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博士(スポーツ科学)

The Metamorphosis of Bodily Discourse in
Olympic Coverage in China:
The “Sick Man of East Asia” and Chinese Nationalism

中国のオリンピック報道における身体ディスコースの変容
—「東亜病夫」と中国ナショナリズム—

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Notes on Translation and Use of Terms

This dissertation adopts the Pinyin (also known as Hanyu Pinyin) system transcribing of Chinese. This system was developed in the People's Republic of China in the 1950s and accepted as a global standard by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) in 1982. The transcription of names also follows the traditional Chinese order with the family name first and given name second.

The Chinese transcription remains unchanged when citing Western references which may use the Wade-Giles Romanization system or terms that are widely accepted such as Peking or Mao Tse-tung.

All translations are the author's own unless otherwise indicated.

The term "China" refers to the People's Republic of China unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Prelude: “Sick Man of East Asia” Phenomenon in Contemporary Chinese

Popular Culture

“The dawn light of victory:

Congratulations to Xu Haifeng for winning China’s first Olympic gold medal”¹

by Song Dan

*The round concentric target:
Years of disgraceful memories
Built up like pale growth rings,
Now contracting in the pupil.*

*Today, after 52 years, *
You wipe away the humiliation.
You, like a granite statue,
Stand erect before those who once
sneered
At your predecessors in Los Angeles.
Stand erect before the country
That produced many legendary pistol
shooters.
In front of the embarrassing circle of
memories-- and fire.*

*In the bending of an index finger
The aspirations of the Chinese nation
cherished for over half a century,
The dreams and hopes of a billion
compatriots,
The radiant confidence of the calm
shooter.*

**52 years ago the Republic of China sent athletes to compete at the Olympics for
the first time.*

*The crisp reverberating crack
Rang the bell of hope for the expectant
motherland.
Each burning bullet
Pierced the center of the dark night of
the target,
Finally releasing the dawn light of
victory.*

*Let warm happy tears
Wash away the disgrace and regrets of
the past.
Let the Olympic podium
Kiss the first step of a descendant of
Yan and Huang.
You, engulfed by flowers and applause,
Hold up the first golden sun
For the sleepless motherland.*

*The round, concentric target:
Like never ending ripples
Spreading out of the beautiful “City of
Angels”
To the world ... and to tomorrow.*

¹ Translated from Chinese by Yiyin Ding and Lee Thompson from “第一缕决胜的曙光 一祝许海峰为我国夺得第一枚奥运会金牌”, *People’s Daily*, 1984/08/06, p.8.

The above poem was published in the *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, to celebrate the first gold medal ever won by a Chinese athlete at an Olympic Games. Pistol shooter Xu Haifeng achieved this honor at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Xu's success is considered to be a milestone in Chinese Olympic history following the nation's several attempts in the Olympics² without gaining a single medal (Liao & Wu, 2008, p.7), and its long struggle to become the official member to represent China in the International Olympic Committee (IOC) after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. His achievement was also reported in the domestic media (as quoted from the above poem) as having "wipe(d) away the humiliation... (and) wash(ed) away the disgrace and regrets of the past". The connection of sporting achievements and national redemption, particularly the effect of sporting success to eliminate the perceived shame and humiliation of China's past, is an interesting location to begin the investigation of this dissertation.

Among analogies of the role of sports in China, the term "sick man of East Asia" is an exemplar case. This notorious term, perhaps unfamiliar to many outside China has enjoyed a significant presence in modern Chinese popular discourse. This

² The 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, the 1936 Berlin Olympics, and the 1948 London Olympics.

results first from the common belief that it was originally applied to China by Japan or the West; and the shaming factors in the metaphor indicating a crippled national physical image. The Chinese domestic sports media constantly assert that success in mega-sports events such as the Olympics has helped break this disgraceful title and regain national glory through sports participation (Gao, 2003; Liang, 2007; Xu, 2008). As an article published in a Chinese newspaper during the London Olympics put it:

During the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the whole country was immersed in the joy of breaking the title of “sick man of East Asia”; every gold medal affected the heartbeat of the whole nation...

“Healthy Patriotism, No Matter East or West”,

Titan Sports, 2012/08/05, A31

In addition to the print representation, this term is also featured in popular media in the form of movies. A famous scene in Bruce Lee’s movie *Fist of Fury* displayed this term when he angrily broke a board sent by Japanese which was inscribed with “東亞病夫” (sick man of East Asia). To people who are not familiar with the background of this term, perhaps it is difficult to interpret this particular

strand of national discourse within China, even more so the sensitivity and agitation that the Chinese people share towards this term.

The frequent application of this term in sport-related literature has made it part of the “legacy” of the Chinese Olympic history. To most Chinese, this “disgraceful term” not only connotes the pale weak image of the national physique, but also the crippled nation held hostage by the foreign invaders in the late Qing Dynasty. Thus the phenomenon this term aroused in China and the agitated emotional outlet by this term is rather bizarre yet interesting. As noted by sinologist Susan Brownell, “in the 1980s, sports victories were said to destroy the insulting label of the ‘sick man of East Asia’, which had gained mythic proportions in people's minds” (Brownell, 1995, p.22). To a certain extent, the term has helped construct a collective memory of the painful historic past that most Chinese are reluctant to look back upon.

The modern adaptation of “sick man of East Asia” in popular discourse presents a list of questions that are worthy of academic inquiry: what was the actual origin of this term and is it true that it was given to China by Japan and the West? When did this term come to be associated with Chinese Olympic sports and what is their interwoven relationship? Is the “sick man” stereotype still an authentic reference of Chinese sporting body? If not, what is the current landscape of the athletic body in

contemporary Olympics in China? Last but not the least, what does the story of “sick man of East Asia” reveal about the Chinese nation and national identity?

In order to unravel the myth surrounding the “sick man of East Asia”, and considering the term being a sporting stereotype pertaining to the discursive sporting body, perhaps it is important to examine some crucial concepts before going further. Thus it is essential to first review the background history and external politics associated with the modern Olympics in China; second, to clarify the relationship of sporting stereotypes with the national identity and why the term “sick man of East Asia” is worthy academic scrutiny; and lastly, to define the term within the discursive sports body.

