6 wins), Gloria Park (2 wins), Jung Jang (2 wins), Meena Lee (2 wins), Woosoon Ko (2 wins), Seon Hwa Lee (2 wins), Ok-Hee Ku (1 win), Shi Hyun Ahn (1 win), Jee Young Lee (1 win), Pearl Shin (1 win), Soo-Yun Kang (1 win), Jimin Kang (1 win), Young Kim (1 win), Joo Mi Kim (1 win), and Sung Ah Yim (1 win).

Why Korean players come to the LPGA Tour. The influx of Korean players was accelerated by the poor environment that existed on the KLPGA Tour. To illustrate, the KLPGA has not been in existence for the length of time that tours in other countries such as Japan or Germany has. Players from nations where their tours have had time to develop do not need to leave their home country to play elsewhere. However, the amount of prize money and number of tournaments of the KLPGA Tour have drawn Korean players to the LPGA Tour. For example, a KLPGA tournament hardly offers total prize money over \$0.5 million, while the total prize money of a LPGA tournament routinely exceeds \$1 million. This is the main reason why Korean players and their parents decided to participate in the LPGA Tour (S. Lim, personal communication, May 7, 2008).

Another reason for the influx of Korean players that Kwak (2007) pointed out is the nature of the Korean people. He states “it might be because of the Korean people’s nature that once a person had succeeded at a certain area, Korean people flock into the area to achieve the same success” (p. 22). Actually, Se Ri Pak’s success is considered one of primary motivations for Korean junior golfers and

they envisioned themselves becoming a professional golfer, like Pak (S. Lim, personal communication, May 6, 2008). Mi-Hyun Kim, who was a professional golfer on the KLPGA Tour when Se Ri Pak won the 1998 McDonald's LPGA Championship, also stated in an interview with the New York Times, "When Se Ri Pak won tournaments, I thought I can do that" (Arkush, 2003, September 1). At the end of the year of 1998, Kim gained exempt status for the 1999 season, and subsequently won eight championships on the LPGA Tour by 2007.

Although Korean women players were drawn to the LPGA, they did face difficulties. According to Lim (personal communication, May 7, 2008), after coming to the U.S. to participate in the LPGA Tour, Korean players suffered from several difficulties such as different culture and food, traveling from city to city, and being separated from family and friend. Yet, they continue to stay in the U.S. because they gain more than they lose.

Discord between Korean Players and Non-Korean Players. Korean players have contributed to the LPGA Tour in a number of ways. In particular, non-Korean players agree that Korean players' golf instruction system was exemplary, as an LPGA Tour veteran Meg Mallon said in an interview with the New York Times, "Korea has done a great job of developing their young girls, a model we can use... They are well prepared" (Arkush, 2003, September 1).

Beyond these positive aspects associated with Korean players, negative aspects such as antipathy toward Korean players also existed. According to Kwak

(2007), Dotty Pepper, a veteran LPGA Tour player, was known as one of the American players who was not fond of Korean players and has shown her antipathy toward the Korean women players on Tour. Particularly, the relationship with Mi-Hyun Kim was not smooth. An incident occurred when they were paired in a match. To illustrate, Kim left a hole before Pepper holed-out, and soon after, Pepper complained directly to Kim. Her reaction was considered unusual because, in general, players report to the association if they have a problem with other players. In addition, another incident occurred when Pepper and Kim played together in the 2004 Kraft Nabisco Championship. Pepper reported to a tournament official that Kim delayed the game. As a result, Kim received a two-stroke penalty. After the game was over, Kim requested a video review which resulted in removal of the penalty. In addition to Pepper, Cristie Kerr, an American player who entered the Tour at the same time with Se Ri Pak in 1998, is known as having antipathy toward Korean players. Paula Creamer is also known as a person that does not have a close relationship with Korean players. A number of journalists reported that Creamer kept such a distance because of her strong competitive mindset toward Korean players (Kwak, 2007).

Another incident occurred involving a group of American players in 2001. After finishing in 2nd place in the 2001 U.S. Women's Open, Se Ri Pak took one week off to spend at home in Orlando. At this time, the Wegmans Rochester International was held in Rochester, New York. At the conclusion of this

tournament, Tour players were to be flown to France to participate in the Evian Masters. Although Pak did not participate in the Wegmans tournament, she wanted to use the airplane provided by the host of Wegmans Rochester International to go to France for the next tournament. Pak had confirmed her flight with the provider of the flight and the LPGA Commissioner prior to boarding. American players protested her boarding the flight. They complained to the LPGA saying that a player who did not participate in the tournament should not be able to use the flight (Kwak, 2007). Although over 200 seats were available on the plane, and the LPGA Commissioner granted Pak permission to board, the American players prevented her from boarding the flight. This action was very hurtful to Pak, which made her purchase her own ticket on another flight for the Evian Masters. Regarding this incident, Kwak (2007) concluded that the American players had found fault without reason and attributed this lack of cooperation displayed toward Pak as a result of their perceptions that Korean players are taking American players' place on the LPGA Tour.

Korean players' parents were also involved in disharmony on the Tour as a few non-Korean players complained about the parents' etiquette. To illustrate, an American player reported that some of Korean players' fathers moved their daughters' ball to a better position during games, helped their daughters with putting tips, gave advice for club selection, and talked with them in Korean in order to help them. Later, American players gathered to discuss Korean parents'

suspicious conduct and reported it to the LPGA. The LPGA investigated the allegations and potential violation of the rules upon American players' request, but the complaint was dismissed because of lack of sufficient evidence. Yet, the organization strictly warned Korean players and their parents not to give tips and not to speak their language during games (Kwak, 2007).

As mentioned, the influx of Korean players on the LPGA Tour was related not only to positive results, but also to conflicts among tour players. These conflicts among players may be caused by the different cultures of Korean and non-Korean players. Thus, it is important to note how cultural differences affect the atmosphere of the LPGA Tour. In the next section, cultural studies' perspective on the issues of Korean players on the LPGA Tour will be reviewed.

Cultural Studies and Korean Players on the LPGA Tour

Cultural Studies as a Lens to the Topic

Cultural studies originated in Birmingham, England in the 1960s. It consisted of a mix of left-wing sociology, adult education, and literary criticism (During, 2005). Cultural studies correspond with social difference and justice as well as the distribution of power in society. Wright (2005) stated, "the definition of cultural studies should not be seen as given and easily transmittable but rather as contested and always open to change and debate" (p.2). In addition, he identified significant traditions within cultural studies: (a) theory; (b) power; (c)

social justice; (d) social and national identity/identification; (e) taking the popular seriously; (f) social difference and diversity; (g) interdisciplinary drawing; (h) being flexible; (i) being praxis driven; (j) specificity of individual projects and location; (k) never creating or endorsing canons; and(l) negotiation, revision, and rejection.

Cultural studies deals with neglected groups of people, including ethnic and racial minorities and people who are of a lower socioeconomic class. In addition, various issues are addressed within cultural studies such as, “the history of cultural studies, gender and sexuality, nationhood and national identity, colonialism and post-colonialism, race and ethnicity, popular culture and its audiences, science and ecology, identity politics, pedagogy, the politics of discipline, discourse and sexuality, history, global culture in a post modern age, place and space, social and cultural policy, everyday life, and literary criticism” (Wright, 2005).

Cultural studies has a lengthy connection with sport sociology. Issues that appear in cultural studies also appear in sport sociology. For example, issues of ethnicity, gender, race, and social class are primary categories in cultural studies and sport sociology as well. In the work of Washington and Karen (2001), ‘Sport and Society,’ they noted, “various developments in sport have been studied as aspects of popular culture (Andrews & Loy, 1993), and examined as a residual or emergent phenomena (Williams, 1977), constituting various forms of resistance

(or challenges for incorporation) to the dominant hegemonic patterns” (p.188). In this respect, sport and popular culture studies are sites of ideological struggle where individuals are negotiating surrounding social structures (Andrews & Loy, 1993; McDonald & Birrell, 1999; Washington & Karen, 2001). For example, issues of gender, sexuality, and feminism are often associated with sports. There were attempts to deal with how the social constructions of the body are related to hegemonic notions of maleness, femaleness, homosexuality, and heterosexuality (Washington & Karen, 2001).

Racial ideologies have existed in connection with African-Americans in sport settings. Numerous researchers in cultural studies argue that racial ideology and difference are reinforced in sports because of mistaken discourses of African-American athletes (Curry, 1997; McCarthy & Jones, 1997; Rada, 1996; Washington & Karen, 2001). In this regard, Chen (1998) argued that stereotypes of Asian athletes based on ‘Euro/America-Western-centrism’ are devaluated in the U.S (Chen, 1998). He pointed out that Asian athletes were described in U.S. sports as unmarketable and dull to watch while western players were celebrated among fans and desired by corporate sponsors (Jabri, 1996; Shin & Nam, 2004).

As noted, critical cultural studies works have discussed the controversies of the simplification of Asian values (Birch 2000; Jabri, 1996; Shin & Nam, 2004). In this regard, cultural studies helped bring understanding to the cultural

values held by and issues relating to race and ethnicity experienced by Korean players on the LPGA Tour.

Cultural Aspects of Korean Players on the LPGA Tour

Cultural Analysis of the Issues of Korean Players on the LPGA Tour. To date, most literature examining the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour have been written mostly by Korean researchers (Kwon, 2006; Kwon & Kim, 2006; Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2004; Shin & Nam, 2004). Their works have focused on socio-cultural explanations of the phenomenon of Korean players on the LPGA Tour.

Lee, Kim, and Lee (2004) attempted to analyze the success of Korean players participating in the LPGA Tour. According to Lee et al. (2004), the Korean players' success was attributed to their parents' enthusiasm, role of sponsorships, and the systematic education of golf in Korea. Korean parents' educational enthusiasm and contribution to their daughters' success in professional golf are remarkable. Lee et al. noted that the reason Korea became one of wealthiest countries among Asian countries was a result of having well-educated citizens that had been fostered by Korean parents' sacrifice and support for education. Subsequently, Korean parents' sacrifices and support for education contributed to their children's success on the Tour. The nickname 'Golf daddy' was given to Korean players' fathers who sacrificed their life and business for their daughters' success by becoming a coach, caddie, manager, and/or driver.

Most Korean fathers on the Tour have given up their business in Korea for their daughter's success. Korean mothers also traveled with their daughters. Mothers cooked for their daughters and assisted with other household activities so that their daughters could concentrate on golf. These parents' sacrifice motivated their daughters to succeed so that they could repay their parents for their sacrifice.

JoAnne Carner, a Hall of Famer, described Korean players' efforts as, "They're all hard workers. You see them here at sunrise and they leave at sunset ... You don't see that from the Americans, not to that degree" (Golf Today, n.d.).

Lee et al. (2004) also discussed the role of sponsorship as another factor contributing to the success of Korean players on the Tour. An example is Mi-Hyun Kim, who won eight tournaments on the LPGA Tour. At the beginning of Kim's debut year, she had played without a sponsor, pushing her and her family into financial difficulty. Kim's parents had to move frequently as they sought the least expensive lodging in order to save money. Kim ate most of her breakfasts and dinners cooked by her mother at the motel, even though motels did not allow guests to cook in the room. Afterward, a Korean company provided Kim with a sponsorship of \$0.5 million for two years. Only two months later, Kim won her first LPGA championship in the 1999 State Farm Rain Classic.

The other factor contributing to the success of Korean players was the 'all-in' style of the education of golf in Korea. Many American players tended to turn professional after finishing a degree in higher education, while many Korean

players turned professional after graduating high school. Lee et al. (2004) noted that Korean players began pursuing golf with professional intensity when they are very young. Most of the time, young Korean golfers skip regular classes and practice golf from early in the morning to late in the evening.

Shin and Nam (2004) also examined issues surrounding Korean players' experiences on the LPGA Tour. While Lee et al. (2004) concluded that the success of Korean players are a product of parents' educational enthusiasm, sponsorship, and systematic golf education systems, Shin and Nam (2004) considered the golf boom in Korea, Korean psyche, work ethic, and Korean family structure as the primary factors of Korean players' success.

Kwon (2006) examined how Se Ri Pak's victories on the LPGA Tour in 1998 contributed to national glory and ethnic identity. Since membership in a golf club costs from 0.1 to 0.5 million dollars and booking fee costs about 200 dollars per a round in Korea, golf is typically regarded as the sport that only upper class people can play. In addition, the golf course is used as a place in which corruption between politicians and business men originates. For instance, the prosecution of Korea detected that the CEO of TaeKwang Corporation gave illegal political funds to a senator when they played golf in May, 2006 (Hankook Ilbo, 2009, April 1). Therefore, the image of golf in Korea is inconsistent with sports symbols such as fairness, rule-observance, and equal participation for women. Instead, golf in Korea is related to the image of socio-economic exclusiveness and injustice.

Kim's (2004) research also pointed out that Korean amateur golfers are aware of golf as a way through which socio-economic status and ability is displayed. However, Kwon (2006) noted that the negative image of golf in Korea began changing when Se Ri Pak won the 1998 US Open Championship. To illustrate, Pak's tee shot in the playoff game of the 1998 US Open Championship landed at the edge of a water hazard. In order to overcome this crisis, she took off her shoes and socks to successfully make the shot, and became the champion of the tournament. This situation was similar to the situation that Korea had to overcome a national economic crisis of the year of 1997. Pak's victory after making a good shot from the water hazard inspired Korean people to have a hope to escape from the national economic crisis, like Pak did in golf.

After Pak's victory, Korean people's expectations that Korea would overcome the economic crisis developed and the negative image of golf seemed to disappear. Moreover, golf became the sport representing the national spirit and ethnic identity in the nation of Korea. The Korean government attempted to position Pak's victory as turning point in the economic crisis by raising Korean peoples' morale. Kwon (2006) indicated that although golf, the economic crisis, Se Ri Pak, and nationalism have no external and internal coherent relationships with each other, these are portrayed as one image. Also, Kwon (2006) continued that there might have been social factors (e.g., patriotism) that connected Pak's victory, the negative image of golf, and national spirit in this particular situation.

Critical Approaches to the Issue of Korean Players on the LPGA Tour.

Complex issues regarding race and ethnicity are present in sport. These issues have increasing social relevance as globalization occurred. They have also received attention in the fields of sport sociology and cultural studies as one of the most important topics that people face in contemporary society (Coakley, 2007).

