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The 2002 World Cup and a Local Festival in Cheju: Global Dreams and the Commodification of Shamanism

Kyoim Yun

This article examines how multiple actors participated, both consciously and inadvertently, in commodifying Cheju shamanic tradition during the 2002 World Cup celebrations in South Korea. Approaching this sports event as an opportunity to draw global attention to Cheju and increase tourism on the island, the central and provincial governments sponsored various festivals in which shamanism was frequently appropriated as a cultural commodity. This article focuses on one local festival held on Cheju Island during the international soccer tournament. During the festival, diverse agents—including shamans, local residents, nonstate elites, and representatives from cultural institutions and the national and provincial governments—fashioned Cheju shamanism to foster their imagined global audience's cultural curiosities. The desire to cultivate Cheju's prestige mobilized a variety of people. However, in the process of controlling and directing customary rituals for public display in specific performance situations, the participants' asymmetrical social positions and their different expectations and interests inevitably led to tension. Furthermore, the poor domestic and foreign attendance at festival events and the scant media coverage they received confirmed the nation's preexisting power differentials, which globalization discourse and practices often mask.

In summer 2002, the World Cup fever that enchanted the South Korean peninsula also gripped the formerly isolated island of Cheju.¹ In Cheju City, for instance, young female employees from cellular phone companies offered free face-painting—in Korea's national colors—in front of large shopping centers. Crowds of people wearing red T-shirts and the national symbols that were popular during the World Cup jammed sports bars to watch the Korean national soccer team's matches on large-screen television. Persuaded by her

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adolescent daughter, one indigenous Cheju shaman in a fishing village drove her family to T'aptong beach in Cheju City, where an excited crowd cheered themselves hoarse as the Korean team's game unfolded on a megascreen. Similar displays of World Cup fever around the country were a favorite media topic; cultural commentators opined on the phenomenal celebratory mood and broadcast images that showed the nation collectively gripped by World Cup enthusiasm. Anthropologist Cho Han Hae-joang (Cho Han Hyejōng) compared the euphoric festivities to a grand shamanic healing ritual.²

Metaphors aside, many shamanic rituals have in fact been staged on Cheju Island, especially during the early period of the World Cup. However, these rituals played out quite differently from the romantic view that shamanic rituals, as sheer expressions of ecstasy, work to unify people. In Cheju, staged rituals were crafted as spectacular displays during the Haenyō ch'ukche, a festival specially designed for the 2002 World Cup in order to foster an imagined global audience's curiosity about local culture.

This article seeks to demonstrate how multiple actors voluntarily and involuntarily commodified shamanic tradition during the 2002 World Cup, and illustrates how participants' asymmetrical social positions and different interests inevitably conflicted. By providing a glimpse of the local realities in Cheju, as its inhabitants responded to the global sports event, this article is also intended to contribute to the literature on the 2002 World Cup soccer games and on the closely related topic of globalization in South Korea. Most existing studies proceed from a limited perception of the foreign, in which "foreign" focuses only on national differences and affords little attention to heterogeneity within a nation. It is assumed, in other words, that the local equals the national.³ This polarized view of the "national," centered on Seoul, vis-à-vis the "foreign/global," fails to consider how local people *within* South Korea perceive and experience globalization.

In 2002, while in the midst of dissertation fieldwork on contemporary Cheju shamanism, I was recruited by Ch'ae Songa,⁴ the coordinator of the Haenyō ch'ukche, to document the festival. As an ancillary staff member, my task was to videotape the festival. Although this position limited my freedom to interview subjects, it allowed me to focus on details of the presentation and to reflect on differences in performance contexts that distinguished the staged, government-sponsored rituals from rituals I had attended previously, both communal and private. Following Paulla A. Ebron's emphasis on the dialogic engagement between representation and performance,⁵ in this article I will analyze discourse and specific performances I observed during the festival. Further, I will discuss the larger cultural and political contexts in which rituals were appropriated at the festival, and then explore how Cheju shamanic tradition has been a locus of contention and negotiation among multiple players.

**“THE DYNAMIC KOREA FESTIVAL 2002—
CHEJU HAENYŎ CH’UKCHE”**

The South Korean government’s choice to cohost the 2002 World Cup soccer games with Japan emerged from its ongoing endeavor to enhance the nation’s global visibility. As part of its efforts for *segyeŭhwa*—the “state-enhancing, top-down strategic plan” initiated by the Kim Young Sam government in the mid-1990s⁶—the South Korean government had previously attempted to host several international festivals and events geared toward international visitors and content.⁷ As a global media spectacle that could generate a larger world audience than even the Olympics,⁸ the World Cup was indeed congruent with governmental goals. Such a mega-sports event would involve numerous opportunities to promote South Korea to the world beyond the soccer stadiums, and former president Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung) pronounced the games a “chance to make [Korea] prosper diplomatically, economically and culturally, in sectors like tourism and science.”⁹ As Rachael Joo also points out elsewhere in this issue, South Korea not only hosted the first World Cup held outside the Americas and Europe, but also did so jointly with Japan, its former colonizer. Emphasizing this historic moment, the South Korean government and the mass media propagated the idea that a successful World Cup would bring enormous advantages to the country. Not surprisingly, hopeful economic visions accompanied talk about the soccer contest.¹⁰

In Cheju, which hosted three soccer games, enthusiasm was high, both for the World Cup itself and for its promised global benefits. Prior to the World Cup, the national news frequently spotlighted the exquisite architecture of Sŏgwip’o Stadium, which had been designed to harmonize with Cheju’s picturesque landscape.¹¹ The expectation of international notice seemed to boost the pride of most Cheju residents, especially those who have resented the poor treatment that the island has received throughout its history.¹² For instance, one native Cheju shaman ardently supported the goal of Cheju’s global recognition. She told me, “If Cheju became famous, mainlanders (*yuk-chi saram tŭl*) wouldn’t ignore Cheju people any more. They wouldn’t ask, ‘Are there beauty shops, bathhouses, and so forth in Cheju, too?’” To many indigenous Cheju people, “globalization” meant increased recognition, both in South Korea and in the global arena. Further, since the island’s economy has come to depend heavily on tourism in recent decades, those involved in this industry hoped to improve their economic position by participating in World Cup events. The Cheju Free International City Project,¹³ initiated in January 2002, further fostered the Cheju people’s longing for globalization. The media equated hosting the World Cup with an opportunity to develop the project. Indeed, on June 2, 2002, a reporter of KBS (Korean Broadcast

System) news commented: "It has been two months since the special law for the Free International City went into effect. This World Cup will be a great opportunity to promote Cheju to the world."¹⁴ The provincial government supported this sentiment, and promoted the idea that Cheju should embrace the chance to increase prosperity both at home and abroad.

One of the South Korean government's immediate objectives during the World Cup was to present the nation to the best advantage. To show off South Korea as an advanced civil society, the government initiated and supported a variety of self-improvement projects, much as it had for the 1988 Seoul Olympics.¹⁵ For instance, the National Council for a Better Korea Movement, which the government established before the World Cup, headed a series of global etiquette movements, such as the Bright Smile Movement, a "Clean Toilet, Clean Korea" campaign, and a training program to improve the Korean driving culture. At the same time, the Seoul Metropolitan government banned street food vendors because of their ostensibly poor sanitation standards. As Choi Yoon Sung (Ch'oe Yunsŏng) argues, this attempt to "eliminat[e] all categories of difference was crucial for creating a common base of modernity."¹⁶

Even as it endeavored to minimize the appearance of difference between South Korea and other industrialized nations, the government sought to convey culturally distinctive images of Korea to the outside world. In hopes that the individual self-promotional efforts of the country's cities would elevate Korea's larger position, the central government sponsored a series of cultural festivals during the World Cup. Each of the ten cities that hosted World Cup games was asked to organize a festival under the common English title "The Dynamic Korea Festival 2002." Subtitles and pertinent themes unique to each region were to be decided by local policymakers.¹⁷ Simply put, this national project was conceived and carried out to construct distinctive local images that could receive attention from obscurely envisioned "others," including visitors and TV viewers; the festival framework served the additional purpose of heightening the festive mood during the soccer competition.