1.2 Olympics in China: History and external politics³

Recent decades have witnessed East Asian nations’ active participation in big sports flagship events such as the Olympics⁴. The Olympic Games in East Asia not only bring great business incentives to the local economies, but also operate as a worldwide platform to introduce and promote traditional East Asian culture, as well

³ This part of discussion is presented more extensively in Ding and Thompson (2013).

⁴ 1964 Tokyo Olympics, 1972 Sapporo Olympics, 1988 Seoul Olympics, 1998 Nagano Olympics, 2008

as to expand the region's international influence (MacAloon, 1996, p.33). Despite the social, cultural, and economic benefits of the event, for the East Asian host nations the quadrennial Olympics have also become a domain for displays of international political power and for spreading political messages. Exemplar cases include the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games which was regarded as "a stage for symbolic politics" to reestablish the national image of post-WWII Japan (Tagsold, 2011, p.61; Niehaus & Tagsold, 2013). Similarly, the 1988 Seoul Olympics was also hosted in the midst of tension between the North and South Korea, and the South Korean authority hoped the Olympics "would buy for it a window of opportunity to broaden its base of political support" (Manheim, 1990, p. 282). To a certain extent the Olympics in East Asia have become gateways for alleviating international/domestic tensions, in addition to a major stage to promote the nation's international standing.

The involvement of the East Asian nation China with the Olympics cannot escape a similar storyline. China's century-long Olympic efforts culminating to the hosting of the Beijing Olympics truly testify to the notion that: "Olympics were framed by, could hardly escape being tainted by, the politics of the host nation and its own international tensions" (Tomlinson, 1984 quoted in Sugden & Tomlinson, 2012, p. 243). The media documentation of Olympics in China presents a path that is deeply embedded in the nation's historic trajectory, and rise in political and economic power.

Beijing Olympics and the forthcoming 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics, 2020 Tokyo Olympics, and 2022 Beijing Olympics.

Republican China's first contact with modern sports was in 1907, when the Chinese YMCA members introduced modern sports into China. The dissemination of modern sport in the republic sparked China's desire to participate in the Olympics, and soon after YMCA's introduction of modern sports a prophetic question was proposed: "when will China be able to invite all the world to Peking [sic] for an International Olympic contest?" (Robertson, 1910, p. 192). China was only able to answer that question a hundred years later after the successful second bid for the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

China's increasing involvement with the Olympics closely followed the condition of the nation's international relations and the IOC's (International Olympic Committee) policies on the "two Chinas" issue, namely which of the two entities, People's Republic of China (PRC) or Taiwan also known as the Republic of China (ROC), should represent China in the IOC. In the 1950s, following then IOC president Avery Brundage's policy of recognizing Taiwan as a member of IOC, China dropped out of the organization and several international sports federations. Instead China switched its attention to active participation in regional sports competitions such as the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF), as well as building diplomatic ties with Asian, African, and Latin American countries to extend its international support (Brownell, 2008).

This was followed by the Chinese government's initiative to remedy the Sino-US relations. A friendly exchange of ping-pong teams from the two nations played a vital role in breaking the ice between the two countries (Xu, 2008, pp.117-163). This breakthrough in sport led to US president Richard Nixon's visit to Beijing, followed

by granting PRC official membership in the UN in the 1970s, and normalized diplomatic ties with the USA in 1979. In the same year, the PRC was eventually recognized by the IOC. In the Nagoya Resolution of 1979, the IOC finally recognized the PRC as an official IOC member and Taiwan as Chinese Taipei, a branch office of the Chinese Olympic Committee. The success of the “ping-pong diplomacy” testifies to the truth of the PRC’s first premier Zhou Enlai’s statement on sports: “Our sports team is a non-governmental team of diplomats; it is the second Ministry of Foreign affairs of China” (Liao & Wu, 2008, p.158). Some notable literature has been devoted to documenting the history of China’s road to the Olympics; these books include Liang (2007) and Xu (2008).

However, when comes to defining the value of the Games, the Olympics have become a major, yet to a certain extent contested site for the role it has played in China. This contestation is most evident in Chinese and Western media and academic discussions on the media coverage of the Beijing Olympics (Luo, 2010a; Luo et al, 2010b; Panagiotopoulou, 2010; Papa, 2010; Horne & Whannel, 2010; Mangan & Dyreson, 2012). While some academic literature in the West criticized the IOC’s awarding of the Games to China, saying that it endangered “the Olympic ideals – fair play, meritocratic effort, respect for human dignity” (Cha, 2010, p. 2360) and that the Games would be manipulated as a means of “strengthening the ruling party’s legitimacy and garnering international prestige” (Xu, 2008, p.49). From the Chinese side, it was treated as a patriotic celebration of post-1978 economic prosperity, triumph of the state-sponsored sport system, and a milestone in international recognition (Cao & Pan, 2008; Ding & Thompson, 2013).

Thus the meaning of the Olympics in China has far exceeded the initial essence of challenging the physical limits of the sporting body, to a much broader sense of representing the nation and glorifying the nation's brand-new international presence. The social, political and historic elements interwoven in the trajectory of Olympics in China are nothing short of spectacular in the context of the century-long path of the modern Olympics. The Olympics as one of the prominent cultural symbols in contemporary society is unavoidably tainted by international politics, and further represents and reinforces a "shared meaning" of nation and national identity. This perspective serves as a general starting point for our inquiry on the term "sick man of East Asia" in the modern Olympic movement in China.

1.3 Sporting Stereotype and National Identity

In the 21st century, the rivalry of nation-states has internalized into the form of "soft power" and the sports arena has become one of the major sites for international competition and power display (Whannel, 1992). As noted by political scientist Victor Cha, sports have become "an unmistakable prism through which nation-states project their image to the world and to their own people" (Cha, 2009, pp. 2-3). Discourses⁵ of modern sports became a loyal documentation of the projection of

⁵ This analysis on the body in this dissertation particularly draws on Foucault's concept of discourse (Maguire, 2002, Thorpe, 2008) as he defined discourse as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historic moment. ... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language.

nation-state in the contemporary era and serve as an entry point to the discussion of national identity and nationalism.