In the U.S., racial controversies between Caucasians and African-Americans in sport have existed for a significant period of time as Carrington and McDonald (2002) suggested that ‘a culture of racism’ is deeply ingrained in sport. For example, as minority group members in the U.S., African-American athletes have experienced incidents in which race plays a significant role. Lawrence (2005) studied male and female collegiate African-American athletes’ experiences of race and racial discrimination. In this study, eight African-American athletes were interviewed and discussed their understandings of race and racial discrimination they faced during their careers. The results indicated that African-American athletes have experienced racial discrimination, and dealt with discriminatory actions in the following order: being hurt, outrage and shock, team togetherness, being empowered, and making differences (Lawrence, 2005).

Racial discrimination also occurs when African-American athletes attempt to begin their careers as coaches. A typical example is the ratio of head coaches in professional sports. For instance, 76 percent of players in the National Basketball Association (NBA) are African-American and 22 percent are Caucasians.

Nevertheless, only 37 percent of head coaches are African-American while 63 percent are Caucasians. Ninety six percent of the owners of NBA teams are Caucasians. On an international level, African-American hold less than 15 percent of the decision making position in Olympic sports (Coakley, 2007, a).

Although there were about 12.6 million Asian Americans in the U.S. in the mid-2003, there is still a lack of research regarding sport participation among Asian Americans. According to Coakley (2007, a), research on Asian Americans is needed in the areas of ethnic relations, sport participation patterns, and experiences. He suggests exploring how images of Asian and Asian American athletes are represented in the U.S. media and in the minds of people around the U.S.

King's (2006) research discovered that jokes and joking behaviors by other race groups are one of the keys that form the devalued stereotypes of Asians and Asian Americans in sport (King, 2006). For example, participants in Lee's (2005) research reported that Korean-Americans encountered name calling such as 'chink,' and American people mocked Korean heritage through ethnic jokes (Y. Lee, 2005).

In the 1980s, Olin (1984) explored how foreign players influence various Finnish amateur and professional basketball leagues (Olin, 1984). The result indicated that recruitment of foreign players had positive effects upon the number of spectators, the club's public relations, and the success of the team. Similarly,

former LPGA Commissioner Ty Votaw identified the positive aspects Korean players bring to the Tour, as he stated, “Attendance, TV viewership, Web site traffic and purses are up” (ESPN.com. 2003, October 10). Stacy Lewis, former University of Arkansas golfer, also stated that the international influence on the LPGA Tour is something always present and something she has always expected to see in the Tour (NWA Golfers, 2008, June 30).

Yet, the positive reputation of Korean players was challenged by Jan Stephenson’s interview in 2003. Stephenson’s opinion that Asian players are killing the Tour created a much debate in the media and brought a great deal of attention to the Tour. Shortly after her comment was made, she apologized and the controversy faded.

I would like to express my deepest apologies to the Asian community for my comments regarding the article in Golf Magazine. By no means did I intend to hurt anyone nor were the statements racially motivated. I clearly understand how these comments could be taken as racial comments, and for that I am truly sorry. (Brown, 2003, October 12)

Notably, Stephenson’s description about a Swedish player, Annika Sorenstam, in the same interview was quite different. She stated, “With Annika your’re scared to say anything. Her locker is always next to mine, and I don’t know her. I’ve left notes of congratulations on her locker because I’m scared to bother her. She’s so focused all the time... I just wonder what she’s really like” (Adelson, 2003, October 14). As Stephenson described, she was ‘scared’ by Sorenstam because Sorenstam was ‘so focused all the time,’ but many Korean golfers explain that the

reason why Korean golfers are quiet in Pro-Am games is because they are ‘so focused all the time.’ Thus, from Stephenson’s perspective, Sorenstam’s focus is admired, while Korean players’ focus is portrayed negatively.

Even though Stephenson’s comments regarding Korean players received some criticism from the public, she was never officially reprimanded by LPGA officials for her attempting to establish race-based quotas. In this regard, Adelson (2003, October 14) metaphorically expressed “if a former baseball player called for quotas to limit the number of Hispanic pitchers, he would be vilified.” Jeff Yang, a former publisher of *A Magazine*, indicated in an interview with Adelson (2003, October 14) that it is because verbal attacks on Asians are not condemned as strongly as they should be.

It’s the way Asians are perceived versus African-Americans or other minorities... Somehow it’s OK to suggest restrictions against Asians because we won’t fight back and we are fundamentally more foreign. (Adelson, 2003, October 14)

Yang’s opinion is supported by a weekend poll conducted by *MSNBC.com* that shows 50 percent of 8,439 respondents said “yes” on the question: Is Jan Stephenson right that Asian players are hurting the LPGA Tour? Yang continued, “we’re still more of a minority fundamentally than African-Americans or Latinos or gays... We have not been active in speaking out, and we have been easily appeased. Because we don’t cry foul, we’re more fair game” (Adelson, 2003, October 14).

Adelson (2003, October 14) presented related questions: Does half of America think Latinos are hurting baseball? Are African-Americans hurting basketball? Are Europeans hurting hockey? Adelson (2003, October 14) concluded that the reason why Stephenson had escaped without punishment is the lack of Asian peoples' social power.

...because there are few prominent Asian-Americans in politics or sports journalism to take her to task. The Rush Limbaugh controversy might have died if journalists in Philadelphia didn't ask Donovan McNabb to comment several days after Limbaugh expressed his opinion on Sunday NFL Countdown. Then came input from political leaders like Al Sharpton and respected columnists like Ralph Wiley, and now Rush is off the ESPN airwaves. There is no similar outcry about the Stephenson situation. (Adelson, 2003, October 14)

There is no Asian-American advocate like presidential candidate Carol Moseley Braun (African-American), or columnist Dan LeBatard (Latino). It may be because Asian-Americans do not seek political office or journalistic leadership positions, or it may be a result of people in the U.S. being educated about the horrors of racism toward African-Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, but not Asian-Americans. It might be one of reasons that CEO's and editors think of race without considering Asian-Americans (Adelson, 2003, October 14).

Issues regarding Korean players on the LPGA Tour have received great amounts of media attention. To date, Korean players' existence on the Tour affected the Tour in positive ways, but at the same time, it caused discord within society. Some researchers have revealed that there are few Asian people in the decision-making positions in society and it might have been a reason why Asians are not seen as a powerful group. As minorities in race and gender in white-male-dominating society, Korean players may face sexual racism on the Tour. In the next section, issues regarding Korean players' gender will be discussed through feminist standpoint theory.

Feminist Standpoint Theory and Its Relation to Korean Players

Understanding Feminist Theory

It seems necessary to understand feminist theory before discussing feminist standpoint theory. Feminist theory, which started with the work, *A Vindication of the rights of Woman*, written by Mary Wollstonecraft in the late eighteenth-century, has been developed as a core theory to elevate women's social right. Although it varies depending on nation, culture, and class, in general, women belong in the home for housework and raising children. This circumstance was accelerated by the industrial revolution, which facilitated factories with automatic machines. As a result, human labor was less needed than before, isolating women in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, married women in history

had no property rights, no control over inheritance, no control over custody, and no right to bring civil suit. These points were central issues of women's right activists, who wanted the same natural rights as men (Donovan, 1985).

The fundamental assumption of feminist theory is as follows,

A theory is feminist to the extent it is persuaded that women have been unjustly unequal to men because of the social meaning of their bodies... Feminist theory is critical of gender as a determinant of life chances, finding that it is women who differentially suffer from the distinction of sex. Compared to men, women lack control over their social destinies, their contributions and accomplishments are restricted and undervalued, their dignity thwarted, and their physical security violated. (MacKinnon, 1997)

As feminists continued working on women's social right in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, they developed feminist ideas with several branches (e.g., liberal feminism, critical feminism, and radical feminism). Liberal feminism emerged in the first wave of the feminist period as the major paradigm in the U.S. Liberal feminism was basically a challenge to sexism and emphasized the importance of liberal principles. According to Costa and Guthrie (1994), "Early liberal feminists opposed existing discrimination by arguing that women are equal to men in their ability to reason and thus should be allowed the same freedoms" (p. 236). Liberal feminists believe that the most obvious sexist discriminations are "mandated by sex-based legislation that assigns different rights, responsibilities, and opportunities to female to male" (Costa & Guthrie, 1994, p. 237). Based on this belief, they tried to change society by repealing all laws that provide different

rights, responsibilities, and opportunities to females from males. The best product of liberal feminists was Title IX which “prohibits sex discrimination in any institution receiving federal funds” (Costa & Guthrie, 1994, 237).

Critical feminists focus on “issues of power and seek to explain the origin and consequences of gender relations, especially those that privilege men over women and some men over other men” (Coakley, 2007, a, p. 46). Feminists in the critical approach work to reveal the way gender ideology is “produced, reproduced, resisted, and changed in and through the everyday experiences of men and women” (Coakley, 2007, a, 46).

Since it emerged in the late 1960s, radical feminist theory is relatively young in comparison to liberal feminist theory. Radical feminists view society as, “a patriarchy, a system organized in ways that accord privilege to men as a group and allow them to have systematic coercive power over women” (Costa & Guthrie, 1994, p. 46). In order to remove sexual discrimination from society, radical feminists believe that patriarchy should be challenged and eventually eliminated. In addition, radical feminists insist that women’s freedom over their bodies should also be grounded for reproduction, motherhood, sexuality, and physical activity (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Although feminist theory is divided by several theories and each theory has own theoretical framework, feminists’ position is basically rooted in the fundamental idea that MacKinnon (1997) stated, “the molding, direction, and

expression of sexuality organized society into two sexes-women and men- which division underlies the totality of social relations” (p. 65). As it is said, sexuality is a social process and agreement that creates, organizes, and directs gender relations between the sexes (MacKinnon, 1997).

Feminists argue that social agreement of gender caused the intellectual traditions not to take women’s experiences seriously, and women are systematically devalued and oppressed in many societies. Therefore, the primary purpose of the feminist movement is to help the public recognize the nature of gender inequality and ultimately to make changes in gender politics, power relations and sexuality, by providing a critique of social relations (Brabeck & Brown, 1997). Feminists expect that these political strategies will eradicate gender inequalities from society and empower women to change the conventional male-centered cultures (Coakley, 2007, a).

Historically feminist activism is largely divided into the two periods of first and second wave feminism. Although both periods played a significant role in developing women’s rights and freedoms, each has specific characteristics and contributions to the whole development of feminism. In the late nineteenth century, the first wave emerged as a political movement to challenge the lack of rights of women in society. Specifically, the right to vote, the ability to own property, and the opportunity for educational advancement were core goals in this period. Feminist theoretical texts were bases for the campaigns of the first wave,

and feminist activists pointed out that women's right and conditions were incompatible to modern democracy (McLaughlin, 2003).

The second wave feminism emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and was to "connect the continued gaps in the rights and opportunities women suffered in the public realm to the roles they played in the private sphere (McLaughlin, 2003). The private sphere opened new issues in activism and the development of feminism. For example, "sexuality, reproduction, domestic labor and domestic violence" (McLaughlin, 2003, p. 1) are the private -sphere focuses of the second wave. In this period, affluent feminist theoretical ideas developed in connection to the activities of the Women's Liberation Movement (McLaughlin, 2003).

As a result of the long history of the feminist movements, women in contemporary society receive far more sporting opportunities than ever before. In fact, this opportunity might have not been possible if there was not a great amount of discussion dealing with the nature of sport. Coakley (2007, a) argued that sports are gendered activities where patriarchy, devaluation and discrimination of women occur. Based on his idea, many researchers with a critical feminist approach in sports have revealed that gender differentiation has been constructed through sports in the U.S. One example is organized sports such as basketball that has powerfully reinforced the ideology and practice of male superiority and dominance by emphasizing players' masculinity and having women cheerleaders

located beside the court. As a result, patriarchy and women's subordinate position in society continuously exist through sports (Sage, 1998).

In addition, Coakley (2007, a) revealed that there have been serious inequalities for female athletes,

... Access to facilities, quality of facilities, availability of scholarships, program operating expenses, provision and maintenance of equipment and supplies, recruiting budgets, scheduling of games and practice times, travel and per diem expenses, opportunity to receive academic tutoring, numbers of coaches assigned to teams, salaries for administrators, coaches, trainers, and other staff, provision of medical and training services and facilities, publicity for individuals, teams, and events. (Coakley, 2007, a, p. 254)

Inequalities remain in some of these areas not only in the educational setting, but also in community programs, particularly in access to facilities, the number of programs available, and the staff assigned to programs. He continued that these types of inequalities have originated in the male-established society in which men use public funds, student fees, and private sponsorships for men's and boys' programs (Coakley, 2007, a).

One type of severe sexual discriminations is sexual harassment in the U.S. National figures on sexual harassment indicates that 25 percent of women have been sexually harassed during their academic or working life (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992). Sexual harassment continues in sports as well. Many studies warn that female student-athletes may be the target of sexual assault (Melnick, 1992; Messner & Sabo, 1994; Nelson, 1994; Volkwein, Schell,

Sherwood, & Livezey, 1997). Moreover, sexual harassment in sports is more difficult to detect due to the close bonds formed between coaches and athletes (Volkwein et al., 1997) and the nature of sports that requires body contact in instruction (Donnelly, 1999; Fejgin & Hanegby, 2001; Lenskyj, 1992).

Research regarding sexual harassment in the family has been studied for several decades, but sexual harassment in the workplace has only been discussed in the last two decades, upon feminists' demands to make the workplace safer from sexual discrimination. In sports, only lately was this issue dealt with by sport sociologies (Brackenridge, 1997; Crosset, 1990; Donnelly, 1999; Kirby, Greaves, & Hankivsky, 2000; Lackey, 1990; Lenskyj, 1992; Tomlinson & Yorgaci, 1997; Volkwein et al., 1997). One of the primary types of sexual harassment in sports is individual abuse cases of female athletes by male coaches (Burton-Nelson, 1994; Crosset, 1986). In a research conducted in the year of 1997 revealed that 2 percent of female-athletes have experienced verbal or physical advances, and 19 percent of female-athletes reported sexist comments from their coaches (Volkwein et al., 1997). In the European societies, 2.7 percent of female-athletes reported sexual abuse (e.g., pressure to have sexual intercourse, or contact with breasts, or genital areas), 17 percent female-athletes have been involved in intrusive physical contacts (e.g., slapping on the bottom, tickling, putting arms around the body), 6 percent have experienced verbal intrusion (e.g., proposal to go out), and 15

percent reported demeaning language such as sexual innuendoes or dirty jokes (Tomlinson & Yorgaci, 1997).