In Cheju, with financial support from the government, local organizations and institutions organized as many as thirteen cultural events for "The Dynamic Korea Festival 2002." Many of the festivals exhibited the local Cheju heritage. Although this display of traditional culture seems to contradict civil efforts to adapt Korea to global cultural standards, they actually go hand in hand. Consider Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's cogent comments about the instrumental use of heritage as a mark of modernity:

While persistence in old life ways may not be economically viable and may well be inconsistent with economic development and with national ideologies,

the valorization of those life ways as heritage (and integration of heritage into economies of cultural tourism) is economically viable, consistent with economic development theory, and can be brought into line with national ideologies of cultural uniqueness and modernity.¹⁸

The idea for the Haenyō ch'ukche emerged from this political milieu; accordingly, the Institute of Cheju Traditional Culture¹⁹ was commissioned to organize the festival.

HAENYŎ—CHEJU ISLAND'S BRAND IMAGE

On Cheju Island, some women still supplement their income by collecting marine products such as sea cucumbers, shells, and seaweed. These women are called haenyō (literally, “ocean women”) in standard Korean; their indigenous Cheju name is chamnyō. A primordial myth depicts the origin of haenyō: Grandmother Sōlmundae, the gigantic goddess who is believed to have created the island, bore all marine life when she urinated, thus creating the ocean fields. Since that time, Cheju haenyō have learned to live by collecting the fruit of the sea, and Cheju became the island of haenyō.²⁰ Diving is demanding work that requires cooperation and special skills and has given the Cheju haenyō financial weight, even in times when economic opportunities were not readily available to women. Rapidly diminishing in numbers beginning in the mid-1970s, most Cheju haenyō are unwilling to pass this job on to their descendants.²¹ However, they have become icons of the island's cultural heritage and are praised as embodiments of the Cheju women's strong spirit.²² Not surprisingly, haenyō have drawn much scholarly attention in recent decades,²³ and local newspapers have even introduced them as an “internationally known brand of Cheju.”²⁴ Local elites, including the festival staff members and policymakers, therefore readily accepted the idea of organizing a festival named in honor of the haenyō.

If most agreed about the festival's general purpose, the different players involved did not necessarily share the same agenda for implementing it. The local media linked the Haenyō ch'ukche to the drive toward globalization by sentimentally predicting that the island would impact the world. One headline read, “The Power of Cheju Culture Touches the Heart of the Global Village.”²⁵ Another article was entitled “2002 World Cup, Cheju Haenyō toward the World.”²⁶ Local officials, for their part, saw soccer as a general means to strengthen Korea's economic and political position in the world, and Cheju's traditional culture as a particular way for the island to make a global contribution. In an introductory essay designed to rouse public enthusiasm, Na



Figure 1. Haenyŏ caricature from the festival brochure and booklet designed by local artist Kim Ch'unghŭi.

Mansŏk, the representative of the Cheju Governor, conjures a vision of Cheju admirers within and beyond Korea:

The festival of the world's people has finally opened. The 2002 World Cup Soccer Games will be held in Korea, the torch of the East, and will be celebrated with joyful and charming festivals for June. Cheers from all over the world are now resounding in Korea, and Korea of the East is emanating messages of hope and peace for the world into the twenty-first century. Cheju, the hope of Korea, is becoming the central stage for this global event. . . .

The haenyŏ are grandmothers, mothers, and sisters of the Chejuians. They braved wild waves, resisted the Japanese,²⁷ and formed their unique folk beliefs. The archetype of Cheju culture remains in their lives. We should promote this globally unique culture of haenyŏ to the world across the ocean. So it is that we come to hold the Cheju haenyŏ ch'ukche. All Chejuians should participate in this festival in order to host it successfully and bring glory to the World Cup.

The World Cup is not merely a sporting event. It brings a great deal of change and development in the politics, economy, society, and culture of the host region. Taking this World Cup as an opportunity, we can make the leap into

the top-ranking countries of the world and further the creation of the Cheju Free International City. We can do it.²⁸

This excerpt vividly illustrates how the local government's desire, discourse, and agenda to support the World Cup and the accompanying festival intersect with those of the central government and the media. One of the most salient common themes was the self-imposed global gaze. The phrase "the world is watching Korea"—which echoes the 1988 Olympics official billboard "Seoul to the World, the World to Seoul (*Sŏul ūn segye ro—segye nŭn Sŏul ro*)"—²⁹was ubiquitous in the South Korean media during the FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) tournament. In Cheju, as the excerpt indicates, local officials not only embraced the prevalent discourse of intense gaze, but also placed Cheju at the center of the imagined global public sphere. As Na states, the prime aim of sponsoring the haenyŏ festival was to promote haenyŏ's traditional culture to the world. Indeed, both the local and central governments sought to maximize the growth potential that the sports competition could afford, and mobilized the festivals to achieve this goal. Such utilitarian logic underpins South Korea's ambition to advance to the level of a top-ranking country and to accelerate the Cheju Free International City Project.

This grand vision was not shared by or even apparent to all who were involved in the festival. In response to Na's plea for local participation, Haenyŏ ch'ukche coordinator Ch'ae Songa observed: "A common thought of those who work there [the provincial government office] is that festivals are a means to promote Cheju as a tourist destination. It's the same with other festivals. Everything is for the tourist industry and in turn for the development of the local economy."³⁰ She dismissed as "tourism ideology" (*kwan'gwang ideollogi*) the widespread notion that tourism benefits locals by developing the local economy, and noted its similarities to anti-communism ideology (*pan'gong ideollogi*).

While accommodating the overarching agenda of the World Cup festivals, local folklorist Han organized the Haenyŏ ch'ukche with his own distinct goals in mind. Unlike the politicians who viewed the festival merely as a means to accomplish economic and political ends, he saw the festival as an opportunity to revive local culture that was fading in the face of Westernization. In an effort to resurrect and promote Cheju's indigenous culture, Han emphasized the importance of demonstrating the "uniqueness of the local culture" and "Cheju's identity" through the festival.³¹ Another local intellectual I interviewed agreed that it was vital to emphasize local culture on its own merits rather than in comparison to a center:

The phrase “local culture” (*chiyök munhwa*) itself connotes the perspective that Seoul of the mainland is the center, as though the cultural phenomena of Seoul should awaken local cultures. The word “local culture” has this nuance. Rather than reviving such a subordinate culture, we need to collaborate for independent, autonomous, and sovereign local cultures.³²

Many other Cheju intellectuals with whom I communicated shared this perspective.

Further differentiating the Haenyö ch’ukche from other merely entertaining events that target large audiences and unconsciously accommodate popular culture, Han also declared that the event should be a “traditional festival” (*chönt’ong ch’ukche*) through which people can “feel the history and culture of Cheju.” Han introduced this agenda for the festival by linking haenyö to shamanic rituals in a promotional article:

What would the domestic and foreign tourists who would come to Cheju to see the World Cup games gain? . . . The Cheju haenyö ch’ukche is haenyö’s *kut* (grand-scale shamanic ritual), which could faithfully show the marine culture of Cheju through the haenyö’s life and death, and the myths that the haenyö’s cultural imagination created. “The Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyö Ch’ukche” was planned with this purpose.³³

This local folklorist saw the festival as a way to educate people, including tourists, about Cheju’s culture through ritual performance and field trips to shamanic shrines. In the thirty-seven-page festival booklet, Han took pains to detail the origin, purpose, features, and procedures of each ritual that was staged, even including historic references and records.