A growing body of work analyzed sport discourse and has proven it as a valid subject to further shed light on our understanding of nation and national identity (Bairner, 2001; Blain, N., Boyle, R., & O'Donnell, H. 1993; Dayan & Katz, 1992; Shimizu, 2011), in particular the role of sporting stereotype is considered to be a valid point to examine national identity. In his analysis of sport and national identity in the European media, Hugh O' Donnell (1994) proposed a cartography of classic European national sporting stereotypes and the analysis of discursive networks, revealing that they are underpinned by political and economic power (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell, 1993; O'Donnell, 1994). In the same vein, Lee Thompson conducted a content analysis of sports-related articles and headlines containing the word "pawa" (power) in selected articles in the *Asahi Shimbun* from 1996 and all headlines from 1946 to 1999. By reviewing the "pawa" (power) stereotype in sports discourse, he concludes that sports coverage presents a subtle interpretation of Japan's role in the world (Thompson, 2004). Their research presents a method of judging sporting stereotypes in the European and Japanese sports discourses and reveals a national

But ... since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect” (Hall, 1992, p.291 quoted in Hall, Evans & Nixon ed., 2013, p.29).

In particular two meanings pertaining to the Foucauldian discourse are incorporated into the discussion, the first being “discourse, as a reference to the general domain of statements, is concerned with statements that coalesce within specific social contexts and have some particular meaning or effect” and “discourse, as a ‘regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements’... the unwritten ‘rules’ that guide social practices and help to produce and regulate the production of statements that, correspondingly, control what can be understood and perceived but at the same time, act to obscure”(Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 29-31).

landscape behind the discursive pattern.

O'Donnell and Thompson's research further deepens our understanding of stereotype as "a way of representing and judging other people in fixed, unyielding terms" and in "certain cases where people adapt themselves to the alleged characteristics" (Pickering, 2007, p.4773). To a certain extent, stereotype becomes the hybrid of exterior identification and internal inertia for self-belonging. Therefore it provides an entry point to critically examine international positioning of a nation and further contribute to the definition of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983).

Previous research has regarded sports as an important prism for the analysis of the modern nation; the discourse of sport also offers a valid approach to obtain this goal. Thus the location of sports discourse provides a proper departure point for the investigation into the Chinese sporting stereotype "sick man of East Asia" and the positioning of the Chinese nation and national identity. This research project will also fill in the gap of literature on sporting stereotype in China and contribute to the understanding of the jigsaw of Chinese nation and national identity in the contemporary era.

1.4 Sport and the Body in China

The last part of the review considers "sick man of East Asia" as a representative discursive term of the sporting body and how body comes to be interpreted in the sociology of sport and in related studies on body and sport in China.

The body has served as an important agent in the sociology of sport. The important role the body has played in sociology is discussed to a great extent in a collection of theories dedicated to the subject (Frank, 1990; Shilling, 2012). The particular location of the body at “the very centre of the nature/culture and biology/society dualisms” makes it possible to serve as a subject that could shed new light on issues such as “the structure/agency and macro/micro divisions” (Shilling, 2012, p.33). In this vein, John Hargreaves noted that: “the primary focus of attention in sport overall is the body and its attributes... it is the body that constitutes the most striking symbol as well as constituting the material core of sporting activity” (Hargreaves, 1987, p.141). Despite the fact that sporting bodies demonstrate human limitation and potential, they have also become the sites for “the generation of emotional experience, of individual and group identities and, correlatively, for gender and ethnic inequalities” (Malcolm, 2012, p.91).

Though the conceptual body has been explored extensively in the West, a paucity of literature is found dedicated to research on the body in Chinese sports. A few noted studies under this theme mostly consider the topic under gender studies and explore the female body through the participation of women in sports and how this initiative contributes to Chinese women’s self-liberation and gender equality. Historian Fan Hong reviewed the history of Chinese women’s liberation from foot binding to sporting success. The physical liberation process marked a revolution in shaping the new Chinese female identity (Fan, 1997). Fan’s research particularly features the liberation of Chinese women by the emancipation of their body under the historic background of China. Her in-depth research expanded our knowledge

on the female body in China but is not sufficient to provide a general landscape of sports and body in China.

Following Fan's footsteps, Dong Jinxia's book *Women, sport and society in Modern China: Holding up more than half the sky* features the rise of the sports performance of Chinese female athletic body from early years of the People's Republic to the contemporary market-driven society. Her thorough examination of women's participation in sports revealed a gap between their high athletic achievement and low involvement in administrative and managerial levels. Similarly to Hong's research, Dong's book also adopts a socio-historical approach to interpret the female body, thus it only provides a partial picture of body in Chinese sport, and limited insights on Olympic studies in China.

Another critical assessment of Chinese body culture comes from Susan Brownell's *Training the Body for China Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic*. This book adopts a combined approach of Bourdieu's conception of sports as daily practice and Turner's notion of sports as a cultural performance (Brownell, 1995, p.14). Under this theoretical umbrella, she defines the term "body culture" which is "part of the entire culture of the body" and is "strongly shaped by power relations, including state/society, class, gender, and ethnic relations, as well as the international relations between nations" (Brownell, 1995, pp.3-33). In so doing, she examines a set of Chinese sports practices including mass calisthenics, body building and old people's Disco, to name just a few, and provides an incisive observation of sport in the moral order of the People's Republic of China. Brownell's

research provides a valuable insight in Chinese sports in a combined angle of state, society and culture perspectives of China and the West (U.S.). However, she did not consider the Olympics as the central focus, and the setting of the book is based on her personal biography represented by her enrollment in a university in China. This further limits the scope of her research to that of amateur college sports. Consequently, her work only represents a partial picture of Olympics in China and is limited by the timeline she examines.

The above review of literature has revealed the importance of the body in critically accessing the modern Olympics in China, yet limited research can be found dedicated to the sporting body in China. To provide answers to the research inquiries, this dissertation first attempts to locate the initial perception of body in China starting with the old Chinese maxim, [China is the] “sick man of East Asia”, which appeared first in the 19th century in various print publications. The weak and languid body image projected through this term was originally associated with the physical condition of the opium addicts, and was later extended from a mere corporal presence of the Chinese to the condition of the nation then facing foreign intrusion and under severe civil crisis in the late Qing Dynasty. A century has passed since this aphorism’s first appearance and it has gradually been withdrawn from various rhetorical applications. However, it still remains active in Chinese sports discourse, especially in addressing how the success achieved by Chinese athletes in the Olympic arena has helped rectify this old body image of the Chinese⁶.