In their research, Fejgin and Hanegby (2001) revealed that women student-athletes in Israel perceive it as sexual harassment when a coach stares at the athletes' breast, when he kisses them on the mouth, and when he proposes a sexual encounter. However, the problem is that the male coaches' perception is different from the female student-athletes' perception. Male coaches regard their physical contact as acceptable role behavior between the coaches and the female student-athletes in the sport settings where physical contacts commonly occur.

In 2007, an incident relating to a coach's sexual harassment toward his team players occurred in a professional women's basketball team in Korea. The female players reported that the male head coach stayed in a room in the athletic dormitory, and occasionally asked players to come to his room at night. The coach asked players to massage him, and sometimes asked for more than a massage. After the coach's sexual harassment to the female players exceeded the level the players could tolerate, some of the players reported his misconduct to the public. As a result, he lost his position and was prosecuted. However, the problem was not only the coach, but also the team official's tolerance of his behavior. The team officials never reprimanded the coach until he was placed under arrest. Surprisingly, the team officials were attempting to hide the coach's misconduct to protect the team's image from the media. Moreover, some other players in the

same team rebuked the victims, who reported the coach's misconduct to the public, for causing social troubles as well as the head coach's arrest (Jung, 2008).

These incidents motivated feminists to emphasize the importance of women's own experiences. They argue that men, in general, cannot understand woman's experiences because they have not experienced what women are confronting in their routine life. However, women's reality can be understood when men try to understand and discuss through women's experiences and situations. In this regard, feminist standpoint theory is expected to provide a theoretical frame in dealing with the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour.

Feminist Standpoint Theory

From a particular social standpoint, one can see some things more clearly than others (Swigonski, 1993, p. 172)

A standpoint is regarded as a social position from which certain aspects of society become prominent, while other aspects are hidden. Standpoint consists of a person's level of conscious awareness about a person's social location and its relationship to the person's lived experience (Hartsock, 1987; Swigonski, 1993). Therefore, one's standpoint is based on the awareness of a person's social position and its relationships with his/her gender, culture, color, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation in daily life (Swigonski, 1993).

Standpoint theory helps researchers to understand the problems of the daily reality of marginalized people, such as women, people of color, or the poor, and to attempt to put their experiences on the center of research, to explore the relationship between peoples' experiences and the social structure. Eventually, standpoint theory is to discover how the social structure contributed to the problems of the marginalized people and to find a way through which the people can emancipate from the social structure (Swigonski, 1993).

Standpoint theory begins its primary practice with the assumption that less powerful people (e.g., women, people of color, children, people with poverty, or elderly people) of society experience a different reality as a result of their social oppression. Swigonski (1994) insisted:

To survive, subordinate people must be attentive to the perspective of the dominant class as well as their own. As a result they have the potential for "double vision" or double consciousness . . . Members of subordinate groups have the potential for a more complete view of social reality . . . Members of oppressed groups must develop this more complete view as a survival skill to cope with oppression. (p. 390)

In addition to Swigonski, Harding (1991) reported that research grounded in standpoint theory provides more objective understandings by refusing loyalty to the Western natives' view. This implies that research directed by social values and political agendas may produce empirically and theoretically biased products. Yet, using standpoint approach, the view of research can be a less partial and distorted approach to understand the reality (Swigonski, 1994).

While standpoint theory focuses on the analysis of the general “other” of oppressed groups, such as people of color, women, gay men and lesbians, children, and poor people, feminist standpoint focuses more specifically on women’s experiences and its relationship to social structure. Therefore, research begins its practice from exploring concrete experience of women. For example, childbirth, housework, wife abuse, rape, and sexual harassment are regarded as contents of women’s reality and are beginning points of the research using feminist standpoint theory (Swigonski, 1994).

Feminist standpoint theory is “a feminist articulation of the epistemology implicit in critical research, based on the 1970s work of Dorothy Smith and others” (New, 1998, p. 352). Important aspects of feminist theory (e.g., consciousness-raising) are historically rooted in Marxist premises (Donovan, 1985), and feminist standpoint theory was also based on one of the Marx’s proposals that assumes “a correct vision of class society is available from only one of the two major class positions in capitalist society” (Hartsock, 1983, p. 284). Based on this assumption, Hartsock (1983) developed a parallel rationale that women, as an oppressed group, provide a different and more accurate view of reality of the world. After this initial concept has been developed, feminist standpoint theory was developed primarily by Harding (1991), Smith (1990), Jaggar (1983), and Collins (1991).

Feminist standpoint theory assumes that the appropriate standpoint is that of women in the patriarchal society, because understanding the life experiences of

members of marginalized groups decreases the partialities and distortions in the society (Swigonski, 1994). Collins (1989) also emphasized that lived experiences of those who claim to be experts are more convincing than other people who read or thought about the experiences as the third party. Thus, in order to understand reality of women, women's daily activities, which may or may not be visible from the life experiences of men, are significant in research setting.

Another assumption in feminist standpoint theory is that members of the powerful groups have opposed viewpoint to the least powerful group of people. In fact, the interests of the dominant group are to maintain, reinforce, and legitimize the existing system regardless of whether it is fair or not. However, since the marginalized people have less to lose than the dominant group, their thought can be more critical to the existing system and accurate to see the reality (Nielsen, 1990). In this respect, experiences and thoughts of Korean players can be valued to understand an overall atmosphere of the LPGA Tour that might be different from the understanding of other players with different races and ethnicities.

Mirza (1986) asserted that it is important for feminism to recognize the relationship between local experiences and identities, and the wider structures that inform their production. With this recognition, feminists are attempting to form a political overview.

Regarding feminists' political action, McLaughlin (2003) suggested how standpoint perspective can be used by a particular group (p.67).

1. To explore the significance of their experiences for the ways in which they look at the world and desire it to be different.
2. To conceptualize the link between collective experience, knowledge, and action.
3. To validate experiences and forms of knowledge denied legitimacy in mainstream ways of knowing.
4. To form coalitions with other marginalized groups who have developed similar knowledge and agendas for political action.

Feminist standpoint theory is a distinct way to reconsider the links between experience, knowledge of oppressed social groups, and political change by incorporating the multiple experiences and the positions of the people, such as Korean players on the LPGA Tour. Therefore, Korean players' experiences during their athletic career in the U.S. can be understood through feminist standpoint theory. By doing this, they will form a fundamental knowledge that can support the political action for Koreans themselves and other minorities on the Tour.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the U.S. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of Korean players' experiences, qualitative methodology was utilized. In this chapter, I discuss qualitative methodology, procedures, and analysis for the study.

Qualitative Method

Before considering qualitative work, researchers may confront the following questions: (a) What is qualitative research?; (b) What are differences between qualitative research and other forms of inquiry?; and (c) What kind of knowledge is the foundation for qualitative research? Strauss and Corbin (1990) simply defined qualitative methodology by stating, “[qualitative research is] any kind of research that produces findings that are not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17). More specifically, Anderson (1987) described qualitative research as, “a research paradigm which emphasizes inductive, interpretive methods applied to

the everyday world which is seen as subjective and socially created” (Anderson, 1987, p. 384). In regard to the product of qualitative research, Bogdan and Taylor (1975) stated:

Research procedures which produce descriptive data: people’s own written or spoken words and observable behavior. [It] directs itself at settings and the individuals within those settings holistically: that is, the subject of the study, be it an organization or an individual, is not reduced to an isolated variable or to a hypothesis, but is viewed instead as part of a whole. (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p.2)

In his book, Hatch (2002) noted the characteristics of qualitative research, which include: (a) natural settings; (b) participant perspectives; (c) researcher as data gathering instrument; (d) wholeness and complexity; (e) subjectivity; and (f) inductive data analysis.

According to Hatch (2002), people’s lived experiences in real settings are objects in qualitative research. In qualitative research, controlled, contrived, or manipulated settings are defined as “artificial contexts” (p. 7). Thus, qualitative researchers attempt to understand how people make sense of their everyday lives, and explore human behaviors within their natural setting (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Hatch, 2002; Jacob, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Participant perspectives are highly valued in qualitative research. Researchers in qualitative settings value voices of participants and seek to capture their perspective of the realities based on which individuals act on the world

(Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Hatch, 2002; Jacob, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Unlike quantitative research that generates data using questionnaires, checklists, scales, tests, and other measuring devices, in qualitative research, researchers work as a data-gathering instrument. Even though researchers use mechanical devices such as a tape recorder or computer, in qualitative work, those data have no significance until “they are processed using the human intelligence of the researcher” (Hatch, 2002, p. 7). Therefore, qualitative researchers are regarded as a data-gathering instrument in qualitative settings (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Hatch, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Spradley, 1979).

A basic assumption of qualitative work is that “social settings are unique, dynamic, and complex” (Hatch, 2002, p. 9). Qualitative methods provide ways through which complex narratives and voices of the research participants are systematically gathered as a wholeness of complexity without breaking them down. Thus, in qualitative examination, researchers provide the readers with the researchers’ interpretations with enough detail and data so that a reader can view inside the situation (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Hatch, 2002; Jacob, 1988; Peshkin, 1986).

Subjectivity is an important characteristic of qualitative research. As mentioned earlier, qualitative researchers are interested in participants’

perspectives and regard inner states of individuals as an origin of outer expressions of human activity. Because inner states of individuals are not observable, researchers in the qualitative setting have to count on their subjective judgments to explore the insights of the research participants. Researchers do not pretend to be objective; instead they concentrate on applying their interpretation to understand perceptions of their research participants (Hamilton, 1994; Hatch, 2002; Jacob, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Unlike quantitative researchers who begin studies with hypotheses to accept or reject, qualitative researchers “collect as many detailed specifics from the research setting as possible, then set about the process of looking for patterns of relationship among the specifics” (Hatch, 2002, p. 10). Later, the general idea is inductively generated through this process. Yet, qualitative research involves deductive dimensions in its analysis process, as “patterns or relationships are discovered in the data, hypothetical categories are formed, and the data are then read deductively to determine if these categories are supported by the overall data set” (Hatch, 2002, p. 10). However, the overall data analysis process in qualitative research is inductive as research moves from specific data to specific generalizations (Hatch, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) noted that qualitative settings emphasize meaning and process that cannot be investigated through quantity, frequency, and intensity that are keys of quantitative research, because qualitative method places

its weight on the quality of a reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This means that qualitative researchers stress internal quality while quantitative researchers give emphasis to the relation of cause and effect between variables. According to Steinback and Steinback (1988), the purpose of quantitative research is to investigate the relations of cause and effect, general rule, and prophecy, while qualitative research is to understand ideas, feelings, motives, and beliefs of human behavior. In quantitative research, researchers believe that there is a social fact that is separate and independent from a person's belief. However, qualitative researchers argue that reality is socially formed through individual or group agreement on a particular situation.

Based on the characteristics of qualitative research described above, I came to the conclusion that my research should be conducted with qualitative research methods in order to explore the Korean players' experiences for this investigation. This is best achieved through in-depth interviews which are considered a representative data collection method in qualitative research. Therefore, the qualitative method was utilized for this study.

Participants of the Study

The participants of the study were 11 Korean professional golfers who were enrolled as members of the LPGA in 2007. The participants were selected based on their availability and personal interest in taking part in the study. Jin-

Sook Park (pseudonym), a Korean LPGA Tour player who I know personally, played a role as an introducer between the investigator and the Korean players. She assisted the investigator in contacting the Korean players to see if they were interested in participating in this study.

Most of the participants were born in and lived in Korea. The ages of the participants ranged from 22-30 years. They were all unmarried and had both parents. They noted that their fathers introduced them to the sport of golf. The Korean players started playing golf when they were between 10 to 14 years old. They are considered socio-economically upper-level people since only upper-level people can afford to play golf in Korea (Kim, 2004). They had been playing on the Tour for one year to eight years. The Korean players' English speaking levels ranged from poor to fluent. According to their self-evaluation, eight had a good command of English, but three of them could speak only basic conversational English.

Table 1

Description of Participants

Name	Age	Year of Turned Professional	Education Level	Years on the LPGA Tour
Eun-Joo Lim	22	2004	High School	3 years
Jung-Rae Suh	23	2005	College	3 years
Jan-Dee Kim	23	2003	High School	3 years
So-Youn Lim	27	1999	College	8 years
Yun-A Choi	30	2002	College	5 years
Ju-Hwa Lee	27	2002	College	3 years
Eun-Ha Ko	26	2001	College	4 years
Su-Young Kim	23	2000	College	2 years
Mi-Ran Shin	29	1998	College	6 years
Ji-Youn Choi	23	2003	College	2 years
Young-Ae Lee	26	2002	College	2 years

Note: Pseudonym was used for each participant to maintain the confidentiality.

Pilot Studies

In order to generate an understanding of the concepts and theories regarding the topic of this dissertation as well as to gather knowledge and information of the issues being studied, two pilot studies were conducted. The first pilot study was conducted between May 13-16, 2007, at the Michelob ULTRA Open at Williamsburg, Virginia. One Korean player of the LPGA Tour and four mothers of other Korean players participated in the interviews. The second pilot study was conducted between May 31- June 3, 2007, at the Ginn Tribute Open, at Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. Two mothers and one father of Korean players participated in the interviews. After the completion of the interviews, I transcribed the audio tapes for the data analysis.

The pilot studies revealed that the Korean player on the LPGA Tour and their parents perceived that they were unfairly treated. For example, all players and their parents were banned from speaking with each other while they were on the course in order to prevent players from getting tips from their parents. Sometimes, Korean players' parents talked to their daughters while providing conveniences (e.g., providing water). LPGA officials strictly enforced this rule with Korean players by assessing a penalty of two strokes per violation. However, Korean parents thought that rule was seldom enforced upon non-Korean players (e.g., American or European players). Moreover, once a Korean player received the penalty for speaking with her parents, all Korean players and their parents

were assumed to be breaking the rule. One of the Korean player's mothers stated, "because Korean players are so many here, once a player broke the rule, people think we are all bad while my daughter and I did not do anything wrong. Only Korean players are singled out." In this sense, Korean players and their parents perceived that they were treated unfairly by the LPGA.