A few staff members disagreed with this approach, feeling that it was too sophisticated for a simple festival booklet. South Korea’s social hierarchy—in which age and gender play a dominant role—apparently restricted the input of especially young female staff members to the festival project. One such member was frustrated that she was not allowed to perform her role as coordinator:

Although I was a coordinator, I didn’t have any power. It is a really unreasonable system in which I had to obey one-sided orders even though I was supposed to play an important role. Properly speaking, the executives should come up with plans through a meeting. But it is a reality of this country that such a thing is not practiced at all.³⁴

Ch’ae, who grew up on Cheju Island, had organized large festivals elsewhere in Korea. She felt that despite her qualifications, her male superior did not

seek her expertise because he viewed her as less experienced and knowledgeable than himself. Thus, even within the organizing team, differing agendas and relations of power played a significant role.

Although the organizers' and the government's views of the festival differed, they shared some common interests. First, they envisioned that the World Cup would bring many domestic and foreign tourists to Cheju who would appreciate the festival. The motto "The culture of Cheju haenyō to the world across the ocean" (*Cheju sōm haenyō munhwa pada kōnnō segye ro*) graced the official festival booklet's cover page, which was produced in great quantity. With generous financial support from the government, Han hired several extra temporary staff members and rented a very large office for several months to prepare for the would-be global festival.

Second, both government officials and festival organizers attempted to bring together the Cheju people, in hopes that political unity would emerge by means of reconnecting with local tradition and re-creating a Cheju of the past in the service of present and future visions. The government's primary interest was to secure both economic and symbolic capital for the future, yet it supported a festival that relied heavily on the island's "folkloric" features.³⁵

Third, although their specific agendas differed and even seemed contradictory, both appropriated the haenyō culture for their own purposes. Despite being the named focus of the festival, the Cheju haenyō themselves were excluded from decision-making and planning. Government policymakers announced the festival with an abstract statement about the symbolic importance of haenyō at the festival, but according to festival coordinator Ch'ae, "The festival's original purpose was to stimulate a festive mood before the event [the first World Cup soccer game in Cheju, between China and Brazil on June 8, 2002]. They [the central government] decided everything and even gave us the title ["Dynamic Korea Festival 2002"] and the dates. We acted as we were directed by their instructions." To the organizers, the festival's primary goal was "to show the image of Cheju, known for wind, stones, and haenyō, through the lives of strong Cheju haenyō."³⁶ This agenda was also on display in the festival content, and in the festival content. Many of the programs consisted of performances by professional dancers, theatrical performance groups, and folk singers, all hired by the festival organizer.

Because the festival focused on visual presentation to outsiders, it was designed neither for nor by the haenyō, and did not consider their interests. For instance, three days of the seven-day event were devoted to field trips to communal shamanic shrines located in different parts of Cheju Island. These trips were intended for those interested in the cultural experiences of their "others" who still practice the customs of by-gone days. To that end, the faithful in each locale were mobilized to produce what Edward M. Bruner

and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett called “tourist realism.”³⁷ Moreover, the haenyō were not contacted by festival organizers until one month before the event, after the program had already been planned. Festival coordinator Ch’ae spoke openly about this matter: Issues about whether the haenyō should be the actors for the festival, or if the festival should be for them were not resolved. These questions did not even emerge until later.³⁸ First and foremost, the festival was initiated according to a government agenda that not only neglected the haenyō, but also limited the control of the festival organizers.

SHAMANISM AS A CULTURAL COMMODITY

The life of haenyō is deeply rooted in shamanism. Because the women’s job is life-threatening—they work with old-fashioned diving equipment, and occupational deaths unfortunately still occur—they need a shield against unpredictable dangers. Shamanic ritual has provided solace for them. Indeed, to ensure safety in the ocean and an abundant harvest, haenyō hire *simbang* (native shamans)³⁹ in their respective towns and villages and sponsor communal and private rituals. When a haenyō dies, a shamanic ritual to console the dead soul is performed. Most of the intellectuals whom I met during my fieldwork agreed that shamanic rituals were a pivotal element of haenyō and of Cheju culture in general.

During the Haenyō ch’ukche, shamanism was packaged as a “cultural commodity” on the global tourist market—where the more exotic and mystical a commodity appears, the better it sells.⁴⁰ During this eight-day festival from May 30 to June 6, shamanism was ubiquitously portrayed as a key element of haenyō life and culture. The festival’s main events included three *kut* (grand-scale shamanic rituals), a puppet show about Grandmother Sōlmundae (the island’s mythic creator and protector of the haenyō), a *yōnggam nori* (a playful theatrical shamanic performance), a combined epic recital and slide show about Grandmother Sōlmundae,⁴¹ and three one-day field trips to shamanic shrines.

Although the festival also offered nonshamanic events—such as a *madang-gük* (a ground-stage theatrical performance), a tug-of-war, traditional dance performances, and a haenyō singing competition—Ch’ae explained that these were merely peripheral to the shamanic events. “They are just like peanuts that you eat when bored (*simsimp’uri ttangk’ong*),” she noted. “People would get bored if we showed only shamanic rituals.”⁴²

The Haenyō ch’ukche was only one of the many events during the World Cup festivities in which Cheju shamanism played a part. The same *simbang* groups hired for the haenyō festival also performed rituals at the opening ceremonies of the Cheju World Cup held at Sōgwip’o Stadium on June 8, 2002.



Figure 2. Grandma Sölmundae by Park Jae Dong (Pak Chaedong).

With names such as “*Mystical Island, Cheju! Toward the Future*” and “The Ritual of Cheju *Mudang’s* Origin and the Birth of Cheju Gods” (my emphasis), these rituals were clearly intended to pique the interest of outsiders.⁴³ Note that instead of the Cheju native term *simbang*, the term *mudang* (the standard Korean word meaning “shamans”) was used to refer to indigenous Cheju shamans. Native shamans view *mudang* as a rather derogatory term, and they use it to differentiate migrant shamans from themselves. This inappropriate term was obviously employed for audience members unfamiliar with the Cheju native term *simbang*. A madanggŭk about Chach’ongbi (the goddess of the earth), whose myth is still performed at shamanic rituals, was also conducted in the Cheju Cultural and Art Center on June 6 and 7, the two days preceding the opening ceremony. Local artists painted images of Cheju shamanic deities on banners and exhibited them in the main streets of Cheju City from June 16–21. Cheju shamanism was thereby appropriated as an object of economic, aesthetic, and display value in the era of international tourism.

CRAFTING “AUTHENTIC” SHAMANIC RITUALS: STAGING AND CONSUMING A TRADITION

Representations are enacted and negotiated through performance, a mode heightened by performers’ creativity but simultaneously structured by the specific venues, on and off the stage, germane to each performance.⁴⁴ Further, “performance contexts provide an important arena in which to observe how multiple claims about culture and difference are staged and negotiated.”⁴⁵ In this section, I describe the complexities and contestations of performances, and thereby illustrate the competing visions and agendas at play during the Haenyŏ ch’ukche. Presenting rituals for public viewing is a complex and often problematic undertaking that involves multiple stakeholders whose interests are not always congruent.⁴⁶ Therefore, I also consider how these multiple actors collaborated and conflicted in the process of transforming their quotidian culture into a representative commodity.

The three kut that were featured in the Haenyŏ ch’ukche were Yŏngdŭng kut, Chamsu kut, and Muhon kut. Yŏngdŭng kut is a communal ritual originally performed in the second lunar month of every year to honor the Goddess of Wind (Yŏngdŭng), and to ensure a good harvest of fish and a proliferation of marine products.⁴⁷ Chamsu kut of Taesin-ni is held to ask for the safety of haenyŏ and fishermen and the abundance of the catch; these days it is conducted only every other year. The haenyŏ community of each village plays an active role in sponsoring and preparing both rituals. The Muhon kut, by contrast, is performed only when the occasion arises. Individual families usually

sponsor it in order to console the souls of haenyō or fishermen who have lost their lives in the ocean, to vent the souls' pent-up grief, and to help propel the deceased into "the otherworld" (*chōsūng*). At the World Cup Haenyō ch'ukche, however, local haenyō and other residents did not plan any of these three rituals. Rather, the festival organizer and his staff members scheduled each as part of a larger celebration that was itself initiated in response to a top-down official request. These circumstances drastically changed features of the original rituals.