⁶ The usage of the term “sick man of East Asia” is most pronounced in domestic media’s coverage on

In this vein this dissertation inquiries into the modern image of “sick man” in the Olympic arena, in particularly how the top Chinese athletes’ bodies are represented in contrast to foreign athletes, and what happens when a representative elite Olympian, in this case Liu Xiang, failed to fulfill his mission to destroy the “sick man” title. Hence this research seeks answers for the following research questions:

- 1) What was the actual origin of the stereotype “sick man of East Asia” and when did the term come to be associated with sports in China?
- 2) How has the usage of the stereotype changed within the discourse of body in contemporary China?
- 3) What is the possible nationalistic interpretation of the changes in the discourse of body in Chinese Olympics?

A revised content analysis method based on Thompson’s model (Thompson, 2004) is applied to analyze the Chinese newspaper coverage of the eight Summer Olympics China has taken part in. The research further discusses whether the growing success of Chinese participation in the modern Olympics has reshaped the nation’s perception of its own body and how the discursive evolution of the Chinese

three events in China’s participation in contemporary Olympics: 1984, when Chinese pistol shooter Xu Haifeng was awarded the first Chinese Olympic gold medal; 2004, when Chinese hurdler Liu Xiang claimed the gold medal in Men’s 110 meters hurdles with a world record speed; and finally with the successful second bid and hosting of the Beijing Olympics.

body both constructs and reinforces the modern Chinese nation and national identity.

1.5 Chapter Overview

To properly research the body discourse, this dissertation adopts the Circuit of Culture framework and applies it to further connect all three result chapters. *Chapter 2 Methodology* explains the framework of circuit of culture which conceptualizes culture in terms of a continuous loop that consists of the processes of production, identity, representation, regulation, and consumption. It further explains the circuit's application in this dissertation to gather data from the sites of identity, representation and production, which construct three of the major sites within the Circuit.

Chapter 3 Mapping the Contemporary Chinese National Identity in the "Sick Man of East Asia" looks into the origin of this term by tracing back to the national and historic background of the initial appearance of "sick man" and how that influenced the various applications of this term in the late 19th century. The discussion further delves into the academic arguments relating to the interwoven relationships behind this term's original adaptation. It then documents the continuation of this term's semantic development to its modern application in the sports context from the 1930s to modern times.

To verify the validity of "sick man of East Asia" and seek a proper approach to

interpret the modern image of the Chinese athletic presentation of the body, Chapter 4 *The Metamorphosis of "Sick Man of East Asia": Discourse of the Body in the Chinese Press Coverage of Foreign and Chinese Athletes at the Olympics, 1984-2012* analyzes the comparative discourse pattern on the bodily description of Chinese and foreign athletes based on the keyword search of Chinese characters for body ("身" and "体"). This part of the research investigates the 1984-2012 Olympic time period in two Chinese newspapers: *People's Daily* and *Titan Sports*. By extending the investigation into Chinese newspaper coverage of the eight Summer Olympics China has taken part in, this chapter analyzes whether the growing success of Chinese participation in the modern Olympics has reshaped the Chinese body stereotype of the "sick man of East Asia", and the reasons behind this phenomenon. It also attempts to discuss modern China's role in the world and its relations with other countries and regions through participation in the Olympics.

If Chapter 4 focuses on the glory side of Chinese athletic body, particularly the recognition it has received during the course of participation in modern Olympics, Chapter 5 presents another side of the story through the print media's portrayal of Chinese 110 meter hurdler Liu Xiang in the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympics. Especially how his body is represented in the local media following his ground-breaking success in 2004 Athens Olympics, and later when he failed to fulfill his role to erase the "sick man" reputation of China in the Olympic arena, namely his withdrawal from competition at Beijing, and his tripping over a hurdle at London which led to his second withdrawal. The interpretation of the results of this analysis is combined with interviews with sports journalists on the production of media coverage on Liu

Xiang. This chapter explores the Chinese media's representation of Liu's body within the frenzy of the Chinese Olympic success in Athens, and after his failed performances in Beijing and London, by analyzing the comparative discourse to bring our examination of Chinese nation and national identity to a new level.

Finally, the thesis concludes with chapter 6 which summarizes the main research findings of this dissertation and the nationalistic implication behind the story of "sick man of East Asia" and its modern adaptations. It will also discuss the significance and limitations of this research and possible direction for future research projects.

Through the construction of this research project, the author does bear in mind that the research on Chinese nation and nationalism is a never-ending mission. Thus this research does not wish to provide a thorough or panoramic picture of Chinese nation and nationalism, but a modest attempt to reveal some observations of China via the lens of the sporting body in the Olympics.

Chapter 2. Methodology

This chapter first explains the theoretical framework of this dissertation, the circuit of culture, which consists of five interrelated processes: production, representation, regulation, consumption and identity. A revised version of this framework was incorporated in data collection on the sites of identity, representation and production. More details on the data collection for the representation site, as well as, details on the production site, the selection and demographics of the interviewees will be discussed in this chapter.

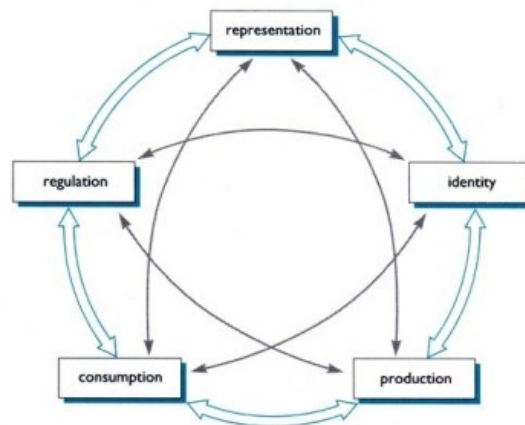
2.1 The Circuit of Culture

In the 1980s cultural theorist Stuart Hall put forward his vision to conceptualize communication in terms of a “circulation circuit or loop”, in which distinctive moments of “production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction” are initiated and sustained through an interwoven process (Hall, 1980, p. 128). This notion of visualizing cultural economy in multi-dimensional perspectives resonated with a group of cultural theorists who realized Hall’s vision to consider culture in terms of a circular process and developed frameworks such as the five dimensions of global cultural flow⁷ (Appadurai, 1990, p.296,) .