Interview Questions

Based on the outcome of the pilot studies, interview questions were modified to focus on race and gender issues. The interview questions were semi-structured and open-ended (see Appendix C and D). Demographic questions focused on acquiring personal information such as age, educational level, and golf career. Other questions focused on the participants' perceptions of their experiences regarding the issues of social justice on the LPGA Tour focusing on specifically race and gender. Each interview question reflected the contextualization, interpretation, and understanding of the research topics. Finally, the interview questions were reviewed and approved by my dissertation committee.

Approval for Research with Human Subjects

Approval for research with human subjects for this study was obtained from the Department of Exercise, Sport, and Leisure Studies (ESLS) and The

University of Tennessee, Knoxville Institutional Review Board (IRB). The informed consent form clearly stated the purpose of the study, potential risks, and benefits for the participants. In addition, the participants were informed that confidentiality would be guaranteed and that they may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The initial contact letter (see Appendix A and B) and the informed consent form (see Appendix E and F) were translated into Korean in order to avoid confusion caused by using English.

Bias Statement and Bracketing Interview

In qualitative research, it is important to understand and realize the potential biases the investigator brings to the study, since the investigator was an instrument of data collection and analysis (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; K. Lee, 1999; Maxwell, 1996). I am a male of Korean descent and have never been involved in women's professional golf; however I am interested in the sport of golf and the culture of women professional golfers. Because of this background, personal biases regarding the topic of this study such as the influence of my own male perspectives on women's culture may exist. With this in mind, I participated in a bracketing interview with a graduate student with expertise in qualitative methodology and familiarity with the details of the study. The interviewer was able to provide insights of perceived notions and biases that I might have about the topic.

The bracketing interview was conducted at a quiet place and lasted about 40 minutes. The interviewer asked all questions based on the interview guide and discussed my assumptions and biases. From the bracketing interview, it was revealed that I assumed that Korean players on the LPGA Tour might have received unfair treatment because of their race and gender.

Another finding of the bracketing interview is that I assumed that a few Korean players' fluency in English is not enough to handle every situation on the Tour, particularly when they are interact with English-speaking officials. In this regard, it was noted that such Korean players' lack of fluency in English might have caused the unfair treatment they received on the Tour. On the other hand, LPGA players who can speak English well, no matter where they are from, receive less unfair treatment because they can protect themselves when they confront unfair situations. In addition, I assumed that Korean players may be victims of sexual harassment by men both in Korea and the U.S., based on my own observation and findings of the pilot studies.

Other assumptions of I had included: (a) stereotypes of Asian athletes as quiet and ethical; (b) Korean players are more respected in the U.S. than in Korea; and (c) English-speaking caddies can be helpful for Korean players in communicating with others, but they can also be a party that discriminates against Korean players, like white males do. These assumptions come from my study of sport sociology and in particular women and sport.

According to the bracketing interview, I realized what kind of biases and assumptions I had about the topic and how they could influence the study. For example, I found myself assuming Korean players received unfair treatment because of their race. However, it is also possible that Korean players' culture and characteristics might have caused the perceived unfair treatment. If I focused only on race in regard to unfair treatment and discrimination of Korean players, I may overlook Korean players' own problems that caused such a treatment.

My assumptions were based on news, magazine, and journal articles about Korean players on the LPGA Tour. It is said that entirely avoiding the investigator's biases is impossible in qualitative research (Lee, 1999; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). However, I was able to find these biased assumptions through the bracketing interview and kept them in mind during the entire research process, so that interviews and analysis could be conducted with impartiality.

Interviewing Procedures and Data Collection

Initial contact was made with the participants via letter (see Appendix A and B) to inform them about the study as well as to ask about their interest in participating in the study. From the contact information about the participants, each participant was directly contacted by telephone and the purposes and procedures of the study were explained. During the phone call, an interview date, time, location and type (individual or group) were chosen and established.

In this study, six semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. Three group interviews with four, three, and two players, as well as three individual interviews were conducted. One player joined an interview twice because she was interested in doing so.

Before conducting the interviews, the participants were informed of their rights as human subjects and guaranteed confidentiality. In addition, each participant was advised that she had the opportunity to withdraw from this interview without penalty if she so desired. They were then requested to read and sign the informed consent form (see Appendix E and F). Participants were assured that all the information regarding this study and their personal information will be safely stored. The participants were also advised that they would be identified on the tapes and in the transcripts only by a pseudonym which they selected to ensure confidentiality.

The interviews lasted approximately 45 to 90 minutes depending on the number of interviewees, and were audiotaped. After the completion of the interviews, I transcribed each interview in Korean since the interviews were conducted in the Korean language. When the transcription of the interviews was completed, they were reviewed by me to ensure the accuracy of the information. Thereafter, the transcribed interviews were given to participants via email, so the participants could perform a member-check. The participants' suggestions were reflected to the transcribed interviews before they were translated into English.

Access to the transcribed interviews was limited to myself and the major advisor of the dissertation.

Data Analysis

After the transcriptions were completed, the data was reviewed and coded by the investigator. This coding procedure involves an inductive data analysis process. This means that the transcribed data were analyzed and categorized into themes in order to interpret the Korean players' perceptions and experiences. The data analysis process was reviewed by me and advisor throughout the entire research process in order to assist in developing accurate general structural descriptions.

During the data analysis process, patterns of responses were identified through the review and analysis of the transcribed data. Hatch (2002) suggested that inductive analysis falls into eight steps: (a) read the data and identify frames of analysis; (b) create domains based on semantic relationships discovered within frames of analysis; (c) identify salient domains, assign them a code, and put others aside; (d) reread data, refining salient domains and keeping a record of where relationships were found in the data; (e) decide if your domains are supported by the data and search data for examples that do not fit with or run counter to the relationships in the domains; (f) complete an analysis within

domains; (g) create a master outline expressing relationships within and among domains; and (h) select data excerpts to support the elements of your outline.

Each of the steps helped me make the data understandable and generated meaningful information based on the perceptions and experiences of the participants. In this study, there was no testing of a hypothesis, but rather a focus on generating themes of the participants' perceptions and experiences.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the United States. The findings from all the interviews are presented in this chapter.

All interviews were analyzed using an inductive analysis method, and the data were coded in categories or higher order themes that were consistently found throughout the interviews. Each higher order theme (e.g., race and gender) was classified with a subset of the themes distinguishing each higher order theme from another. In the following section, each higher order theme, its sub-themes, and supporting participant quotes are presented.

Theme #1: Experiences Related to Race

How have the 45 Korean players been treated on the LPGA Tour as members of an Asian group on the LPGA Tour, where white people are dominant? The Korean women in this study provided various answers to these questions, saying that they have experienced practices of racism while they were participating in the LPGA Tour. A number of Korean players in this study

indicated that they felt racial discrimination. As Ji-Youn, Yun-A, and Eun-Ha said, “I felt a lot of racial discrimination” (Ji-Youn); “I have not felt racial discrimination that often, but discrimination exists, particularly for the Korean players” (Yun-A); and “There was an obvious racial discrimination. I have experienced it often. I have also heard of it from others often” (Eun-Ha). Korean players are often found to not be satisfied to the treatment they received during the course of their career in the U.S. Of course, some Korean players have not undergone such unpleasant experiences as others have, and some even considered such unfairness to be understandable to the extent that they were not the native players playing on their own turf during the Tour in the U.S. However, overall, most of the interviewees in this study agreed that racial discrimination exists in the circumstance of the LPGA Tour.

The Korean players’ experiences with race are discussed in the themes of: (a) Satisfaction and understanding; (b) Korean players are singled-out; (c) Generalization of Korean players’ fault; (d) Limited media coverage on television and at the LPGA website; and (e) Silence toward discrimination.

Subtheme #1: Satisfaction & Understanding

Ever since Se Ri Pak first played in the U.S. Tour in 1998, the numbers of Korean players joining the Tour have dramatically increased; today, a recorded total of 47 Korean players are participating on the 2009 season. Among the 11 Korean players who participated in this study, the second generation of Korean

players were satisfied with the treatment they received during their career on the LPGA Tour more than the first generation of Korean players. Jung-Rae, Eun-Joo, and Ju-Hwa described their experiences as the following:

Unlike in the past, there are many Korean players on the Tour nowadays. Sometimes two out of three players in a group were Koreans. I think it depends on personal preference. Some Americans who like foreign culture are nice to us ... Most of them treat us nicely. (Jung-Rae)

In my case, as I said before, I hadn't felt that [discrimination] much because older players made situations comfortable... I think they [the LPGA] take care of us well. Their treatment was good. However, I experienced racial discrimination in the daily life. (Eun-Joo)

I heard that Se Ri has had a hard time when she came here [in 1998]. These days, however, things are better than back in that time because managers do everything for us. (Ju-Hwa)

Particularly Eun-Joo indicated that she experienced racial discrimination against outside of the Tour, while the treatment she received on the Tour was good. Eun-Joo's opinion was supported by Su-Young who agreed, "When I made an order at a restaurant with correct pronunciation, the employee asked me over and over again. Because I am an Asian and stranger here, I felt they ignore me when I asked them 'is it delicious?' something like that (Su-Young). On the other hand, when she talked about the treatment of the LPGA, she was positive saying:

I think the LPGA differentiates tour players based not on players' race but on players' playing ability. If a high-ranking player has a trouble, the LPGA takes care of it immediately and nicely. (Su-Young)

As Jung-Rae and Eun-Joo explained, the fact that Korea has produced a total of 47 players over the last ten years, along with the recognition of skilled Korean players in and out of the LPGA tour, seems to have led the LPGA to providing better treatment than in the past. For example, as the number of Korean players has increased, the LPGA started helping the Korean players make adjustments to the lifestyle in the U.S. and on the Tour. In addition, the LPGA hired a Korean staff person, Kyu-Min Shim, whose job title is, “Player-Sponsor Relations Coordinator,” to serve as a sort of liaison between the Tour and its growing Korean contingent.

Meanwhile, in dealing with unsmooth relationship with non-Korean players, Jan-Dee explained how she handled it:

It varies depending on individuals ... People who like African-American may say, “what’s up,” and people who do not like them may say “Negros.” It is like this. Because I also have an emotion, I would like to fight with the people who mocked me. However, I would not care about such things because this is how people live together. (Jan-Dee)

Although Jan-Dee has felt that non-Korean players were not affable to Korean players, she tried to understand it. In dealing with media coverage, So-Youn also tried to understand the limited coverage of Korean players.

I understand that [interview] issue ... In the U.S., every [TV] channel likes to take a live interview. I do not think they want to listen to a translated interview, but the real feelings of the player. So, I understand that they want to do it [interviewing more with English-speaking players] that way. (So-Youn)

Although some racial remarks would occur sporadically, players in general expressed the opinion that the racism was something that they just have to overcome considering the fact that they were foreign players. In regards to the lack of attention they were getting from the media, Eun-Ha did not seem to take it seriously and rather understood the potential racial discrimination saying:

I understand. Ok, we [Korean players] are not blond hair nor blue eyes people, so they [American people] might not want to watch us because we are beating them [American players]. (Eun-Ha)

Accordingly, some Korean players were tolerant about their activities during the LPGA Tour and tried to understand even if they encountered uncomfortable situations. However, what is more important is the fact that Korean players were still receiving racial discrimination. This is addressed in the next sections.

Subtheme #2: Korean Players are Singled-out

One of the most excruciating racial discriminations that the Korean players experienced was when LPGA officials applied several rules that were particularly strict against Korean players. According to the players who participated in this study, despite the notion that every rule within the LPGA must apply to each player equally and fairly, there were some rules that seemed particularly harsh on Korean players who were often put at a disadvantage.

Language policy. There is an LPGA rule which states that players are not to converse with anyone in a foreign language except for their caddies. This rule

is used to prevent foreign players from engaging in a dialogue, during plays, with their parents or friends in a language that is not English so as to receive advice or any unfair tips during the play. According to the players who participated in the study, whenever other foreign players (e.g., European players) spoke in their own languages to people other than their caddies, they received broader and more generous exceptions from the rules. However, whenever Korean players spoke to their parents or friends, they were often immediately penalized for their actions.

Eun-Ha stated:

I don't understand why only Korean players speaking Korean is wrong, while Germans speaking German among themselves are OK. It is OK to speak French among Frenchmen ... It is no problem if a Swedish player speaks their own language. They [European players] are OK, but only Korean speaking Korean is not OK ... It is like Japan's colonial period. (Eun-Ha)

Eun-Ha particularly expressed strong disgruntlement about this particular rule and how it relates to racial discrimination. She continued:

For example, I played with a French player ... When I played with her, I saw her father following her during the game, which means that her father was a gallery member. The player spoke with her father in their own language after she hit a T-shot. How can I know what they were saying? Who knows if they said, "This hole is Par 5, so do not use the driver but use the 3 wood instead"? He might have even given her a hint. However, they were OK, but Korean players were not OK ... So my conclusion is that discrimination exists. Racial discrimination exists undoubtedly in the LPGA [Tour]. (Eun-Ha)

As mentioned earlier, Eun-Ha's statement clearly confirms the perception that racial discrimination against Korean players in the LPGA is happening and is not a myth.

Food policy. Another rule that is particularly harsh on Korean players is that which prevents the players from sharing food (e.g., sandwich or beverage) with people other than tour players (e.g., friends or parents) prepared in the locker room by the LPGA. Through the interviews, players revealed that this rule also was particularly enforced against Korean players. Su-Young and Eun-Ha said:

There is a rule that players can take foods out to eat, but are not allowed to give the foods to friends or family. However, occasionally we do, such as banana. If we do, the LPGA strictly charges [Korean players] couple of hundred dollars. (Su-Young)

If a non-Korean player takes two sandwiches from the locker room, one for herself and one for her caddie, or her boyfriend, or parent, it does not become a controversy ... However, if a Korean player does these things, the player is charged \$100 or \$150 penalty right away ... I don't say I was right. I violated this rule, so I pay the \$100 fine. However, why do only I have to pay this fine, while other players who violated same rule do not? (Eun-Ha)

Eun-Ha suggested that while there are no Korean players accusing each other (to the LPGA) about sharing food, it is those non-Korean players who make those accusations to the LPGA. Despite the fact that many other players are violating this particular rule, it was their perception that only the Korean players were being singled out for the accusations where they eventually must pay the penalty. Eun-Ha continued:

Regarding coffee, it is hard to come out without anything for my father who may feel cold out there after I drank a hot tea in the locker room on a cold day... so I can think, "OK, this one cup of coffee may cost \$100." However, why is it OK if American players bring coffee for their parents, and is not OK if I bring a coffee for my father? (Eun-Ha)

Eun-Ha expressed a strong discontent with the way that the Korean players were being discriminated against through this food policy. Su-Young also admitted the unfair treatment occurring on the LPGA, and wondered whether the rule was imposed also on non-Korean players when she added the following, "I have not heard of it yet. It is a lie if someone says that nobody [non-Korean player] has done it. It is unfair. I felt it is unfair when I heard of such treatment."