Communal rituals are typically performed by *tang maein simbang*, a priest simbang who is bound to the pertinent *tang* (village shrines)⁴⁸ and has responsibility for the communal ceremonies typically performed at the *tang*. Customarily, these priest simbang are familiar with a community's specific pantheon, ritual history, and customs. Cheju native simbang emphasize that properly propitiating all of the gods—by reciting their mythic narratives accurately—is essential to successful rituals. For the most part, these local simbang also possess broader and more thorough knowledge of the community members' general concerns and interests than do outside simbang. Therefore, they can best reflect the community's wishes in their rituals and in turn, bring more efficacious outcomes. The task of performing the communal rituals also represents an important contract between the priest simbang and the community members. Anyone unsatisfied with the priest simbang could at times hire shamans from outside their own town for private rituals, but these individuals would still participate in the communal ceremonies conducted by the priest simbang⁴⁹ in order to perform their ritual duties. In the districts of Taesin-ni and Mora-ri, for example, the village simbang takes care of the community members' religious needs on these occasions.

The festival organizer who sponsored the rituals for the World Cup celebrations hired officially recognized simbang, who live in different parts of the island, instead of locating village specialists. Because these official simbang are readily available and experienced in stage performance, state cultural agencies and others find it convenient to hire them. Accordingly, while migrant shamans have increasingly dominated the recent vernacular religious market,⁵⁰ local government and cultural policymakers routinely hire only officially recognized simbang to stage Cheju traditional rituals. These "institutionalized" simbang have thus become a symbolic token⁵¹ of Cheju ritual practitioners; they evoke "authenticity" and authority, and those who employ them claim them to be the best bearers of authentic Cheju shamanic rituals. Cheju native elite Yi Minyōng commented that the populace considers these simbang, who often appear on local TV shows, to be "star actors. The very act of having them perform earns public trust. People regard them as Masters of Human Cultural Treasures⁵² and think that their

titles have been bestowed upon them by the government because they are competent.”⁵³

Residents of the Taesin-ri and Mora-ri welcomed these recognized simbang, who often appear on local TV shows, as *k'ün* (great) simbang. Han conveyed their response in particular when festival staff members contacted them about ritual preparation: “The simbang in our village do not perform well, so have *k'ün* simbang perform the ritual.” People weighed the simbang’s public recognition against their own everyday religious practice, and decided in favor of the former.⁵⁴ Hiring famous specialists is not in fact perceived as a deviation from communal practice, but rather as a way to secure and assert its authenticity. Furthermore, since outsiders had already decided the rituals for the World Cup, the residents had an excuse to avoid hiring their own priest simbang.

Communal rituals such as Yöngdŭng kut and Chamsu kut are traditionally planned by haenyö and performed on a specific date set by the community’s annual religious calendar. During the World Cup festivities, however, these rituals were orchestrated in accordance with the games, regardless of ritual calendars and without much consideration for the interests of the group ostensibly being celebrated. Muhon kut was also performed in an unusual calendrical context. Unlike the other two rituals, which are performed regularly, Muhon kut is performed only when a death in the ocean occurs, and even then families may postpone the ritual if they deem it too expensive.⁵⁵ The festival brochure notes the rarity of this ritual and translates that scarcity into value. In both Korean and English, it advises tourists that theirs “is a superb opportunity to observe an *authentic* ritual that is now rarely conducted.” Taking advantage of the generous government funding for World Cup events, the festival organizer showcased this little-known event and presented it for public consumption.

Well aware of their role in the World Cup festivities, the shamans crafted these public rituals to embrace the “logics of spectatorship.”⁵⁶ At the festival, all the rituals took place on open stages specially set up for the performances. The ritual stages were colorfully decorated with large ritual banners that are not seen at ordinary rituals—for example, those that proclaimed the names of the official festival sponsors. Although assistant simbang do not normally wear *hanbok* (Korean traditional costume) except for their solo performance turns at large-scale rituals, all simbang in public view at the World Cup-sponsored events were so attired. Other participants also contributed to the spectacle. At the Muhon kut in Mora-ri, I recognized several women onstage dressed in hanbok and wearing heavy makeup; I had encountered them at another public ritual led by Simbang Kim Tohun during the 2001 Halla Cultural Festival. For the most part, these women sat quietly on the stage while simbang performed the ritual. When requested by Kim, they stood and

danced to the music played by assistant simbang, and then disappeared from the stage per Kim's instructions. Later I discovered that they were traditional dancers whom he had recruited for the ritual. Their job, he said, was "[t]o look good."⁵⁷ Acoustically, the large, open space also required some adjustments to everyday ritual practice. For instance, microphones were used, extended numbers of simbang played musical instruments, and, in general, far more simbang participated than is customary.

The rituals' structural arrangement also noticeably affected the performances. The stage rigidly segregated shaman performers from the audience—itself a mix of local residents (including devotees of shamanism), a few tourists, festival staff members and volunteers, media professionals, and scholars. Accordingly, the close collaboration between shamans and other ritual participants, indispensable at ordinary rituals, was neither easy to attain nor expected. Instead, audience members assumed the role of observers, maintaining a distance between themselves and the event and applauding the shamans' artistic performance under the emcee's instruction. As Louisa Schein notes in her study of the Miao ethnic group in Xijiang, a city in China's southeast Guizhou Province, the Cheju audience members were "enacting a particular way of being modern, one in which their [traditional] life ways were compartmentalized, associated with the domain of leisure."⁵⁸

Even at the Muhon kut in Mora-ri, in which haenyō participation was indispensable for the ritual to proceed, the audience role was very limited. Rather than voluntarily and consistently participating in the ritual, a dozen haenyō came to the stage only when they were called upon by festival staff members. In one observer's words, "There were only simbang. There were no haenyō. Of course, they sat there but there was no spiritual element. . . . In a word, it was the simbang's festival." The observer continued, "Although they [residents in Mora-ri and Taesin-ni] were glad that the recognized simbang did kut for them, they were merely spectators."⁵⁹

Taking advantage of the freedom that the outside performance space allowed, most audience members came and went rather than remaining in their seats. On one occasion, when Simbang Kim tried to deliver messages from the gods to the haenyō—a critical part of shamanic rituals, and one to which clients are usually keenly attentive—the addressees were not present. Facing the seats where the haenyō were supposed to be sitting, Kim recited: "While I am working hard for the kut, these people go elsewhere and eat something." An assistant simbang excused the haenyō, saying, "They are making paper money."⁶⁰ But because his interlocutors were missing, Kim conveyed the gods' message in just one sentence—"I deliver the message that all of the Dragon Kings are happy with [your offering this ritual]"—before proceeding to the next ritual session.

In contrast to their limited involvement in the ritual, the haenyō actively participated in the singing competition in Taesin-ni on the festival's final day. Having had a series of unenthusiastic audiences and poor publicity for the Mora-ri events on June 1 and 2, festival coordinator Ch'ae explained that formal letters from the provincial government office were sent out to the heads of each district to encourage haenyō participation in Taesin-ni. She attributed the better turnout in Taesin-ni to this key effort: "The Governor attended that day, you know. Also it was several days after the Mora-ri event, when the garlic harvest was at its peak. Plus, a week after the first event [on May 30], the Korean team won [on June 4 in the game with Poland].⁶¹ People were just happy with the victory." Well trained in *noraebang* (Korean-style karaoke), which is popular throughout Cheju, haenyō showed off their ability to sing popular songs as they stood onstage, microphones in hand. Other haenyō from the same villages cheered their neighbors by dancing behind them or holding up placards in the bleachers. Further, each group representing a district received electronic goods as an award.