⁷ Anthropologist Appadurai notes that the current “global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order”, which needs to be analyzed under “five dimensions of global cultural flow (a) ethnoscapas; (b) mediascapas; (c) technoscapas; (d) finanscapas; and (e)

Following Appadurai's footsteps, another framework that emerged from Hall's notion and fully embodied his vision is the circuit of culture framework (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay & Negus, 1997), in which "meanings are produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes and practices". The five interlinked "processes and practices" are: representation, regulation, consumption, production and identity (du Gay ed, 1997, p. 10; see Figure 1). It was initially put forward to re-evaluate the "cultural economy", in reference to the important role culture plays in the contemporary world, be it the fashion industry, advertising or corporate culture, and its influence in mapping out working identity within (du Gay ed, 1997, p.319; Chow, 1990).

Figure 1. The circuit of culture



from Paul Du Gay, Production of Culture/Cultures of Production (London: The Open University), 1997

Source: du Gay ed, 1997

In term of the application of this framework, the most notable academic work based on this theory is the study on Sony Walkman (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, &

ideoscapes".

Negus, 1997). This research evaluated the cultural identity of Walkman by accessing four sites within the cultural circuit. In terms of “representation” practice of the Walkman, the authors included advertising posters and texts which reflected “various individuals, social groups, types of peoples and lifestyles” came to be associated with the representation of the Walkman (Ibid, p. 40). The production site explains the production ideology of Sony and how the company incorporated distinctive Japanese characteristics in the design of the Walkman. When discussing the consumption site, the authors argued the consumption of the Walkman has broken “the established classifications of public and private space” (Ibid, p. 120), which further linked to the regulation of Walkman in reconstructing the relationship between the public and private domains. Thus the biography of the Walkman proved the validity of the circuit in terms of “a theoretical model based on the articulation of a number of distinct processes whose interaction can and does lead to variable and contingent outcomes” (Ibid, p. 3)⁸.

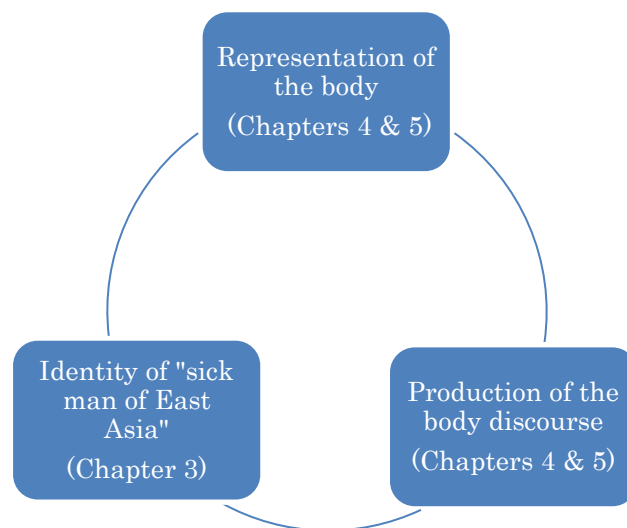
This framework’s adaptation in the field of sociology of sport by Jackson and Scherer proved its validity to serve as a solid theoretical and methodological framework to analyze an array of sports-related topics (Scherer & Jackson, 2008a; Scherer & Jackson, 2008b; Jackson, 1998).⁹ Their research also suggests that the circuit not only functions as a set of practices, but each site can become a critical

⁸ This part of discussion is presented more extensively in Ding and Thompson (2013).

⁹ Scherer and Jackson’s original notion is: “multimethodological frameworks associated with conceptualizations of a continuous circuit of culture can enable and facilitate critical analyses of the production, representation, and consumption of cultural products and social practices across a range of contexts” (Scherer & Jackson, 2008a, p. 521)

site of a sociological examination. Their co-authored paper on the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team emphasized the role of cultural intermediaries from the production site of the cultural circuit. In their paper the cultural intermediaries are “advertising, design and marketing” agents, who create “an identification between producers and consumers through their expertise in signifying practices” (du Gay ed, 1997, p.5). The research results highlight the cultural intermediary’s control over the contents of Allblacks.com to further promote “an elective affinity that includes corporate sponsors, media organizations, players, and the NZRU [New Zealand Rugby Union]” (Scherer & Jackson, 2008b, p.187).

Figure 2. The adaption of the circuit of culture in this dissertation



Source: Author’s Illustration

Thus this dissertation broadens the scope of the circuit of culture framework by extending it into the study on the discursive body in the backdrop of Olympics in China. In order to cover the time frame of the term “sick man of East Asia” (late 19th

century – 21 century), three sites within the cultural circuit becomes indispensable for a critical analysis of the term, namely identity, representation and production (see Figure 2).

The adaption of the circuit of culture in this dissertation begins by searching the identity behind the maxim “sick man of East Asia” from the late Qing Dynasty to 1990s, through documenting the social historic development of this term it offers a general positioning of the body within Chinese sports, data collection for identity site is presented in 2.2.1.

To evaluate the validity of the body image presented by the stereotype of “sick man of East Asia”, the next assessment of the term explored the discursive body in contemporary China by investigating the representation and production sites from 1984-2012. Representation data were gathered from two newspapers and production data were gathered from semi-structured interviews with sports journalists. More details on the data collection will be presented in the following sections of 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

2.2 The Circuit of Culture in Chinese Sports

2.2.1 Data on Identity

Data on identity gathers existing instances containing or relevant to the term “sick man of East Asia” in Chinese literary records. The author searched for the Chinese terms “sick man” (病夫) and “sick man of East Asia” (东亚病夫) during the time span

of late 19th century to 1999 in the following resources:

1). Shanghai Library Institute of Scientific and Technical Information of Shanghai:

- *North-China Daily News* digital database (Xujiahui Branch);
- The National Index to Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals (NICNP) digital archive
- *Xinmin Evening News* 1946-1999 full text disc
- *Wenhui Newspaper* 1938-1999 full text disc

2). *People's Daily* 1946-present database at Waseda University digital archive.