Membership policy. As the number of Korean players increased, the LPGA started changing the membership policy starting in 2007. For example, the LPGA used to grant tour tickets to participate in the LPGA Tour if a foreign player, who was invited to an LPGA event held in Asian countries, won the event. In 2006, the Mizuno Classic was held in Mie, Japan between November 3 and November 5, the Honda LPGA Thailand at Chonburi, Thailand between October 10-22, and the Kolon-Hana Bank championship at Yangnam, Korea on October 27 through 29 where the winner in each event automatically would get a tour ticket to join the LPGA Tour as a non-member the following year. Jin-Joo Hong, a Korean player who won the 2006 Kolon-Hana Bank Championship in Korea, was such a player who joined the 2007 LPGA Tour. However, the LPGA

terminated such an opportunity when they excluded the winner of the 2007 Kolon-Hana Bank Championship held in Korea from the LPGA Tour. The LPGA still grants such opportunities to join their tour to the winners of the Japan and Thailand events.

Although the policy was designed to prevent the already overwhelming number of Korean players from growing larger, the fact that the policy was applied only to the tournament which is held in Korea and not to those from Japan or Thailand left some doubt as to what the membership policy was preventing.

Yun-A stated:

If a non-member wins, she was supposed to come [to the LPGA Tour]. For example, there are many Korean players on the Japanese LPGA Tour, and if a Korean player participating in the Tour wins in an LPGA tournament held in Japan [e.g., Mizuno Classic] she can come. However, it is impossible only in Korea. Ji-Young, Si-Hyun, and Jin-Joo were invited to the LPGA Tour through that way, but they are the last players who came to the Tour in that way. (Yun-A)

As for Yun-A, who was quite a fluent English speaker, she said that she never felt any type of racial discrimination before. However, when she learned about this particular policy change, it made her realize that she, too, felt like a victim. She added the following:

When the LPGA announced it [change of the rule], my first impression was “Ahh, they [the LPGA] prevent Korean players coming [to the LPGA Tour]. Until that time, I have not felt that [discrimination]. It might be because I could speak English ... but I realized it [discrimination] after the rule changed. (Yun-A)

The aforementioned rule change was first initiated by Carolyn Bivens, who became the new commissioner after Ty Votaw resigned. She was also in the spotlight in August, 2008, when she announced an English test as a minimum requirement in the Korean players meeting. Weeks after her inadvertent call for such a requirement, she was faced with mass media and sponsors who strongly resisted the adoption of such rules. Although the English rule was never adopted, the LPGA could not avoid the criticisms that it was intentionally singling out Korean players only (Pennington, 2008).

Additional meetings only for Asian players. According to Mi-Ran, who experienced racial discrimination in the LPGA Tour, there are meetings twice a year for Asian players. Even though it is called an Asian meeting, as the list of international players shows, the fact that there were only two players from Japan, one from China, one from the Philippine, five from Taiwan, and three from Thailand, compared to 45 from Korea, it would not be a stretch to call it a meeting designed to address the issues that pertain to Korean players. During the meeting, players gathered and complained that LPGA's request for the Asian players to follow the recommendations of Pro-Am behavior (e.g., having dialogues with sponsors and wearing uniforms that are distinctly female) seemed a bit too much and was unfair from the Korean players' perspectives. Mi-Ran stated:

“I guess there was [discrimination]. It [the LPGA] was not really directing, but they held a meeting for only the Asian players and told us to ‘do like this in the Pro-Am games.’ I felt very bad. They [the LPGA] tell the Asian

players, most of them are Korean, with only two Japanese players, ‘Do not do these things in the Pro-Am games. Sponsors are important customers,’ something like that. If they say this to us once in awhile, I might think, ‘Well, we might be doing something wrong,’ but when they say it too often, it does not feel anything but being discriminated ... If someone [Korean player] cannot speak English very well, they [The LPGA] said, ‘If you cannot speak English, just smile instead [in the Pro-Am games].’ When they said this to me, I felt very bad. (Mi-Ran)

Of course, Mi-Ran understood that the governing body felt the need to summon the players. However, if they constantly called only Asian players to a meeting, which took two hours for additional education, the Korean players would not feel comfortable to accept it as any regular meetings. Mi-Ran continued:

We sat down there [in the meeting] for four hours in total ... We could not practice, nor take a break even if we are tired ... So, I thought, ‘What are we doing sitting down here for four hours without a break?’ I think it is unfair. (Mi-Ran)

As mentioned earlier in the literature review, from the interview with Jan Stephenson it was clear that racial discrimination against the Korean players originated from the Pro-Am games. If Korean players had trouble with English, they would have to spend four hours in a game with the amateur players of the Pro-Am. Regardless of their race and nationality, professional players, in general, spend time with the amateur players of Pro-Am and participate in the entertainment for them. However, rather than spending their full day with the sponsors, most of the professional players would focus on preparing for the tournament itself by visiting each fairway and putting green. During the course of

this entertainment, often times, the Pro-Am players made accusations that Korean players are not talking with them, and so they asked for refunds from the LPGA. This is precisely the reason why the LPGA was summoning the Asian players for additional educational sessions. From the view of the Korean players, it seemed not sufficient to impose the extra two hours of education on all 45 members from Korea

Subtheme #3: Generalization of Korean Players' Fault

As mentioned earlier, Pro-Am games became the source of many troubles for Korean players. Although it is admissible that some Korean players would have trouble with speaking English, that should be no excuse for generalizing some of the criticisms and personality issues that pertain to only a few of the Korean members to all Korean players. In the following sub-theme section, the conditions under which problems with a small number of Korean players was generalized to problems of all Korean players is discussed.

The tension between Korean players and the LPGA was already noticeable through the Pro-Am games. The fact that the Pro-Am players were making accusations to the LPGA against Korean players for not having dialogue with them while, at the same time, the LPGA was making an announcement about adopting English-speaking tests as a minimum requirement for eligibility (neither in the international players meeting nor at the Asian players meeting but in the Korean players meeting), shows the LPGA's intension to control the Korean

players. In addition, as Mi-Ran has described earlier, the LPGA's actions to hold the Korean players for two more hours in the regular meetings and to send warnings via emails to all Korean players clearly showed that they were trying to put the Korean players under their control.

However, Korean players were defending themselves by saying that it was each individual's personality issue, which clearly does not represent all Korean players. Ji-Youn also said that most of the Korean players believed that they were well-mannered and were much friendlier than any other country's players:

Each player has a different personality. Some American players are nice [to the amateur players], whereas some others focus only on their games. It is the same with Korean players ... Although a [Korean] player speaks English well, the player might just dislike talking with people. Similarly, there might be a [Korean] player who cannot speak English well, but tries to smile to others [amateur players]. However, they [the LPGA] are indicating only Asian players; most of them are Korean players. (Mi-Ran)

I did not mean that ten out of ten Korean players are doing their best, but at least eight or nine of them are doing their best. They hit only one ball, teach how to grip smiling at them, and finish the game in a friendly mood. However, if one Korean player messes it up, then a group member runs to LPGA to say, "We played a Korean player, but it was no fun, and she has never talked to us" ... They complain to the LPGA and ask for a refund [which costs about \$2,500/person]. So, if they request a refund, Korean players receive emails [from the LPGA] later. (Ji-Youn)

What is important is that not only Korean players but also top-ranked players [regardless of nationalities] on both LPGA and PGA Tour are very calmed down and focused only on their games [Pro-Am games]. They say simply "hi" or "hello" and prepare for their games. They [top-ranked players] do not enjoy the [Pro-Am] games, while middle level players may enjoy it. (Su-Young)

Su-Young implied that it is not because they are Korean players that few Korean players were unfriendly, but it depends on skill level of players. Therefore, the assumption that all Korean players are unfriendly to Pro-Am players turned out a biased viewpoint.

As mentioned earlier, while listening to their opinions, it was quite clear that the LPGA misunderstood Korean players. As Ji-Youn described, 80 to 90 percent of Korean players were quite friendly to amateur players during Pro-Am games such as teaching players how to grip; however, even those players who were out there being friendly to amateur players were summoned to the LPGA's special education sessions just because they were Koreans. In other words, the Korean players who were friendly enough to Pro-Am players also had to receive the emails from the LPGA asking them to follow the recommendations in Pro-Am games, and this caused the Korean players to complain. It is possible that even the LPGA does not think all Korean players were disobliging to Pro-Am gamers. Nevertheless, what implication does summoning or sending emails to all Korean players have? Does that mean that the LPGA does not care even if Korean players' pride is hurt? In reality, the Korean players in this study expressed their discomfort with the LPGA's reckless actions. Does the fact that the LPGA was not considerate of Korean players' discontentment mean that they were simply ignoring the Korean players? The LPGA must reconsider its policy on generalizing certain players' behavior to the entire members of their nationality.

According to a Korean player, certain Korean players' misbehaviors were often generalized to the entire country's customs. As Ji-Youn stated:

For example, if an American player such as Paula Creamer made a mistake, people do not say Americans made the mistake, but Creamer did. However, if I made a mistake, then it is like all Korean players made that mistake. So, the LPGA seems to regard all Korean players in the same way. (Ji-Youn)

As Ji-Youn indicated, in the LPGA, each U.S. player's mistakes or misbehaviors were treated as an individual thing, whereas when certain Korean players made similar mistakes, it was regarded as a problem of the entire nation and its race.

Such hasty behavior by the LPGA regarding generalizing certain Korean players' actions to all Korean players was also criticized by Eun-Ha and Yun-A:

For example, if a father of a Korean player does a bad thing, people look at every Korean player's father differently ... American coaches also heard the rumor. So, when I go to a driving range with my father, people look at us differently, saying "She is a LPGA player and he is her father." They look at us with a negative thought. (Eun-Ha)

It was when she [another LPGA non-Korean player] and I were competing with each other for a championship. She said that my mother gave me a sign ... Honestly, I do not listen to my mother's sign even if she gives me one ... In fact, she is not the person who gives me a sign ... In that year, there was a rumor that Korean players and parents give and take hints [during the games]. And then she thought my mother did it too. (Yun-A)

Yun-A's mother's handicap was over 30, which is not considered adequate even at the amateur level. However, because of another Korean player's cheating scandal, her mother's behavior was often misinterpreted just because she, too, was Korean. While parents of a few Korean players violated the rules to the extent that

they gave hints during plays, the Korean players voluntarily asked each Korean member to display fair play during tournaments. The problem was, however, that those problems that occurred by a small number of players were often generalized to all Korean players; Korean players were then seen as being racially and ethnically uncontrollable.

Subtheme #4: Limited Media Coverage on Television and at the LPGA Website

After interviewing the 11 Korean players on the LPGA Tour, it was concluded that despite their contributions to the Tour, the level of recognition by the mass media in the U.S. was still extremely low. This phenomenon was particularly displayed by the lack of coverage on television and the LPGA website.

Media coverage on television. First of all, Korean players believed that they were being racially discriminated against when comparing the amount of coverage that they got to non-Korean players [mostly Caucasian players]. It seemed as if it did not matter how well they played because chances were that Caucasian players would be covered on television. Also, even if a Korean player was leading the tournament, if the co-leading player happened to be a white player, the white player would get the undivided attention from the media, and attention to the Korean player was automatically reduced. One could argue, as So-Youn did, that it is because of a lack of language skills, or that they don't have blue eyes with blond hair. However, from the standpoint of the Korean players, the fact that the amount of media coverage was determined not by the

performance results, but by how they looked or by their race cannot be overlooked:

On the *Golf Channel*, they hardly show even the leading Korean players in the tournament. They show Korean players only once while showing the Americans three times. The ratio is almost like that. I think that is considered discrimination ... I kind of understand, but it should not be like that in the public media. (Eun-Ha)

Korean players are hardly seen on TV even though when a particular Korean player plays very well. American players can be shown on TV even when they are at the bottom of top ten, but we [Korean players] cannot be shown until we make the top three at least in a tournament. I felt that. (Eun-Joo)

As Eun-Ha and Eun-Joo said, it was not easy for Korean players to appear on TV, compared to American players. Although the real data are hard to come by, as Eun-Ha suggested, it was difficult to find Korean players who were even in a leading group throughout the tournament. More specifically, as Eun-Ha explained, if both a white player and a Korean player were in the same group, after showing the shot by the white player, the camera would quickly move to another player other than the Korean player. More data are needed to validate this claim, however.

Although being discriminated against by U.S. players even when the scores were competitive was an issue, even more discriminating was when the television program showed a non-ranked white player's chip shot rather than a Korean player leading the tournament:

For example, if Annika [Sorenstam] or Natali [Gulbis] is on the issue, the size of the picture is like this [big] saying, “Gulbis made a chip shot in.” They do not show her score ... Whereas, when a Korean player is leading, they write like, “Lee leads ...” and end with few words. (Eun-Ha)

In this situation, Korean players doubted that the U.S. media would pay more attention to a Korean player making a chip shot in when the leader of the tournament was an American player.

Researchers in critical cultural studies have discussed the problems of the amount of media coverage of African-American male athletes, which is far fewer than their contribution to the sport (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991). Further, this limited coverage of African-Americans also appeared across gender, with the fact that only five African-American women were featured in *Sports Illustrated* during a span of 1,835 issues (Williams, 1994). Although race is not only one factor in determining the amount of media coverage (Sabo, Jansen, Tate, Duncan, & Leggett, 1996), it seems obvious that there is a correlation between the amount of media coverage and race. Wong (1999) indicated that information about Asian women athletes in sports was extremely scarce compared to the increasing number of Asian athletes participating in many sports such as ice skating, golf, soccer, tennis, basketball, gymnastics, swimming, and diving (Wong, 1999). More significantly, Kim, Walkosz, and Iverson (2006) argued that Asian women were described as “methodical, mechanical, machine-like, mysterious, industrious, self-disciplined and intelligent” (p. 310) in the media.