Unlike the haenyō, scholars and media professionals were the most enthusiastic and attuned—even aggressive—observers of the rituals. At the Muhon kut in Mora-ri, a group of young men arrived and promptly positioned themselves at the front, interrupting other professionals who had come to record the rarely available ritual. Both a local photographer and a man seated next to me in the audience, who was recording the ritual, asked them to step back. The young men, who ignored the request and defended themselves in the name of their supervisor's instruction, turned out to be graduate students who had come to Cheju with their professor, an anthropologist specializing in visual anthropology. At a ritual session devoted to opening the ritual gates through which the gods descend, these students recorded the simbang's performance too closely, blocking the gates. Disturbed by their aggressiveness, festival organizer Han gestured for them to step back.

The World Cup festival frame also affected the duration and development of the rituals. Although the rituals are intended to begin at an auspicious time, decided either by shamans or other seers, they are of variable length. When an inexperienced scholar asks when a ritual will be over, shamans typically respond, "You shall know it only after you've done it." However, at tightly scheduled public performances, shamans are expected to finish their rituals, regardless of whether all necessary ritual orders are enacted, in order to coordinate other performances.⁶² At Yōngdūng kut, for instance, Simbang Kang suddenly rushed off to another session, looking at his watch and explaining, "Because the time is up." The Yōngdūng kut ended hastily without sending back the gods who had been invited to the ritual, a vital element of ordinary rituals.⁶³

Proceeding through each session as faithfully as possible is pivotal to ritual efficacy. However, public rituals are greatly abbreviated to meet the representational demands of the event in question while still offering the patina of tradition. The limited time span given to each performance constrains ritual forms and requires radical editing of the originals. For instance, the monotonous chants that a *simbang* usually recites while playing an hourglass drum were omitted at Simbang Kang's ritual performances during the *Haenyō ch'ukche*. Visual and theatrical elements were highlighted and dramatized to amuse the audience. For example, public rituals often involve an intensified theatrical scene of hurling white rice cakes as high as possible into the air, one of several strategies to maintain an action-centered performance that engages and involves the audience. Simbang Sin once remarked on her mixed feelings about the compromises required for public ritual performance: "When we do public performances (*kongyōn*), all that we do is dance." In a personal interview, Simbang Kang Min'gu told me that being able to adapt a performance to one's audience is a measure of skilled *simbang*: the greater the *simbang*, the greater their ability to adapt to different performance venues. By reframing and drawing upon customary ritual activities, these official *simbang* adroitly transformed their "activities into a recontextualized presentation or enactment for a festival audience."⁶⁴

These *simbang* simultaneously manage the current interests of the state and its people by appealing to the gods for magical intervention, even as they creatively package their customary rituals for broad consumption. At the *Yōngdŭng kut*, for instance, the master public performer Kang Min'gu included the plea "Let the national [soccer] team of our country be among the best sixteen teams" in a song that had originally been addressed to the gods. At the *Muhon kut*, Simbang Sin elegantly prayed for the welfare of the country and the safe return of the World Cup players:

After our Korea
Does the 2002 World Cup,
Let our country be well;
The players from all of the countries in the world
Go back to their hometowns safely.

In another recitation, Simbang Kim⁶⁵ made an effort to add verisimilitude to the staged performance and to maximize its "quotient of authenticity":⁶⁶

Although the nation does this ritual
For the event of the World Cup Soccer Games this time

[The gods] willingly opened the gates of the Dragon Kings
Because you [haenyō] came here in good faith.

...

Although this is just a [public] event (行事)
It is a ritual for the Dragon King that is enacted with
sincerity.⁶⁷

So if you donate even a sheet of paper money
Or a sheet of 1,000 wŏn⁶⁸ as *injŏng* [bribe]
All the haenyō of Sinan, Mora, Ponghwa, and Ponggye
Will be safe.

In these verses, Kim calls attention to the public nature of the ritual, in which the dynamics among the participants inevitably differed from those in rituals that the haenyō prepared for and participated in themselves. Kim's repeated emphasis on the ceremony's efficacy would have been unnecessary under other circumstances. However, due to his keen awareness of the mantle he wears as a public performer, he coordinates multiple expectations from the haenyō, the festival organizer, researchers, and scholars. Indeed, this flexibility enabled Kim and other *simbang* "state-agents" to exercise their endowed authority as they (re)constructed and promoted images of Cheju and Korea to the world.

CONCLUSION

Despite the enormous amount of capital distributed for festivals promoting the World Cup and Cheju Island, the number of domestic and foreign tourists who visited Cheju in June 2002 was far lower than expected, disappointing Cheju residents, especially those involved in the tourism industry.⁶⁹ Tour bus driver Han Kyŏnghun complained that, contrary to his expectation, the World Cup period was more like the off-season. He explained this at length:

We heard that 30,000 Chinese would come.⁷⁰ But because travel agencies asked the Chinese for too much deposit money—you know the illegal Chinese problems for which travel agencies are also responsible—many Chinese who could not afford it could not come. The audience seats were empty, although there was an effort to fill them up with students in Sŏgwip'o who were hastily mobilized. My cohorts who drove soccer players to the Sŏgwip'o Stadium were originally directed to buy the expensive admission tickets. But later they were told that they could come and watch the game without tickets. It was the so-called World Cup. In order to avoid the criticism that Koreans do not care about other teams' games, they tried to fill up the stadium.⁷¹

Ch'ae also testified to the discrepancy between the hopeful visions presented by the government and the media, and the reality, saying that the number of visitors fell far short of expectations: "Targeting that [the World Cup], many *minbak chip* (private temporary residences for lodgers) were built in Sögwip'o. But their business was slack (*ta p'ari nallyötchanayo*)."

Further, only a handful of foreign tourists participated in the Haenyö ch'ukche, even though ample English-language festival brochures had been prepared for them. A television reporter addressed by Simbang Sin as an "American Lady" was the only foreigner in Mora-ri. A Canadian friend of mine, who was teaching English in Cheju and who accompanied me in order to take photographs, was the only foreign face at Taesin-ni's day-long festival. Ch'ae expressed her disappointment about this state of affairs:

Although I was against the World Cup, I thought a lot of people would come to Cheju. I never imagined such a low participation. I thought if tourists would come to the country, they would spread into each city and province. I never expected such a small turnout. . . . I thought of it [the Haenyö ch'ukche] as a really big event. Like a dream! The World Cup! I thought it would be great to revive traditional folk culture and show it to people from outside rather than just inviting celebrity singers. I thought people would support us. We thought the [South Korea] World Cup Organizing Committees would publicize the festival. Although they decided the dates of the festival, they did not promote the festival enough. If they had created a brochure about the national event, people might have looked at it and picked what they wanted to see. There was nothing. People outside Cheju did not even know that there was such an event.⁷²

In fact, there was a report on Haenyö ch'ukche in a national news program,⁷³ but that report, which lasted only half a minute, was too fleeting to attract much attention. Moreover, as the World Cup games proceeded, memories of the festival, engulfed by the riveting image of the Red Devil, seem to have faded. Ch'ae also told me about the exciting moments that she shared with massive groups of people cheering the Korean team, contrasting that joyful adventure with her disappointment about the festival's poor turnout.

Bored by the rituals that failed to reflect or incorporate their own urgent interests, the majority of local residents who did attend came and went, rather than keeping their seats. By the time the last festival event—the Muhon kut—began in Mora-ri on June 2, high school students mobilized for the day-long event had all but disappeared. One of them told me that he had come to the festival in order to earn volunteer points at school. The general participation of the haenyö, too, was scanty; for instance, when the Yöngdüng kut was performed in Cheju City, none of these women was even seen in the vicinity

of the stage, let alone in the audience seats. Taesin-ni's festival on June 6 had a good crowd of local residents, including the haenyō, fishermen, and others. However, the ritual was performed almost exclusively by the simbang, rather than being an interactive phenomenon.

In addition to the one-sided mobilization of the local residents during festival preparation, scheduling conflicts resulted in fewer local participants at the festival. Numerous other cultural events took place simultaneously in Cheju during the World Cup. Nationwide provincial elections were held on June 13, 2002, and some haenyō and simbang were also mobilized for political campaigns during this period. Further, the festival days, May 30 to June 6, coincided with the busiest time of the year for haenyō: In addition to diving and housework, they were also engaged in harvesting garlic and onions.⁷⁴ Many of the haenyō work in the fields in the early morning and dive afterward. Harvesting the garlic and onions on time is critical; otherwise, the work in cultivating them has been in vain. Worn out with overwork, the daughter of the elderly woman with whom I lodged summed up her feelings of total exhaustion with a standard Korean expression: "I would like to die."