The result of this part of data analysis will be presented in Chapter 3.

2.2.2 Data on Representation

Data on representation of the body primarily comes from two newspapers: *People's Daily* and *Titan Sports*. To gather existing full text data on these two newspapers during the selected time period of 1984-2012, the following data sources were used:

- 1). *People's Daily* Digital Database (1942-2002) in Tsinghua University Library
- 2). *People's Daily* Complete Digital Database (1942- present) in National Library of China
- 3). *Titan Sports* 2008 Summer Olympic coverage from *Titan Sports* online E-version¹⁰: <http://e.titan24.com/ttzb>
- Titan Sports* 2012 Summer Olympic coverage from Longyuan Journal Database: <http://www.qikan.com.cn/>¹¹
- 4). Archives in Shanghai Library Institute of Scientific and Technical Information of Shanghai and Beijing Sports University Library.

¹⁰ *Titan Sports* E-version from October 1, 2007 - December 9th, 2011.

¹¹ *Titan Sports* E-version in 2012.

The data on representation gathered from *People's Daily* and *Titan Sport* are incorporated in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, in order to ascertain the validity of the concept of the “sick man” in the modern Chinese print context, a key word search was conducted within the two newspapers for articles and/or headlines containing the two most representative Chinese root characters for body: “身” (pinyin: *Shen*) and “体” (pinyin: *Ti*)¹². A comparative content analysis is applied to this part of the data to identify discourse patterns on the bodily description of Chinese and foreign athletes. More details will be given in Chapter 4.

2.2.2.1 Selection of Newspapers

For the choice of the two main newspapers for data on representation, this research used the combination of one government-led newspaper (*People's Daily*) and one municipally-based commercial newspaper (*Titan Sports*). Past research on the Chinese media landscape has established a distinction between national versus provincial media groups, which in print media is exemplified in a hybrid of national-level propaganda press groups and municipal/metropolitan-level commercialized press groups (Han, 2011, pp. 279-80; Wu, 2010, p.214; Scotton & Hachten, 2010). The combination of two newspapers is consistent with this current Chinese media structure and thus the data were gathered from both *People's Daily*

¹² This dissertation uses the adjectives “bodily” and “physical” interchangeably when referring to comparisons under these two Chinese characters.

(sports sections during the Olympics) and *Titan Sports*. The data was gathered from both electronic newspapers and paper archives.

People's Daily is one of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) leading print publications with a daily circulation of 2.3 million. Since 2009, the total number of pages in a given weekday issue of *People's Daily* has increased to 24 pages, with sports coverage on pages 15 and 16. In the 8-page Saturday issue, sports are on page 6, while there is no sports reporting in the Sunday *People's Daily*. Normal daily editions have one page on sports; during the Olympic period the newspaper increases its sports pages for more Olympics coverage. In 2009, the *People's Daily* sports department was established, further professionalizing sports reporting. However, according to Jing's research on *People's Daily*, despite the augmented layout of sports sections in the newspaper, the share of sports in the whole newspaper layout actually decreased by 20%. In addition, her research further identified that the *People's Daily's* sports reporting tends to focus on Chinese athletes and there seems to be a lack of attention to other countries in international competitions (Jing, 2012). Based on the above, it can be argued that the *People's Daily* conforms to the norm of Chinese national newspapers as representing the voice and attitudes of the government. The selection of this newspaper could shed light on the perception of the body from the mainstream, or in other words, the official government side of the discourse on body.

Titan Sports (also known as *Titan Sports Weekly*), on the other hand, is the best-selling comprehensive newspaper specializing in sports reporting in China with three issues per week and a weekly circulation of 5 million in 2006 (Wu, 2009), the

highest among sports newspaper in China. Established in Hunan province, and owned by Titan Media Group, it is under relatively less state control and targets mainly young Chinese males, primarily college students, and has built its prestige on successful marketing, exclusive news resources and versatile sports content (ibid, p.75)¹³.

2.2.2.2 Time period

The time period of the Chinese Olympic history that this research focuses on is from 1984 to 2012. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics were documented as the first time PRC took full participation in the Olympics (*Titan Sports*, 1984/07/14, Cover). The following three decades have witnessed China's active participation in the Olympics and achievement of remarkable success. China's Olympic engagement received full recognition with the successful second bid for the Beijing Olympics and the outcome of a spectacular sports gala to the world seven years later (Liang, 2007; Brownell, 2008, p. 187).

1984-2012 is described by the Chinese media as the Chinese Olympic age, as it marks the comeback of the Chinese in sport – an age of “Chinese athletic

¹³ The predecessor of *Titan Sports* was *Tiyu Zhoubao* (Sports Weekly), a province-based newspaper affiliated with the Hunan Province Sports Bureau. In 1988, *Tiyu Zhoubao* was re-launched under the name *Titan Sports* and embarked on a successful journey to become one of the most established sports newspapers in the nation (Liu & Zhai, 2007). Due to the combination of re-launching the newspaper under the name *Titan Sports* in 1988, and the disappointing performance of the Chinese Olympic team in the 1988 Seoul Olympics, limited issues of *Titan Sports* were published that year and no issues can be located in major libraries and research institutes in China.

renaissance” (Dyreson, 2008, p.916). 1984, in particular, can be viewed as a milestone in Chinese Olympic history, as most Chinese print media constructs the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics as the one to break the old adage of China as the “sick man of East Asia” with Chinese pistol shooter Xu Haifeng claiming the first ever Chinese Olympic gold medal; see Figure 3. When writing on the year of 1984, Chinese sociologist Dong noted:

The 1984 Olympic Games formed a great divide in China’s Olympic history. China, for the first time, sent a large delegation of 225 athletes to the games. The Chinese did not just break their ‘nil’ record in the Olympic medal chart; they won 15 gold medals.