Specifically, in comparison to the amount of the media coverage in *USA Today* between Se Ri Pak and her western counterparts, Annika Sorenstam and Kerrie Webb, Kim et al. (2006) revealed the following:

Both Sorenstam and Webb received more coverage than Pak from 1998-2001 in both measures of headlines and main articles. An analysis of the number of wins, headlines, and main articles written about each player demonstrates that Sorenstam and Webb received disproportionately more coverage than Pak. (p. 313)

They indicated that the amount of coverage for Sorenstam and Webb superceded the number of wins. However, Pak's number of wins was greater than either of them in 2001 (Kim, Walkosz, & Iverson, 2006). This findings were supported the by the current standings Korean players' experiences regarding the lack of media coverage of them on the LPGA Tour.

Media coverage on the LPGA website. The unfair treatment or the lack of coverage of Korean players was not shown by just the *Golf Channel*. According to the Korean players, the LPGA website was also a place for this discrimination. It was quite apparent that the LPGA was discriminating against the Korean players as shown on their website which displayed the tournament players and articles related to the players with the location of their pictures being disproportionately small compared to non-Korean players. The fact that the LPGA is a nonprofit organization, unlike magazines or broadcasting companies, is an issue as they should take the responsibility in preventing such

discriminations from occurring on the Tour. However, the reality appears to be that the LPGA displayed inequality and unfairness in order to maintain the popularity and sponsorships for the Tour. Jung-Rae and Eun-Joo described the following: “You know the LPGA website. If co-leaders are American and Korean, only the picture of the American player is shown on the [LPGA] website. The Korean player’s picture is not shown” (Jung-Rae). “I agree. Only American players are shown [on the LPGA website]. They interview Americans more than Koreans” (Eun-Joo). Eun-Ha described an article in further details:

That’s right. Articles become very short. If the size of article of Korean player’s win is this big [she draws a small circle], the size of American player’s win is this big [large circle], such as this player who is originally from California, including her childhood details. On the other hand, if a Korean player wins, such as Se Ri Pak, they [LPGA] write an article like, “Se Ri Pak won this tournament with total 10 under par,” something like this. The article ends with just a few words. (Eun-Ha)

Research shows that the mass media in the U.S. has a bias in terms of the amount of reports they dedicate depending on the individual’s race. For example, based on the analysis of African-American professional basketball players who were covered by the *Sports Illustrated* from 1954 to 1986, despite the large amount of contributions by African-American players in the NBA, it was concluded that the number of articles that reported on them was extremely low (Francis, 1990). Similarly, Lumpkin and Williams (1991) have indicated that besides the NBA, there is a lack of recognition for African-American players in most sports;

Williams (1994) went on to report that, of the 1,835 *Sports Illustrated* articles during the last 35 years, only five of them focused on African-American female players. Moreover, up until 1970, there was not a single non-white person featured (Davis, 1993).

It was evident that the volume of the articles and the size of the players' photos used by the LPGA's media staff members varied significantly depending on players' nationality and race. After the current study interviews, I visited the LPGA website frequently and was able to validate some of the complaints coming out of the Korean player interviews. An example can be taken from the Ginn Tribute Tournament held between May 29th and June 1st in 2008 in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina when an Australian golfer, Karri Webb (Caucasian) and a Korean player, In-Kyung Kim finished after leading throughout the opening of the tournament on May 29th. The same day, the website's main page showed Webb's picture in the center, while Kim was displayed in about one-fourth the size of Kerri Webb's photo. It was evident that, as Eun-Ha suggested, when both a white player and a Korean player were leading the tournament, the focus of the media coverage was on the white player only. Accordingly, there were two ways that the Korean players appeared on the main page of the LPGA: either (a) when the Korean player was a sole leader; or (b) when two Korean players were leading the tournament together. As mentioned earlier, the website, which is the main face of the LPGA, appeared to discriminate against the Korean players as the website

coordinator avoided showing Korean players as much as possible while instead maximized the coverage of Americans or other white players. What would be the main reason for such behavior? According to Yun-A, the primary reason for their bias in coverage was because the LPGA wanted to cheer for the U.S. and/or other white players:

She [the LPGA Commissioner] backs up young American players. It is sure that she would protect American players. Players who are shown in the media these days are Paula Creamer [white young American player], Natalie Gulbis [white young American player], and Cristie Kerr, always. (Yun-A)

Ji-Youn explained a potential reason for this phenomenon:

I read this from a magazine, which was an American magazine ... The popularity of the LPGA Tour was getting lower, so the magazine surveyed the reason. The number one answer was related to those players who could not speak English very well. (Ji-Youn)

Upon reviewing the contents of the Korean players' interviews, it appeared that the LPGA has transformed its marketing strategy since the 1990s for internationalization. The LPGA used to grant tour tickets for the LPGA Tour to players who ranked within the top 20 through the Qualifying school (the contest organized by the LPGA to select new tour players for the following year) regardless of nationality; this route has led many Korean players to enter the Tour. The number of Korean players who entered using this route have won a total of 65 tournaments through 2007 and have increased the influence of Korean players

in and out of the LPGA. The problem was that whenever the Korean players won, they could not stand in front of the camera and speak English fluently like other foreign or U.S. players, not to mention that they were neither blue-eyed nor blond-haired as Eun-Ha described earlier. Considering these situations, both the media and golf fans started turning their attention to the PGA Tour or the Senior's Tour and their sponsors started losing interest in supporting the LPGA. Faced with managing the growing number of financial and business losses, the LPGA first announced the requirement of taking an English test during the Korean' players meeting in August 2008, and this announcement then led to Korean players' disenfranchisement in the LPGA. This is an issue in which it appears that the LPGA discriminated against a particular group of players for reasons that related to their management and business marketing purposes, which puts into question of their ethics.

Subtheme #5: Silence toward Discrimination

As mentioned earlier, it appears that the lack of language skills by the Korean players was the main source of problems for both the LPGA and the Korean players themselves. Although there are many Korean players who are struggling with English, it should not be overlooked that Korean players had spent a lot of time learning English before their arrival in the U.S. For example, in the case of So-Youn, she even lived with her English teacher for a year before she came to the U.S. As So-Youn described her preparation:

I lived with an English teacher for one year before coming to the U.S. ... She [the teacher] and I stayed together all the time except for the time when we had to go to sleep ... What was so hard was that she would always stay with me even after practicing golf for a long time ... She was with me all the time. (So-Youn)

Before starting her first tour on the LPGA, Jung-Rae received individual English practice sessions in the U.S. soil. Despite these efforts in English, Korean players were often confronted with many troubles in both their daily life and their tour career caused by their lack of fluency in English. Su-Young and Eun-Ha explained such difficulties this way:

When I came to the U.S., my English was not good enough. So I had attended a language school. As a result, my daily conversation and pronunciation have improved ... Because I am an Asian and a stranger here; I felt that they ignored me whenever I asked people [a question]. (Su-Young)

... Yes, such as dropping a ball during a game. Officials do explain the rule very quickly like, "From nearest point you can drop inside of two clubs, drop it, drop again [Eun-Ha spoke very fast]". They talk very fast. So, if the Korean player is not a fluent English speaker, she gets very embarrassed. She becomes so nervous that she ends up dropping it in the wrong place, and gets a penalty for it. It happens. (Eun-Ha)

As Su-Young and Eun-Ha described, the difficulties that come from speaking in English during the LPGA Tour did not apply to just those two. As Yun-A indicated, "There are many problems. There are so many rumors and troubles that are often misinterpretations that come from their lack of English skills," These

Korean players recognized that their lack of language skills was damaging to them in a variety of ways.

Although the lack of language skills was mentioned throughout this study as a main source of problems for the Korean players, the bigger problem was that coupled with the obviously unfair treatment by the LPGA, the Korean players themselves were passive in their actions. In other words, although the Korean players realized that they were being discriminated against during the LPGA Tour, their decision to react to such mistreatments was limited due to their lack of language skills. Furthermore, they often did not seem to be able to do anything about the discrimination. Ji-Youn and Eun-Ha described the following:

In my opinion, learning English is necessary to help Korea to be a strong country. If we [Korean players] could speak English, we would not be suffering like this. (Ji-Youn)

Most of the Korean players do not speak up or complain out loud publicly, and are frustrated with themselves for their situations. It may be because we cannot speak English fluently nor do we want to make a trouble for small things ... I believe that we should try to correct things if we are being unfairly treated, instead of talking only in private ... [Korean] Players say, "I experienced racial discrimination" only in private. So, I asked "Will you tell them [the LPGA] if I help you in English?" Then, they said "No, I am fine." They would not say anything. (Eun-Ha)

One of most important findings in this study was that not only the Korean players recognized that they were being racially discriminated against by the LPGA, but they also recognized that they kept silent and did not respond to discriminating treatment because of their lack of language skills. In other words, their lack of

language skills was what was stopping them from correcting the mistreatment by the LPGA and from making accusations to the governing body. Although there were a total of 45 Korean players on the LPGA Tour in 2008, they have not organized their own association such as the “Korean Players Association” which could play a significant role in representing Korean players’ voices. Moreover, the LPGA tried to adopt an English language requirement in August, 2008, for the players whose first language was not English, to limit the number of international players who cannot speak English fluently. Although this trial ended two weeks after it was announced, the LPGA could not avoid the criticism by the media and the sponsors that said the LPGA discriminated against Korean players. In 2009, where 47 Korean players are given the eligibility to play in the LPGA Tour, we must carefully observe when and where such racially discriminating remarks and treatments may occur.

Theme #2: Experiences Related to Gender

Although the participants on the LPGA Tour are female, there is a significant male presence within several aspects of the Association. For example, television audiences and gallery spectators are largely male. Several employees working for the LPGA are male (e.g., a former commissioner Ty Votaw). In addition, nearly 90% of the caddies are male (S. Lim, personal communication, May 7, 2008). As a result, LPGA players have many interactions with men while

they are participating in the Tour. From this study, Korean players' experiences related to gender were revealed in the themes of: (a) Participants' display of femininity; and (b) Sexual harassment by men within the Tour.

Subtheme #1: Participants' Display of Femininity

According to Sage (1998), traditional gender ideology such as patriarchy which is reinforced and reproduced by social institutions (e.g., political, economic, educational, and religious) is the main source of sexual discrimination in society. In this study, it was discovered that the LPGA, as a social institution, has played a significant role in producing traditional gender ideology. Among the interviewees, Ji-Youn and Yun-A related their experience with encountering gender discrimination. They described details with regard to how the LPGA recommended ways in which tour players could outwardly present their femininity. Ji-Youn stated, "The LPGA told players, 'Because you are LPGA professional golfer, wear feminine dresses ... Wear a short skirt,' something like this" (Ji-Youn). Yun-A also said:

They [the LPGA] suggested players look like a woman, and recommended that we wear makeup. I would say in English, 'presentable' ... Even though they did not force us to do so, they recommended us to talk more [with Pro-Am players] and dress nicely for our matches. They [the LPGA] emphasized femininity. (Yun-A)

As described, the LPGA directly told players to maintain their femininity by wearing makeup or dressing in traditionally feminine ways. Unlike amateur

players, professional players' main focus was not to maintain a beautiful appearance, but rather to improve their scores. In particular, Korean players who left their home country with their parents to participate in the LPGA Tour were more interested in improving their games as opposed to focusing upon their appearance. However, the LPGA has emphasized that the players focus upon presenting a feminine appearance. In this regard, Ji-Youn told the investigator an interesting episode:

Well, when Eun-Sook [another Korean player] had cut her hair short, the LPGA told her like 'You are playing in the ladies tour, why is your hair like that?' (Ji-Youn)

This statement reflects how the LPGA focused on the players' maintenance of a feminine appearance. The LPGA called and advised the Korean player not to cut her hair short or alter her appearance in any way which might appear "masculine." As a professional player, Eun-Sook sacrificed her femininity by cutting her hair short to improve her spiritual strength but subsequently drew the ire of the LPGA.

Meanwhile, the LPGA restricted the tour players from smoking and spitting at the tournament site because it deteriorated the players' feminine image.

Ji-Youn said:

When we played a practice round, we were on the course and were confronted by an LPGA staff member. Well, I smoke and it is ok, but I sometimes spit ... Then someone came to me, maybe Lauren [pseudonym], and she said something nicely, but who knows ... It's because I cannot catch what she really meant ... So, should I not spit? A [female] caddie [next to me] said, "Wow, scary huh?" (Ji-Youn)

When Ji-Youn saw that non-Korean female players were advised not to smoke in public view on the tournament site, she was confused as stated below:

In Korea, because of its culture, women cannot freely smoke on the street, so I understood. However, in the U.S., American [female] players also did not smoke out there. Instead, they smoke in the backside of a tree or a clubhouse, so that they are not shown. I guess that they smoke in the backside because they have been advised [by the LPGA]. (Ji-Youn)

Here, it is clear that Korean golfers perceived that smoking in public view was actually monitored and prohibited by the LPGA. The reason behind the LPGA's stance on this matter might be that smoking in public view harms women's conventional image of femininity. On the other hand, when asked if the PGA would control smoking among their players, Yun-A replied, "They wouldn't. They don't," meaning that only the LPGA controls the actions of the tour players in order to maintain a feminine image.

The LPGA appears to have reproduced traditional gender ideology by recommending female players wear makeup, short skirts, and refrain from behaviors that are not "lady-like" (e.g., short haircut, smoking, or spitting) (Sage, 1998). Historically, there have been a few cases in which women athletes' femininity was more highlighted than their performance in sport. For example, The Phoenix Queens, a women's softball team, valued players' appearance more than their softball performance. It was because Larry Walker, founder and manager of the team, believed that beautiful women can be great athletes, but

great female athletes cannot be beautiful women. Based on this belief, the team advertised by having the players wear satin shorts and shirts (McLain, 1949, as cited in Emery, 1994). In this regard, columnist Mark Kiszla (2005) said:

America forces women to play sports by a different set of rules. Points are awarded for beauty. The trophy does not really shine unless she looks sexy holding it. Acting like a lady is more important than winning. (Kiszla, 2005, p. 1B)

This trend of selling female athletes' sex appeal is not limited to the U.S., but it is also found world-wide. For example, Spain's national handball team members who placed sixth in 2004 Athens Olympic Games took nude pictures in November, 2004, to increase public popularity and attention to women's handball. In the nude pictures, athletes hid some parts of their bodies with handballs and their hands. In addition, female soccer players in Frankfurt, Germany also took nude pictures in an attempt to raise sponsorships while female athletes in track and field in the Netherlands took nude photos to raise funds to attend a foreign training camp (Choi, 2009).