These multiple demands made it difficult to mobilize haenyō for the Muhon kut, in which their participation was very important. The haenyō, who differentiated the staged ritual from a real ritual, requested daily monetary compensation. The festival organizer was unprepared for this; he thought that the haenyō would welcome a free ritual staged for their well-being. But the haenyō, distracted by heavy workloads, were not interested in attending a ritual *apparently* prepared for them but not initiated by them. They had no desire to display their tradition to others at the expense of their daily labor, especially at such a critical time, nor to attend a ritual intended to console dead souls who already seemed at rest. For these haenyō, economic survival was a far more urgent endeavor than promoting their culture at festivals made by others, even in the name of elevating Cheju's international profile.

The year after the World Cup, representatives of the provincial government declined to hold the festival, even though local organizers had proposed only a one-day event rather than the previous year's eight days of celebration. This illustrates the government's opportunistic support for the local cultural festival. One local artist, who asserted that "the Haenyō ch'ukche needs to continue," accused state policymakers of assigning local cultural events to commercial festival agents: "Those festivals are just events that do not have essence; so they end up as dance festivals. What can I say about what the fools do? We are not the power-holders."⁷⁵

Despite these conflicting interests among different groups of people, no one I met in Cheju disapproved of staging shamanic rituals. They perceived the public display of shamanic rituals as necessary for the tourist industry.

Intellectuals, especially, construed the practice as part of the process of resurrecting their own culture, which had been overshadowed by foreign influences. High school teacher and writer Sō Miyōng said, “Like a [church] service in Christianity, *kut* is also a ritual. We need to take pride in our own culture. Not as a way of emphasizing only ours but as a way of understanding our own culture as part of the national cultural diversity.”⁷⁶

Globalization is fragmentary and disorderly,⁷⁷ a set of expectations and relations that plays out at a local level in discourse, performances, and interactions. This article has attempted to illustrate the ways in which multiple individuals responded to the globalization discourse that was especially intense before, during, and after the 2002 World Cup, the most heightened global event in Korea since the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. For most people on Cheju Island, globalization was neither a unified force enacted by global governance and capital, nor a catalyst for simple resistance to that imagined force. Instead, globalization manifested itself through various groups’ dreams and expectations of what the World Cup could mean to Cheju. In the words of a Chinese saying, the idea of globalization in Cheju encompassed “different dreams in the same bed” (同床異夢, *tongsang imong*). Such globalization discourse also produced layers of responses to the festival. On the one hand, policymakers—preoccupied with their hopes for what the World Cup might mean to their island—sought to capture global attention by exoticizing *haenyō* and shamanism, the key component of their culture. Not merely the passive objects of the West’s desire for the “other,” *simbang* actively participated in mobilizing and framing their own customary culture in the glare of a “global” spotlight. On the other hand, the *haenyō*—the centerpiece of the festival—were largely excluded from everything above token planning and presentation. Yet in the end, they seemed most free from the oppressive elements of globalization. After finishing their garlic harvest, the *haenyō* embraced the festival activities they found relevant, relishing their hard-earned leisure time by singing and dancing with friends.

NOTES

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1. Indeed, Cheju was portrayed “as small as a bullet” and described as “the farthest place from the central government,” according to the National Institute of Korean History’s *Chǒngjo sillok* (Veritable Records of King Chǒngjo) 11: June 17, 1781, <http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/inspection.jsp?mTree=0&id=kka> (June 9, 2006). The island remained a subdivision of Chǒlla Province until 1946. It was then upgraded to a province when South Korea was under the trusteeship of the U.S. military government. See Kim Pongok, *Chǒngbo Cheju t’ongsa* (Cheju History—Revised and Enlarged) (Cheju: Serim, 2000): 301. All translations in this article are mine.

2. See Cho Han Hae-joang, “Beyond the FIFA World Cup: An Ethnography of the ‘Local’ in South Korea around the 2002 World Cup,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5, no. 1 (2004): 13–14.

3. John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003): 156–57.

4. I have used pseudonyms for individuals and local places, except when a person requested the use of his or her real name.

5. See Paulla A. Ebron, *Performing Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

6. For interpretations of this comprehensive and uniquely Korean policy, see Samuel Kim, “Korea and Globalization (*Segyehwa*): A Framework for Analysis,” in *Korea’s Globalization*, ed. Samuel Kim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 1–28.

7. See Gi-Wook Shin, “The Paradox of Korean Globalization,” Working Paper. Stanford, Calif.: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, January 2003.

8. See Chong Kim, “World Cup and Sports Marketing,” *Korea Focus* 10, no. 4 (2002): 32–34, and Yoon Sung Choi, “Football and the South Korean Imagination: South Korea and the 2002 World Cup Tournaments,” in *Football Goes East: Business, Culture, and the People’s Game in China, Japan and South Korea*, ed. Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne (London: Routledge, 2004): 136.

9. See Keesung Roh, “The 2002 FIFA World Cup and Its Impact on Korea’s Economy,” *Korea Focus* 10, no. 4 (2002): 144–58; and Choi, “Soccer and the South Korean Imagination: South Korea and the 2002 World Cup Tournaments,” 136.

10. A few examples from KBS News are: “Wǒldū k’ōp ūi kyōngjehak” (Economics of the World Cup), June 2, 2002, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/exec/news/news.php?id=524884&kind=c> (June 9, 2006); “Wǒldū k’ōp, Sǒul e 5-cho 9-ch’ōn ōk wǒn kyōngje hyogwa” (The World Cup, An Economic Impact Worth 5 Trillion 300 Billion Wǒn to Seoul), January 30, 2002, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news/news.php?id=286555&kind=c> (June 9, 2006); and “Kim taet’ongnyōng, Wǒldū k’ōp ūro kyōngje, IT kyōnin” (President Kim, Advancing the Economy and IT through the World Cup),

May 22, 2002, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news.php?id=323510&kind=c> (June 9, 2006). For scholarly interpretations on the subject, see Lee Choong-Ki (Yi Ch'unggi) and Byun Jeong-Woo (Pyön Chöngu), "Forecasting International Tourism Demand for the 2002 World Cup and Estimating Its Economic Impact," *Hot'el kwan'gwang yön'gu* 8 (2002): 273–90; Im Chaeyöng and Cho Kwangik, "2002 Wöldü k'öp i chiyök kyöngje e mich'inün hyogwa punsök: MRIO mohyöng üi chögyong" (Analysis of the Economic Impacts of the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup on Regional Economies 2002) *Kwan'gwang yön'gu* 17, no. 1 (2002): 1–14.

11. See KBS News, "Cheju Wöldü k'öp kyönggijang, chayön kwa üi chohwa" (Cheju World Cup Stadium, Harmony with Nature), December 6, 2001, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news.php?id=268334&kind=c> (July 18, 2005); "Kkum üi kujang, Cheju Wöldü k'öp kyönggijang wan'gong" (Completion of a Dream Field, the Cheju World Cup Stadium), December 7, 2001, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news.php?id=268403&kind=c> (July 18, 2005); and "Cheju Wöldü k'öp kyönggijang, hwansang üi No. 1" (Fantasy No. 1, The Cheju World Cup Stadium), December 9, 2001, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news.php?id=269133&kind=c> (July 18, 2005). After the World Cup, Sögwip'ö Stadium was opened to the public as a tourist attraction. When I visited the stadium in July 2002, many other tourists were also present. Some of them proudly repeated the famous Taehan min'guk ("The Republic of Korea") chant while clapping their hands. For additional information about the unique architectural features of the stadium, see the website of the Sögwip'ö World Cup Planning Task Force, <http://www.2002seogwipo.com/games.asp> (July 18, 2005).