(Dong, 2003, p.104)

The period of 1984 onwards features drastic economic and market reforms in China. This era was heralded by the 1978 “reform and opening up” policy, followed by the introduction of market economy in the 1990s by the then Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. The consequent improved economic status gave the Chinese government an impetus to improve China’s international sports performance, on the ground that it should be on a par with the nation’s rising international standing (Wu, 1999, pp.17-18). To reach this goal the Chinese government invested heavily in the sports industry as can be seen in Figure 3. Note the tremendous increase on public sports funding from 598.671 million RMB in 1984 to 1,462.762

Figure 3 Timeline of 1978-2008 Sport and Society in China¹⁴

	1978	1984	1985	1990s	1993	1994	2008
Sports milestones		Xu Haifeng claimed the first Olympic gold medal for China	Releasing the “Olympic Strategy”			Market maneuver was introduced in professional sports and the establishment of the National football Jia-A League	Hosting the Beijing Olympics and topping the gold medal chart
Society & Media	Reform and Opening up policy			Introducing Market Economy to regulate the domestic market	Increasing diversity of newspapers to cope with the cancellation of government subsidy		
National Sports Budget*	253.86 million RMB (40.14 million US Dollars)	598.671 million RMB (94.67 million US Dollars)		1,462.762 million RMB (231.31 million US Dollars)			

* The RMB (Chinese Yuan) is converted to US dollars based on the current exchange rate.

Source: Compiled by the author.

¹⁴ Source for the national sports budget (Dong, 2003, p. 14-15)

million RMB in 1990; and 2/3 of the sports funding went to elite/Olympic sports (Dong, 2003, pp. 98-105).

This policy was further enhanced by the establishment of the Olympic Strategy by the Society of Strategic Research for the Development of Physical Education and Sport in 1985 with an emphasis on the cultivation of Olympic sports, which served as a blueprint for the elite sports programs within China. All kinds of measures were taken to guarantee the priority of Olympic sports: for example, in the early 1990s the National Sports Committee (NSC) moved the national games to be held before the Olympics to serve as a preliminary round of Olympic candidates' selection. This action further guarantees the Chinese athletes' performance in the Olympics (Dong, 2003, p.122; Wu, 1999, pp.1-23). This prodigious governmental investment in Olympic sports bore fruit in the form of an accelerating medal achievement, which climaxed in the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Thus, the selection of this time period is academically valid in analyzing Chinese Olympic sports policy, performance and national ideology in the contemporary era.

2.2.3 Data on Production

To further interpret the representation result, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 Chinese sports journalists and 1 foreign journalist in the months of September, October, and December 2012 and January 2013. The interviewees come from print, radio, TV and web media that range from the national level such

as CCTV and *China Sports Daily* to municipal-level commercialized press groups such as *Xinmin Evening News* and CSPN. The journalists were mainly based in Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing, the first two of which are considered to be China's political and economic centers respectively, and thus are the primary locations for media groups. The last, Nanjing, is the capital city of the coastal Jiangsu province and a leading power among provincial-level TV centers. Especially following the nationwide success of the dating program *You are the One*¹⁵ aired by the Jiangsu Satellite Channel under the Jiangsu Broadcasting Corporation (Group), this show is reported to be the second highest in prime time television viewership among provincial channels¹⁶ (Jing, 2010, pp.56-58).

The interviewed journalists were mainly born post-1980, also known as *80-hou*(80 后) in Chinese, a popular term that appeared in the vocabulary of Chinese people in recent years describing a generation of youth that were born after the 1979 reforms. The *80-hou* journalists currently comprise the majority of Chinese media employees and represent a generation that is gradually receiving important posts in media and serve as the backbone of the current Chinese media industry¹⁷ (Li, 2009). This generation of Chinese journalists had the opportunity to study abroad and was more exposed to diverse cultural influences, thus is expected to reshape the Chinese media landscape by bringing a fresh perspective in news

¹⁵ Source of *You are the one*: <http://star.jstv.com/>

¹⁶ Jiangsu Broadcasting Corporation:
http://www.jstv.com/jsbc_en/corporation/about_us/index.shtml

reporting. Most interviewed journalists come from this age group. The background information of the interviewed journalists is provided in Table 1. The interview questions mainly regard the topics of coverage of Chinese and foreign athletes in the Olympics, media policy within their current company, and celebrity athletes such as Liu Xiang and Yao Ming. Each interview was roughly 30 minutes long and carried out in Mandarin or English. The interview audios were transcribed and excerpts were included in the result and discussion sections of chapters 4 and 5.

The results of the semi-structured interviews will be analyzed in detail in chapters 4 and 5. The interviews were conducted after partial completion of the content analysis, so some preliminary results from the content analysis were incorporated in the interview questions. Thus the interviews not only form the site of analysis on production but also become a site to further reflect on and explain the patterns emerging from the content analysis.

¹⁷ Reports on Post-1980s journalists group:
http://news.xinhuanet.com/zgjx/2009-11/12/content_12442523_3.htm
<http://news.sina.com.cn/m/2011-06-14/043122635304.shtml>

Table 1. Interviewees' demographics

Journalist	Company	Field of expertise	Work years (as of interview)
A	Sports TV Channel in Shanghai Media Group (SMG)	Sports TV production and editing	5 years
B	Sports TV Channel in SMG	Sports TV production and editing	5 years
C	German Radio ARD Shanghai Bureau	Radio journalist, announcer	13 years
D	ARD Shanghai Bureau	Radio producer, researcher	7 years
E	ESPN (Chinese) & China Sports lottery	Website journalist	4.5 years
F	CSPN (China Sports Programs Network)	Sports TV production and editing	5 years
G	Sina Sports; Sina Weibo	Website editor, sports events coordinator	5 years
H	China Sports Daily	Newspaper journalist Specializing in wrestling, weightlifting, judo	2 years
I	Leisure and Sports Channel in JSBC	Sports TV production and editing	2.5 years
J	Leisure and Sports Channel in Jiangsu Broadcasting Corporation (JSBC)	Sports TV production and editing, specializing in football, sports news	9 years
K	Leisure and Sports Channel in JSBC	Sports TV production and editing	5.5 years
L	Youth Daily	Newspaper and web journalist	5 years
M	CCTV (China Central Television)	TV journalist	9 years
N	Xinmin Evening News	Newspaper journalist specializing in Olympics, World Cup	9 years

Chapter 3. Mapping the Contemporary Chinese National Identity in the “Sick Man of East Asia”

This chapter documents the origin, arguments and transition of the term “sick man of East Asian” from late 19th century to the contemporary era. The investigation focuses on the growing attachment of this term from a general reference of the nation to a specific term within Chinese Olympic vocabulary. This part of the analysis maps the contemporary Chinese national identity via the lense of the “sick man of East Asia” and it serves as the founding basis of this dissertation.