One of the purposes of such sex appeal and emphasizing female athletes' femininity is to arouse public interest in their sport and increase sponsors. In golf, Jan Stephenson was one of the first LPGA players to openly embrace the "sex-sells" approach to marketing in the 1980s. Her sex appeal grew the audience in the LPGA Tour during this time with her glamorous approach to golf. Stephenson still believes that the LPGA has to promote players' sex appeal, as she stated:

We have to promote sex appeal. It's a fact of life. The people who watch are predominantly male, and they won't keep watching if the girls aren't beautiful. That's not just the LPGA Tour, either. In Australia the highest-rated television event is the women's surf championship. Why is that?" (ESPN, 2003, October 10)

Although it is said that selling players' sex appeal may increase the popularity of the Tour and sponsorships, the LPGA and Stephenson should not overlook the idea that female players' sex appeal does not necessarily encourage people to have more interest in the sport. Instead, women who are involved in sports turn away from sports because of the emphasis on sex appeal, and the young men who like female athletes' sexy photos are not any more likely to attend a women's sporting event (Quinn, 2008). Furthermore, the focus on sex appeal may cause the public to judge women by their appearance, reinforcing traditional women's images and gender roles that underestimate women's abilities.

Subtheme #2: Sexual Harassment by Men on the LPGA Tour

In this study, it was revealed that Korean players on the LPGA Tour have been the victims of sexual harassment by male Pro-Am players and male caddies. Although sexual harassment by male Pro-Am players occurred less than that by male caddies, it is important to note that Pro-Am games were not a safe zone from sexual harassment for female golfers. Regarding sexual harassment by Pro-Am players, Eun-Ha stated:

When we [tour players] play Pro-Am games, we mostly play with four men. We rarely play with women. And, sometimes they [men] say sexual jokes ... For example, if I don't hit well, so the ball carried less than I

usually carry, then they said, “Did you use up all your energy last night?”
(Eun-Ha)

In addition to Eun-Ha’s statement, Ji-Youn described how she experienced sexual harassment. She stated, “By the way, guys did not directly say things like, ‘You are so sexy,’ because we are not in a bar, but they say ‘Your swing is so sexy’” (Ji-Youn). Although not every Pro-Am player has made sexual jokes, some Pro-Am players have treated Korean players as the objects of sexual jokes.

Compared to Pro-Am players, male caddies on the Tour are notorious in terms of sexually harassing female Korean players. According to Ji-Youn, approximately 144 tour players are participating on the Tour, and nearly every player hired a male caddie. In the early period of Korean players’ influx to the U.S. Tour, Korean players’ fathers used to be their caddies in order to save expenses and provide emotional support. A few years later, Korean players received penalty strokes due to their lack of fluency in English and they began hiring American caddies (English-speaking caddies) in an attempt to more communicate with officials on the Tour. Unfortunately, however, it was revealed that these productive relationships between Korean players and male caddies have changed because of the behaviors of a few caddies. Namely, some male caddies have verbally and physically harassed Korean players. For example, Young-Ae, a second-year LPGA player who is referred to as “a cute little girl,” described her experiences regarding sexual harassment she received from male caddies:

There are many caddies like that. Once a caddie starts making [sexual] jokes, other caddies come to me and talk [sexual jokes] to me. Since I cannot fully understand what they are saying, I just smile, and they laugh and keep talking. (Young-Ae)

In addition to Young-Ae's statement, Yun-A, who sat next to Young-Ae in the interview, added the following:

For example, when Young-Ae practices putting, caddies say not only, "How are you?" but also "Your back figure looks sexy." Then, she is confused what he really means because she can only understand, "How are you?" If Yun-A is next to her and explains to her what he meant, then Young-Ae says, "Did he mean that?" (Ji-Youn)

It is important to note that sexual harassment for the most part occurred toward Korean players who could not speak English fluently. This might be one of the reasons why Yun-A, who is a fluent English speaker, has never experienced sexual harassment on the Tour whereas Young-Ae has experienced it often. Interestingly, Ji-Youn actually named the name of a male caddie who frequently made sexual jokes to Korean players.

In addition to the verbal sexual harassment, some male caddies committed physical sexual harassment against Korean players. For example, some caddies hugged Korean players too long and too often. Also, some of them lifted Korean players' bodies and turned them around, which the Korean player did not want.

Young-Ae said:

Well, he did hug me the day we met and the next day as well... He hugged me not shortly but [for a moment] ... Since my body is small, they [male

caddies] lift my body up, saying, “Let me estimate your weight, or let me lift you up.” (Young-Ae)

Ji-Youn actually demonstrated how caddies hug Young-Ae, saying, “It was not just touch the body ... Caddies hold her [from her back] below her breast” (Ji-Youn). From my viewpoint, the hug that Ji-Youn showed was not a regular one, but rather was an excessive display of expression. Young-Ae, however, was confused about whether the excessively long hug was a part of American culture or something that was not accepted even in the U.S. Her lack of knowledge regarding this practice might have caused her not to strongly reject male caddies’ misconduct.

The most common sexual harassment in sport is athletic coaches’ misconducts toward their female athletes. It is said that sexual harassment by the coach is difficult to detect because athletes regard the coach as the authority figure who significantly affects their athletic career. Coaches often control female athletes’ medical treatment, injuries, social activities, and even sexual behavior as well as determine who gets to play and who remains on the team (Lenskyj, 1992). Because of this relationship with the coach, student-athletes who experienced sexual harassment by the coach tend to tolerate it (Volkwein et al., 1997).

According to Sandy (1990), sexual harassment is more likely to occur in cultures in which high levels of tolerance for violence, male dominance and sex segregation are prevalent such as military units, gangs, college fraternities, and

sports. Although the LPGA Tour is not a male-dominated domain, sex segregation is obvious and close relationships between Korean players and male caddies exist on the Tour. Due to these cultural features and close relationships, Korean players might not have wanted to make trouble and, therefore, endured their unpleasant feelings. Furthermore, from the fact that sexual harassment has occurred mostly to the Korean players who are not fluent English speakers, it is likely that there is a correlation between English speaking ability and sexual harassment.

In the early part of Chapter IV, it was noted that Korean players hesitated to complain about racial discrimination occurring on the Tour because of their lack of fluency in English. Korean players' lack of fluency also caused passive reactions to sexual harassment. Actually, Young-Ae, who is not a fluent English speaker, was not able to speak out with regards to her unpleasant feelings. Young-Ae described her experience regarding the relationship between sexual harassment and her lack of fluency in English as followed:

Other Korean players heard of sexual jokes often, but because I cannot speak English well, I cannot understand the jokes. They [male caddies] spoke sexual jokes often but I could not understand ... Even though I knew what they said, I cannot do anything because I cannot speak English well. I had this situation often ... The more I cannot speak English, the less I speak out. (Young-Ae)

As described above, Young-Ae could not complain about the sexual discrimination she experienced due to her lack of fluency in English. However,

Yun-A, who is a fluent English speaker, said that it was no problem to deal with it. She stated, “If this [sexual harassment] occurs to me, I would definitely complain to the LPGA” (Yun-A). These differences indicate that type and intensity of reaction against sexual discriminations can vary depending on the level of fluency in English.

Sexual harassment in the LPGA Tour is a different type of sexual harassment from common cases (e.g., sexual harassment conducted by upper level male employees to lower level female employees). Historically, golf is one of the noble sports and caddies in golf are people who support golfers; because of this relationship, caddies’ status is lower than golfers’. Therefore, it is unacceptable for caddies to make race-related or sexual jokes to golfers. However, most caddies (mostly Americans) on the LPGA Tour are white males. Thus, they enjoy a position of privilege in society. On the other hand, Korean players on the LPGA Tour are Asian females and are considered a minority in their race and gender in American society. This means that members of the majority in the U.S. serve the members of the minority in the LPGA Tour, inverting the normal social hierarchy. In this regard, it is a significant finding that the higher social status of a group (e.g., white male caddies) can overpower caddies’ status in golf on the LPGA Tour. Personally, I have heard of many cases where male golfers sexually harass female caddies, but I have never heard of any case where caddies sexually harass female golfers, except for when it occurs on the LPGA Tour.

I assume that Korean players experienced sexual harassment due to their social status, as well as English language fluency; they are minorities in both race and gender in American society. It has been well documented by Kalof, Eby, Matheson, and Kroska (2001) that race and gender are strongly linked to sexual harassment because, “They are key dimensions of social stratification ... We would expect less powerful people (e.g., women, minorities, and younger individuals) to be particularly vulnerable to harassers” (p. 283). In addition, Kalof et al. (2001) stated, “Ethnic minorities are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment because of their minority status and their lack of power”(p. 284). It is also revealed that minority women are at risk of sexual harassment because of their dependence on work and cultural image; Asian women are perceived as small, submissive, and docile (DeFour, 1996).

Sexual harassment occurring to Korean players on the LPGA Tour can be seen as sexual-racism. Theorists (Adams, 1997; DeFour, 1990; Murrell, 1996) on sexual harassment of ethnic minority women have discussed the concept of sexual-racism as “forms of sexual aggression [that] are embedded in a system of interlocking race, gender, ethnicity, and class oppression” (Murrell, 1996, p. 56). In the concept, sexism and racism are historically and experientially tied together in regard to discrimination of women of color (Murrell, 1996). Davis (1978) also argued that sexual violence has served as a basis for racial discrimination against women of color. Although little qualitative empirical research has been conducted,

researchers (Mansfield, 1991) revealed that African-American women are likely to be at risk for sexual harassment and racial discrimination as interrelated (Cortina, 2001). Thus, it is suggested that women of color, like Korean players on the LPGA Tour, experience certain forms of sexual and racial discrimination as a coupled phenomena.

Korean players' lack of both English fluency and knowledge of American culture might have aggravated their situations of harassment. As Young-Ae described, she was not sure if male caddies' conduct was acceptable etiquette in American culture or not; because of this lack of knowledge of American culture she did not react properly and immediately. In research dealing with discrimination against Latino women, Cortina (2001) discovered "... education levels may also explain low perceptions of racial-sexual harassment" (p. 177). In the research, many research participants (Latino women) knew only a little English; thus, they may not have understood spoken racial and sexual jokes in English. In addition, it was considered that Latino women with little English fluency may not have recognized sexual racism because when non-Latino men spoke to them, they could not understand racial content.

As an Asian female golfer, Young-Ae was not a fluent English speaker; thus, she was not able to fully understand male caddies' sexual jokes, and, therefore, did not know how to react. Due to these characteristics of Young-Ae (and maybe other Korean players), male caddies might have targeted her as an

object of sexual harassment. She, therefore, had to suffer from unwanted verbal and physical sexual harassment on the LPGA Tour.

Swigonski (1994) argued, “Standpoint theory begins with the idea that the less powerful members of society experience a different reality as a consequence of their oppression” (p. 390). Thus, “members of marginalized groups are valuable ‘strangers’ to the social order” (p. 392). In this study, Korean players provided valued experiences as marginalized members in the LPGA Tour. As mentioned, Korean players’ discrimination was doubled in the white male dominating society, because of their race and gender. It is strongly recommended by standpoint theory that “Each group learn to see the world differently in an active and creative way through the theoretical and political lenses that other thinkers originally constructed to produce distinctive insights” (Swigonski, 1994, p. 392). Therefore, Korean players, the LPGA, male caddies, and male Pro-Am players must work to understand the standpoint of others for less partial reality.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour regarding issues of social justice. More specifically, this study examined how Korean players perceived their experiences of race and gender during their athletic careers in the U. S. The conclusions for this study are as follows:

1. Racial discrimination existed on the LPGA Tour. It was discovered that Korean players on the LPGA Tour had negative experiences in the treatment they received during their careers in the U.S. Concerning experiences related to their race, although a few research participants perceived that they were well treated on the Tour, most of Korean players believed that racial discrimination existed on the LPGA Tour. They thought that they were singled out, and that one Korean player's fault became generalized as all Korean players' problem. In addition, Korean players perceived that they did not receive the right proportion of media coverage on the Golf Channel and at the LPGA website compared to the amount of their contribution to the Tour. Most of all, Korean players were passive in perceiving racial discrimination due to their lack of fluency in English.

2. Sexual discrimination existed on the LPGA Tour. This study revealed that Korean players perceived that gender discrimination existed on the Tour. Particularly, the LPGA has played a significant role in producing traditional gender ideology, by encouraging Korean players to display their femininity. In addition, Korean players have been the victims of sexual harassment by male Pro-Am players and male caddies. They verbally and physically harassed Korean players.

3. There was a difference in the interpretations of racial discrimination between first and second generation Korean players. The first generation Korean players experienced racial discrimination more than the second generation Koreans do. On the other hand, overall, the second-generation Korean players had positive experiences of their race in the U.S. It might be because the LPGA provided better treatments as the number of Korean players increased.

4. Language in the U.S. on the part of the Korean players was an essential element to get the popularity from the media and non-Korean players. Therefore, it is recommended for Korean players to learn English while playing on the LPGA Tour.

5. Silence due to lack of language skills and possibly fear of repercussion if perceived discrimination was expressed to the LPGA. It was revealed that although Korean players perceived such racial and sexual discrimination, they kept silent because they were not good enough in language skills to speak out

their oppression in English. In addition, it might be another reason of Korean players' silence that they were afraid of repercussion if they expressed such issues.

6. Sexual-racism. Sexual harassment occurring to Korean players on the LPGA Tour can be seen as sexual-racism. As minority group members in both their race and gender, Korean players are likely to be at risk for sexual harassment and racial discrimination as interrelated.

Cultural studies and feminist standpoint theory, as lenses to the topic, provided me with the viewpoint of Korean players who are considered minority because of their race and gender. As a minority on the Tour, their voices have been underrepresented to the public, as well as to the LPGA; thus, my most significant contribution can be found in providing Korean players with the way through which they can speak out about their own experiences.

The findings might be different from the LPGA's perspective. As the organization which has power over the players, the LPGA might think that all players, including Korean players, have positive experiences on the Tour. However, as feminist standpoint theory assumes, the LPGA should know that Korean players could provide a different and more accurate view of reality of the Tour, and possibly, try to listen to them, so that the Tour becomes a better environment for women professional golfers from around the world.