12. For the historic construction of Cheju as a borderland, see Seong-nae Kim, "Chronicle of Violence, Ritual of Mourning: Cheju Shamanism in Korea" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1989), especially 58–123.

13. The Cheju provincial government initiated the Cheju Free International City Project in cooperation with the South Korean government. The main goals of this decade-long plan include developing Cheju as a free trade zone, eco-friendly tourist destination, and business hub in Northeast Asia, thus encouraging a cross-border flow of people, goods, and capital. See Jeju (Cheju) Free International City Development Center, "Overview of Plans Formulated," http://www.Cheju.go.kr/freecity/board/board.php?id=all_plan (December 13, 2004).

14. See KBS News, "Chayu tosi ch'ulböm ün haetchiman . . ." (Although the Free International City Plan Has Begun . . .), June 2, 2002, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news.php?id=523947&kind=c> (July 11, 2005).

15. In response to the demands of foreign animal-rights activists, the South Korean government banned serving *posint'ang*, a stew of dog's meat, in Seoul restaurants during the Seoul Olympics. This illustrates how the government capitalized on the threat of negative foreign judgment in order to court international appreciation. See Roger L. Janelli with Dawnhee Yim, *Making Capitalism: The Social and Cultural Construction of a South Korean Conglomerate* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993): 186.

16. Choi, "Soccer and the South Korean Imagination: South Korea and the 2002 World Cup Tournaments," 139.

17. Interview with Haenyö ch'ukche staff member, July 2005.

18. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," *Museum International* 56, nos. 1–2 (2004): 61.

19. Local folklorist Han Chisu founded the institute in 1999. It is currently one of several branches of the Cheju Minyech'ong, an acronym of Han'guk minjok yesurin ch'ong yönhap (The Korean People's Federation of Artists). Liberal artists organized Minyech'ong in 1987 as a counterpoint to the Han'guk yesul munhwa tanch'e ch'ong yönhaphoe (Yech'ong), or the Federation of Artistic and Cultural Organizations of Korea, founded in 1962.

20. Festival Booklet, *Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyö Ch'ukche* (Cheju: Institute of Cheju Traditional Culture, 2002): 6.

21. See Cho Haejoang, "'Palchön' kwa 'chöpalchön': Cheju haenyö sahoe üi söng ch'egye wa kündeahwa" ('Development' and 'Underdevelopment': Gender System and Modernization of the Cheju Haenyö Society). Pp. 293–98, in *Han'guk üi yösöng kwa namsöng* (Women and Men in South Korea). Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisöngsa, 1988. For a more recent glimpse of the state of the Cheju haenyö, see Chwa Tongch'öl, "Cheju haenyö myöngmaek kkünk'illa. . . himdülgö suip chögö" (Endangered Cheju Haenyö, Difficult Work with Low Income), *Cheju Ilbo*. December 30, 2005, <http://www.jejunews.com/news/articlePrint.html?idxno=116452> (June 14, 2006).

22. *Chemin Ilbo*, "Haenyö segye yusan tünjjae Chejudo ka nasöya" (Cheju Province Should Make an Effort to Get Haenyö Designated as a World Heritage). June 8, 2006, <http://www.jemin.com/news/articlePrint.html?idxno=151817> (June 8, 2006).

23. For instance, in conjunction with the World Association for Island Studies, the Institute for Peace Studies at Cheju National University organized the first World Jamnyeology [Chamnyöllöji] (Haenyö Studies) Conference in June 2002. It was hosted by the Cheju provincial government and sponsored by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO.

24. See Hong Sökchun, "Haenyö munhwa ch'ukche tünj simüi" (Discussion of Haenyö Cultural Festival and Other Festivals), *Chemin Ilbo*. August 21, 2004, <http://www.jemin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=118350> (August 18, 2005); and (Hong Sökjun 2004; Kim T'aehyöng, "Segye haenyö ch'ukche kaebal . . . Cheju taep'yo ch'ukche chean" (A Proposal to Develop 'World Haenyö Ch'ukche' as a Representative Cheju Festival), *Cheju Ilbo*. August 21, 2004, <http://www.jejunews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=71041> (June 14, 2006).

25. Kim Sunja, "Tainamik K'oria hwest'iböl 2002: Wöldü k'öp munhwa haengsa" (Dynamic Korea Festival 2002: Cultural Events for the World Cup), *Chemin Ilbo*, May 28, 2002, p. 16.

26. See Kim Sunja, "2002 Wöldü k'öp, Cheju haenyö segye ro" (2002 World Cup, Cheju Haenyö toward the World), *Chemin Ilbo*, April, 14, 2002, <http://www.jemin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=53190> (July 19, 2004).

27. In 1932, a number of haenyö from northeastern towns in Cheju rose up against the Japanese, protesting against exploitation by the Japanese fisheries authorities. This resistance has been praised as "the largest women's anti-Japanese movement,"

or “the largest fisherfolk’s resistance” in the nation’s history. See Yi Yŏngwŏn, *Saero ssūnūn Chejusa* (Rewriting Cheju History) (Seoul: Hyumanisūt’ū, 2005): 309–16. In fact, the festival organizer wished that the haenyŏ of Mora had incorporated the memorable uprising into a theatrical performance for the festival. However, unable to mobilize the haenyŏ—who were both uninterested and untrained in such display for others—Han hired a local theatrical group to revive the resistance in a play.

28. Festival Booklet, *Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyŏ Ch’ukche*, 4.

29. In order “to increase the American prime-time viewing audience for live coverage” of the 1988 Olympics, South Korea adopted daylight savings time. According to Janelli (*Making Capitalism: The Social and Cultural Construction of a South Korean Conglomerate*, 206), the new system was first tested in 1987. The country was acutely aware of the world’s attention, and even attempted to increase that attention. For Koreans’ responses to negative images of Korea in the U.S. media, see Susan Chira, “The Seoul Olympics: U.S. Olympic Reporting Hits a Raw Korean Nerve,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1988, sec. 1A: 1.

30. Interview with Haenyŏ ch’ukche coordinator Ch’ae Songa, July 17, 2005.

31. Festival Booklet, *Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyŏ Ch’ukche*, 6.

32. Interview with a local intellectual, May 2003.

33. See *Chemin Ilbo*, “Wŏldū k’ŏp kwa Cheju haenyŏ ch’ukche” (The World Cup and Cheju Haenyŏ Festival). April 30, 2002. <http://www.jemin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=54788> (July 19, 2004). Han Chisu has devoted more than two decades of his life to studying Cheju shamanism.

34. Interview with festival staff member, July 2005.

35. Whereas the government policymakers invoked folkloric items for foreign audiences, the Cheju tourism industry recently hired foreign performance groups from Mongolia, China, and Thailand to entice domestic tourists, for whom traveling abroad has lately become more affordable. According to Han Kyŏnghun, a tourist bus driver in Cheju, whom I interviewed in July 2005, these groups perform in various tourist spots on the island.

36. Festival Booklet, *Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyŏ Ch’ukche*, 6.

37. See Edward M. Bruner and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 4 (1994): 435–70.

38. Interview with Haenyŏ ch’ukche coordinator Ch’ae Songa, July 17, 2005.

39. The indigenous term *simbang* refers to a Cheju native shaman who is born in Cheju and trained in Cheju shamanic tradition, which differs significantly from that of the mainland. With the development of modern transportation, the migration of mainland shamans to Cheju has increased since the 1970s. Cheju natives usually refer to these migrant shamans as *posal* or *mudang*.

40. The World Cup was by no means the first time that Cheju shamanism was commodified. I discuss the detailed history of Cheju shamanism in “Performing the Sacred: Political Economy and Shamanic Ritual on Cheju Island, South Korea,” (PhD diss., Indiana University, forthcoming).

41. The images of Grandmother Sŏlmundae used in the slide show were created by Park Jae Dong (Pak Chaedong), a Seoul-based cartoonist who is nationally well

known for his political satires. Figure 2 was the most frequently used image of the goddess during the festival.