In his webpage, Jay Coakley, one of the representative scholars in the sociology of sport, presented his academic goal as, "My goal over the past 3

decades has been to use concepts and theories in sociology to critically examine sports and to promote changes that will make sports and society more democratic and humane” (Coakley, 2007, b). This research started out based on his academic philosophy, attempting to change the LPGA Tour, along with the world of sports, to be more “democratic and humane” (Coakley, 2007, b). Although Korean players are experiencing a brilliant career, they are also suffering from racial and sexual discrimination. I wish the public would take this issue more seriously and eventually eliminate these discriminatory practices from the LPGA Tour.

Recommendations

Recommendations suggested for future studies

1. In this study, I explored Korean LPGA players’ experiences regarding their race and gender. Korean players reported that they have been discriminated against racially and sexually. In this situation, it is valuable to investigate if such discrimination occurs only to Asian players, or if it also occurs to European players who have the same skin color but a different ethnicity from American players. Therefore, it is recommended that European players be studied to investigate if the discrimination that occurred to Korean players is racial discrimination or xenophobic discrimination in a larger sense. For example, it was discovered that male caddies sexually harassed Korean players who were not

fluent English speakers, but it might be also needed to explore if the male caddies harassed European players as well.

2. It is also suggested to that researches investigate if sexual and racial discrimination occurring toward Korean players also occurred toward other Asian players from, for example, China and Japan. In fact, in addition to 45 Korean players, there were 14 Asian players in the 2008 season; there was one Chinese, one Indian, two Japanese, one Malaysian, one Philipina, five Taiwanese, and three Thailanders. Particularly, China and Japan are considered the influential countries among Asian nations. Thus, it is possible that the intensity and frequency of discrimination from the LPGA, the media, and male caddies can vary depending on Asian players' nationalities.

3. As Eun-Ha described, Korean players are shown once, while American players are shown three times on TV. In addition, the LPGA website focuses more on American and European players than Korean players. Of course, Eun-Ha's experience is reliable enough, but it can obtain higher credibility if real data supports Eun-Ha's statement. In other words, more research is needed to compare the amount of media coverage of Korean players to American or European players on, for example, the *Golf Channel*. In addition, if a researcher visits the LPGA website from every Thursday thru Sunday for certain period of time to check the location of the pictures (e.g., big frame vs. small frame), s/he will be able to support the Korean players' opinion more powerfully.

Recommendations suggested for the LPGA Tour

1. As a governing body of women's golf which is being internationalized, the LPGA should pay more attention to racial discrimination occurring toward racial minority players, in order to be more democratic organization. Particularly, Korean players reported racial discrimination in policy applications (e.g., food and membership policy), the LPGA staffs' behavior (sending a warning email to all Korean players), and unbalanced coverage at the LPGA website. Therefore, it is recommended for the LPGA to hold a seminar and discuss such discrimination issues with all staffs and employees, so that they will be aware of those oppressions that Korean players have experienced on the Tour.

2. The LPGA should take care of gender discrimination as well. It seems necessary to hold an educational seminar for male caddies who might have sexually harassed Korean players. In addition, the LPGA should reinforce the rule, which covers male caddies' misconduct over female golfers.

3. In regard to emphasizing players' femininity, it is significant for the LPGA to be aware of that such marketing strategy that emphasizes female golfers' femininity might increase sponsorships temporarily, but this trend will aggravate women's social status; women will remain as subordinate group members in men-centered environment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A (Initial Contact Letter-English Version)

Dear _____,

I am writing in hopes of acquiring your assistance regarding a study that I am conducting for my dissertation in the Department of Exercise, Sport, and Leisure Studies at the University of Tennessee. I am interested in exploring your perceptions of your experiences as a Korean player participating on the LPGA Tour. I am aware that Young-A Yang has spoken with you about this study.

I would like to conduct an audio-taped interview that will take approximately one hour to an hour and a half with you at a location of your choosing. Possibly, a short follow-up audio-taped interview will be conducted over the phone if needed.

Your perspective would be greatly welcomed. I would like to follow up this letter with an e-mail request to learn if speaking with you would be a possibility. I hope that you would consider speaking with me and I look forward to doing so in the near future.

Should you wish to contact me for any reason, I have provided my contact information below.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Seung-Yup Lim
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Dr. Joy, T. DeSensi (Advisor)
Professor and Department Head
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Appendix B (Initial Contact Letter-Korean Version)

안녕하세요? 저는 테네시 대학교에서 스포츠사회학 전공 박사과정에 재학중인 임승엽이라고 합니다. 먼저, 양영아 선수가 귀하께 본 연구에 대해 이미 양해를 구한것으로 들었으며, 이에 맞춰 귀하께 제 박사논문에 연구대상으로서의 참여의사를 여쭙기 위해 이렇게 글을 드리게 되었습니다.

본 연구는 기본적으로 귀하가 외국인 선수로서 그 동안 미국 LPGA투어에서 체험한 사회문화적 경험을 듣기 위함입니다. 만약 본 연구에 참여하시게 된다면, 인터뷰는 귀하께서 계신 올랜도에서 이루어질 예정이며 귀하가 결정하신 편안한 장소에서 약 한시간에서 한시간 반 정도로 실시될 예정입니다. 또한 2차 인터뷰는 필요시 전화로 이루어질 것임을 알려드립니다. 인터뷰는 자료분석을 위해 모두 오디오로 녹음되며 학술적 용도 이외에는 절대 사용되지 않습니다.

본 연구에서는 귀하의 개인적 의견이 매우 중요합니다. 만약 귀하께서 본 연구 참여에 동의하신다면 아래 제 이메일로 그 여부를 알려주시면 감사하겠습니다.

머지않은 시간에 귀하와 만나뵙기를 고대하며, 혹시 본 연구나 인터뷰에 있어서 의문점이 있으시다면 아래 연락처로 연락을 주시기 바랍니다

감사합니다.

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Appendix C (Interview Guide-English Version)

1. Demographic Question

: Could you tell me about yourself?

Related Questions

: How old are you?

: Where is your home town?

: Where do you live in America?

: Are you married?

: Can you tell me how many siblings you have?

: What do you do in your leisure time?

: Can you tell me about your education so far?

: Who introduced golf to you?

: Can you tell me about your golf career both in Korea and the U.S.?

2. Introduction Question #1

: Why did you leave the KLPGA Tour and come to the U.S. to play on the LPGA Tour?

Related Questions

: What are the Differences between the LPGA & the KLPGA?

: How have the first-generation Korean players on the LPGA Tour influenced you to come to the LPGA Tour?

: How have prize money, honor, and the experience of the LPGA Tour influenced you to come to the LPGA Tour?

: Anything else that influenced you to come to the LPGA Tour?

3. Introduction Question #2

: What qualities, characteristics, or abilities contribute to the success of Korean players on the LPGA Tour?

Related Questions

: How did your parents' sacrifice influence your performance?

: How did Korean-style education influence your performance?

: How did practice habits of Korean players influence your performance?

: How did stereotypes of Korean women influence your performance?

4. Interview Question #1 (Gender identity)

: As a female professional golfer on the LPGA Tour, how do you feel you have been treated?

Related Questions

: How have you been treated by the LPGA officials?

: How have you been treated by spectators?

: How have you been treated by male caddies?

: How have you been treated by media?

: How have you been treated by other players?

5. Interview Question #2 (Racial identity)

: As a Korean professional golfer on the LPGA Tour, how do you feel you have been treated?

Related Questions

: How have you been treated by the LPGA officials?

: How have you been treated by spectators?

: How have you been treated by male caddies?

: How have you been treated by non-Korean players?

: How have you been treated by media?

: How have you been treated by other Korean players?

6. Debriefing Questions

: How did you feel about this interview?

: Do you have any final comments in this interview?

Appendix D (Interview Guide-Korean Version)

1. 인구통계학적 문항

: 선수 본인 소개를 부탁드립니다

관련문항

- 현재 연령이 어떻게 되십니까?
- 결혼하셨나요?
- 현재 미국에서 어디에서 거주하고 계십니까?
- 형제관계는 어떻게 되시나요?
- 한국에서의 고향은 어디입니까?
- 여가시간에 무엇을 하십니까?
- 귀하의 교육수준은 어디까지입니까?
- 귀하의 한국과 미국에서의 골프경력은 어떻게 됩니까?
- 누가 귀하를 골프에 입문하게 하였나요?

2. 소개문항 1

: 어떠한 이유로 한국 LPGA를 떠나 미국 LPGA로 오시게 되었나요?

관련문항

- 한국 LPGA와 미국 LPGA는 어떻게 다른가요?
- 한국 1세대 미LPGA골퍼들이 어떤 영향을 미쳤나요?
- 미 LPGA의 상금, 명예, 경험 등은 어떤 영향을 미쳤나요?
- 이외에 개인적으로 미국으로 오시게된 이유가 있으신가요?

3. 소개문항 2

: 어떠한 자질, 특기, 혹은 능력으로 인해 한국선수들이 LPGA 에서 좋은 성적을 내고 있다고 생각하시나요?

관련문항

- 부모의 희생 및 대회 동참은 어떤 영향을 미쳤나요?

- 한국식 교육은 어떠한 영향을 미쳤나요?
- 한국선수들의 연습량은 어떤가요?
- 아시아 지역의 사상, 문화, 혹은 교육에 대한 열정은 어떠한 영향을 미쳤나요?

4. 인터뷰 문항 #1 (성정체성 관련)

: 여성 프로골프 선수로서 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?

관련문항

- 여성 프로골프선수로서 LPGA로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 여성 프로골프선수로서 관중으로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 여성 프로골프선수로서 남자 캐디들로부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 여성 프로골프선수로서 미디어로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 다른나라 선수로부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?

5. 인터뷰 문항 #2 (인종 정체성 관련)

: 한국 프로골프 선수로서, LPGA, 관중, 남자 캐디들, 다른 나라 선수들, 그리고 미디어로부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?

관련문항

- 한국 프로골프선수로서 LPGA로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 한국 프로골프선수로서 관중으로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 한국 프로골프선수로서 남자 캐디들로부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 한국 프로골프선수로서 미디어로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 다른나라 선수로부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?
- 다른 한국선수로 부터 어떻게 대우를 받으셨나요?

6. 종결문항

: 본 인터뷰에 대해 어떻게 생각하시는지요?

: 마지막으로 하시고 싶은 말이 있다면?

Appendix E (Informed Consent Form-English Version)

You are being invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of Korean players on the LPGA Tour. In order for you to take part in this project, I need your permission to allow me to conduct an interview(s).

As a participant, you will be interviewed about your experiences. Your involvement in this study would include one interview lasting approximately an hour to an hour and a half, with the possibility of an abbreviated follow-up phone interview. With your permission, the interview(s) will be audiotaped, and you have the option to have any portion of the tape erased if you do not like what you have told me or if you would like to re-word your response. If any of the questions should make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. After each interview, I will make a written transcript of the interview in Korean. Participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw from this study anytime without penalty.

You are guaranteed anonymity and your real name will not be used during this study. Instead, you may choose a pseudonym and the pseudonym that you choose will be used in this study.

Potential benefits of this study may be providing an understanding of Korean players on the LPGA Tour.

If you have questions at any time about this study or its procedures, you may contact the researcher, Seung-Yup Lim, or Dr. Joy T DeSensi. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Research Compliance Services section of the Office of Research of the University of Tennessee at (865) 974-3466.

I have read this letter, I understand the explanation of this project, and I agree to participate.

Signature

Date

Researcher Contact Information:
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Appendix F (Informed Consent Form-Korean Version)

먼저 본 연구에 참여해주셔서 감사합니다. 본 연구의 목적은 미국 LPGA 투어에서 활동하는 한국선수들의 경험을 사회문화적인 측면에서 분석하는데 있습니다. 인터뷰 참가에 앞서 귀하의 연구참가동의를 얻고자 합니다.

연구참가자로서 귀하는 한시간에서 한시간 반 소요의 인터뷰에 참여하시게 될 것이며, 필요에 따라 2차 전화인터뷰에 참여하시게 될 것입니다. 인터뷰는 귀하의 동의하에 녹음될 것입니다. 그러나 인터뷰 후에 마음에 들지 않거나 사용되지 않기를 바라는 부분이 있다면 삭제를 요청하실 수 있습니다. 또한 질문 내용 중 귀하께서 답변을 원치 않으신 문항에 대해서는 답변을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 인터뷰가 끝난 후, 연구자는 인터뷰 내용을 문서화할 것이며 요청에 따라 그 문서를 확인하실 수 있습니다. 본 연구의 참가는 자발적이므로 언제 무슨이유에서든 귀하의 요청시 본 연구의 참가를 취소하실 수 있습니다.

본 연구에서는 귀하의 실명을 사용하지 않으며, 대신 귀하가 결정하신 가명이 사용될 것을 알려드립니다.

혹시 본 연구나, 인터뷰에 대해 의문점이 있으시다면 아래 연락처로 연락을 주시기 바랍니다. 또한 연구 참여자로서의 권리에 대해 궁금하신 점이 있으시다면 테네시 대학교 연구지원센터 (865-974-3466)로 연락하시기 바랍니다.

본 연구에 참가하겠으며 위의 내용에 동의합니다.

서명:

날짜

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Vita

Seung-Yup Lim was born in Seoul, Korea, on January 19, 1975. He is the son of Burn-Woong Lim and Jung-Rae Suh, and the brother of Eun-Joo Lim.

After graduating in 1993 from Young-II High school in Seoul, Korea, he attended University of Suwon where he played volleyball, and received his bachelor's degree in Sports and Leisure Studies in February of 1998.

In March of 1998, Seung-Yup entered the graduate school of Seoul National University, majoring in the Sociology of Sport under the guidance of Dr. Burn-Jang Lim. He completed his Master's of Arts in Education degree in Physical Education in February 2000. In April of 2000, Seung-Yup started military service as an officer in the Korean Army. Particularly, he worked for the Korea Military Academy as a full-time instructor in the Department of Physical Education, until June 2003.

After completing his military duty, Seung-Yup entered a doctoral program in Sport Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August of 2004. Since August of 2007, he began teaching undergraduate students as a graduate teaching associate in the Department of Exercise, Sports, and Leisure Studies. He was awarded his Doctor of philosophy degree in Education with a concentration in the Sociology of Sport in August of 2009.