42. Interview with Haenyō ch'ukche coordinator Ch'ae Songa, July 17, 2005.

43. See *Chemin Ilbo*, “Cheju Wōldū k'ōp, hwayryōhan kaemak” (The Cheju World Cup, a Colorful Opening), June 9, 2002, <http://www.jemin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=58413> (January 29, 2004).

44. See Ebron, *Performing Africa*, and Richard Bauman, *Verbal Art as Performance* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1977).

45. Ebron, *Performing Africa*, 6.

46. See Richard Bauman, Patricia Sawin, and Inta Carpenter, *Reflections on the Folklife Festival: An Ethnography of Participant Experience* (Folklore Institute, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1992).

47. As the number of haenyō diminishes, this ritual is now conducted only in ten villages throughout the entire island (see Festival Booklet, *Dynamic Korea Festival 2002—Cheju Haenyō Ch'ukche*, 9). The ritual days have also been changed, and a few annual communal rituals have been consolidated into one for the convenience of haenyō communities in some villages. The contemporary Chamsu kut in Taesin-ri and Hwasan-ri are the examples of this trend (“ri” is a unit of administrative district). One village I encountered even hires a Buddhist monk instead of a simbang for this kind of communal ritual.

48. The leading simbang usually hire two or three assistant simbang for such a ritual.

49. Being appointed to a tang maein simbang means more economic income and priestly prestige. Conflicts can arise among simbang due to competition for the title of the tang maein simbang. See Seong-nae Kim, “Chronicle of Violence, Ritual of Mourning: Cheju Shamanism in Korea,” 184–88.

50. For this change taking place on Cheju Island, see Cho Sung-Youn (Cho Songyun)’s captivating recent study, “Chejusi ūi mudang kwa yōksurin” (Shamans and Fortunetellers in Cheju City), in *Cheju chiyōk min'gan sinang ūi kujo wa pyōnyong* (Structure and Change of the Folk Beliefs on Cheju Island), ed. Cho Sung-Youn, Lee Sang-Cheol (Yi Sangch'ōl), and Ha Soon-Ae (Ha Sunae) (Seoul: Paeksan Sōdang, 2003): 279–395.

51. See Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990).

52. Human Cultural Treasure (*in'gan munhwajae*) is a term commonly used by the public to refer to *poyuja* (literally meaning “holders”) of an important intangible cultural property designated by the South Korean government. For a fuller discussion of the cultural property protection policy, see Jongsung Yang, *Cultural Protection Policy in Korea: Intangible Cultural Properties and Living National Treasures* (Edison, N.J. and Seoul: Jimoondang International, 2003). The central government designated Cheju Ch'ilmōri tang kut (shamanic ritual at the Ch'ilmōri village shrine) as Important Intangible Cultural Property 71 in 1980, and the Cheju provincial government Cheju k'ūn kut as Intangible Cultural Treasure Number 13 in 2001.

53. Interview with Cheju native elite, May 2003.

54. Even at private rituals, the title of Human Cultural Treasure is valued by clients. I participated in a three-day private ritual performed by a *simbang* who bore this title. Observing the ritual, an elderly woman, one of the several neighbors who visited to watch the ritual, commented that the *simbang* performed well because he was a certified *simbang*, and the others nodded in agreement.

55. Indeed, during the year I spent in Cheju, I observed this ritual only in a video recording produced by a cameraman from a local TV station. That performance was cosponsored by a TV station, a scholar from the mainland, and the abject family of the dead soul, who had postponed the ritual for a long time because they could not afford it. I am grateful to *Simbang Sin*, who performed the ritual, for sharing the voluminous video footage with me.

56. Louisa Schein, *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000): 271.

57. For gender politics involved in staged asset rituals, see Laurel Kendall, "Who Speaks for Korean Shamans When Shamans Speak of the Nation?" in *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korean, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States*, ed. Dru C. Gladney (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998): 55–72.

58. Schein, *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics*, 271.

59. Interview with Muhon kut observer, May 2003. Cho Haejoang also noted a similar phenomenon at a Cheju public performance in 1987. See Cho, "'Palchōn' kwa 'chōpalchōn': Cheju haenyō sahoe ūi sōng ch'egye wa kūndaehwa" ('Development' and 'Underdevelopment': Gender System and Modernization of the Cheju Haenyō Society), 306.

60. Pseudo-money offerings made of thin white paper are essential to Cheju shamanic rituals.

61. According to the homepage of the official FIFA World Cup website, "Co-host Korea got their FIFA World Cup™ off to the best possible start as they breezed past Poland in [P]usan, Korea. In front of an incredible sea of scarlet supporters, the Asians finally got their first FIFA World Cup victory on their 15th try." See <http://2002.fifaworldcup.yahoo.com/02/en/020604/2/r51.html> (August 25, 2005).

62. At Halla Cultural Festival in 2001, *Simbang Kim Tohun* abruptly ended his ritual performance one hour early when he misread the time. He was severely criticized by the organizers, who had to suspend the festival for one hour.

63. Failing to send back all the invited gods or spirits could actually negate the effort and expense involved in a ritual, because it is believed that the gods and spirits left behind might bring misfortune on the living.

64. Bauman, Sawin, and Carpenter, *Reflections on the Folklife Festival*, 57–58.

65. Kim has worked most closely with national and international scholars among Cheju *simbang*, especially with male scholars in Cheju. The festival organizer asked him to perform the Muhon kut as faithfully as possible. The Muhon kut lasted five

hours, which is extremely long for a public performance, with many camera shots and floodlights provided for video recording.

66. Bauman, Sawin, and Carpenter, *Reflections on the Folklife Festival*, 2.

67. Line breaks in the transcription indicate a pause in the simbang's recitation. An indentation marks a continuation of the preceding line without a pause.

68. About US\$1 according to current exchange rates.

69. The number of foreign tourists who visited Cheju in 2002 decreased slightly from the previous year. Foreign tourists accounted for only 6.4 percent of the total number of tourists in 2002. In the following table, the Cheju Provincial Government's Department of Tourism Promotion provides the numbers of tourists who visited Cheju between 1995 and 2004.

Table 1

Year	Total	Domestic Tourists		Foreign Tourists	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1995	3,996,844	3,754,960	93.9	241,884	6.1
1996	4,143,955	3,934,702	95.0	209,253	5.0
1997	4,363,192	4,178,789	95.8	184,403	4.2
1998	3,291,116	3,067,415	93.2	223,701	6.8
1999	3,666,836	3,419,871	93.3	246,965	6.7
2000	4,110,934	3,822,509	93.0	288,425	7.0
2001	4,197,574	3,907,524	93.1	290,050	6.9
2002	4,515,515	4,226,019	93.6	289,496	6.4
2003	4,913,390	4,692,373	95.5	221,017	4.5
2004	4,932,512	4,603,297	93.3	329,215	6.7

70. Cheju hosted three games: between Brazil and China (June 8); between Slovenia and Paraguay (June 12); and between Germany and Paraguay for round sixteen (June 15).

71. Interview with tour bus driver, July 2005.

72. Interview with Haenyö ch'ukche coordinator Ch'ae Songa, July 17, 2005.

73. KBS News, "Cheju, tach'aeroun chönyaje ch'ukha haengsa" (Cheju, A Variety of Events Celebrating the Opening of the World Cup), May 30, 2002, <http://news.kbs.co.kr/exec/print.php?id=325109> (July 11, 2005).

74. Most haenyö take responsibility for all housework, even if their husbands are not employed. For the way that gender roles are played out in a Cheju village, see Cho, "'Palchön' kwa 'chöpalchön': Cheju haenyö sahoe üi söng ch'egye wa kundaehwa" ("Development" and "Underdevelopment": Gender System and Modernization of the Cheju Haenyö Society), 272–79.

75. Interview with local artist, May 2003.

76. Interview with high school teacher, May 2003.

77. Kimberly J. Lau, "Folklore and Theories of Globalization," *Folklore Forum* 30, no. 1 (1999): 69.

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