Most of the previous research argued that the transition in the meanings this term embodies, and the escalation of nationalistic aggression that accompanied this transition, was a consequence of the term’s being inflicted on China by the West and Japan. Contradicting opinions have also been raised regarding the origin of this term, but they have not sufficiently argued against the dominant claim of its ancestry from abroad. However, past analyses were mostly based on the literary record of the term “sick man” from the late 19th century to 1910, but failed to document the semantic development of “sick man of East Asia” from 1910 onwards. Thus, this chapter explores the myth of this term by reviewing the semantic development of this body stereotype from “sick man” to its Chinese equivalent “sick

man of East Asia” from the mid-19th century to contemporary China, by summarizing the previous arguments regarding the actual origin of this term and discussing its long-lived popularity in Chinese sports. This chapter maps the identity formation process of the Chinese national sporting body through the development of the term “sick man of East Asia” and the underlying meaning which it entails; it will also serve as the entry point and basis of the following chapters to examine the contemporary body representation of Chinese elite Olympians.

3.1 The Origin of the Term “Sick Man” and Its Application in Rhetoric Context in late 19th Century China

The “sick man of East Asia” is a parallel phrase to the term “sick man of Europe” which refers to the weakening Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.¹⁸ According to the definition of “sick man” in the online Oxford English Dictionary:

sick man n. a term frequently applied, during the latter part of the 19th cent., to the Sultan of Turkey. Also fig., orig. applied to Turkey and hence to other countries, regions, etc., and in extended uses.

(Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2000)

¹⁸ Japan Knowledge Library, Retrieved from:
<http://japanknowledge.com.ez.wul.waseda.ac.jp/lib/en/display/?lid=40010RH159473000>

The first use listed by the online Oxford English Dictionary of “sick man” as a metaphoric term to refer to the condition of a nation first occurred in a registered history of a conversation between the Tsar Nicholas I and Sir G. Seymour in 1853. Tsar Nicholas I commented on the measures to be taken after the fall of the withering Ottoman Empire (Emperor) that: “I repeat to you that the sick man is dying; and we must never allow such an event to take us by surprise”¹⁹. The meaning of the term took off as a general reference of a certain country or region in decline or under a waning situation, and its application is not limited to a specific geographic area. Other countries that have been labeled as “sick men” in contemporary print coverage in English include Scotland, Philippines, Thailand or even the condition of the Euro²⁰.

Most documented records of applying “sick man” to refer to China appeared in

¹⁹ E. Cobham Brewer 1810–1897. *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. 1898.

Retrieved from <http://www.bartleby.com/81/15328.html>

²⁰ The New Sick Man of Europe: the European Union French Dispirited; Attitudes Diverge Sharply from Germans. Retrieved from

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/05/13/the-new-sick-man-of-europe-the-european-union/>

The sick man of the euro. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/209559>

Scotland - The Sick Man of Europe? Retrieved from

<http://learnenglish.britishcouncil.org/en/magazine-articles/scotland-sick-man-europe>

Lopez, Ron (Feb 18, 2014). "Aquino: Philippines 'Sick Man of Asia' no more". *Manila Bulletin*.

Retrieved from:

<https://ph.news.yahoo.com/aquino-philippines-sick-man-asia-no-more-125618190.html>

Yap, Karl Lester (May 28, 2014). "Thailand Risks Inheriting Asia's Sick-Man Tag on Unrest",

Bloomberg. Retrieved from:

<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-05-27/thailand-risks-inheriting-sick-man-tag-as-turmoil-taints-appeal>.

the late 19th Century, the Qing Dynasty, in both forms of English and Chinese. This is perhaps due to the condition of China in the late Qing Dynasty which faced a critical national crisis inside and out. Following defeat in the Opium Wars starting from 1839, a series of unequal treaties were signed and the nation faced serious political and economic turmoil (see Figure 4). The outbreak of wars with the West gave the Chinese a glimpse of modern European military arsenals and advanced scientific developments. This led some radical Chinese to follow suit and initiated several movements, the most notable being the Self-Strengthening Movement (洋務運動) from 1861-1895.

Figure 4. Timeline of the warfare and unequal treaties signed with China in the 19th and early 20th Centuries

Warfare	First Opium War	First Sino-Japanese War	Siege of International Legations
Year	1839/09/04-1842/08/29	1894/08/01-1895/04/17	1900/06/20-08/14
Unequal Treaties signed	Treaty of Nanking	Treaty of Shimonoseki	The Boxer Protocol

Source: Compiled by the author.

The ineffective Qing governance and the foreign powers' exploits in China, combined with other social and historical factors, resulted in the failure of the

national movements with the most notable being the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 (Li, 1992). The mid-19th century also witnessed the gradual deterioration of the nation. The weakening China also lost its influence in East Asia, the power fluctuation over the control of Korea finally lead to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (日清戦争) in 1894. This was followed by invasions by the UK, Japan, US and five other countries²¹ to pacify the Boxer Rebellion²² in Beijing in 1900. The consecutive defeat in wars and signing of unequal treaties with the West and Japan provide the historical background of this term, and perhaps further contribute to the alleged origin of this term from West and Japan in Chinese academic publications (Guo, 1999).

From the historic review, it is evident that the emergence of the term is a rhetorical reflection or description of the national condition in the late 19th Century China. In tracing the origin of “sick man” majority of research in China noted this term’s appearance in an English newspaper *North-China Daily News* (Feng, 2008; Li, 1987; Lin, 2012; Tan, 1985), a newspaper founded by British

²¹ Russia, France, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary

²² Boxer Rebellion: An anti-imperialist uprising lead by Chinese peasants at the end of Qing Dynasty from 1899-1901. The Qing government’s inability to pacify the rebellion led the government to seek help from foreign powers, which eventually became the Siege of International Legations in 1900 (Chen, 2013).

Source: *People’s Daily*

History today: <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/historic/0613/1939.html> accessed on 2014.01

auctioneer Henry Shearman and available in Shanghai from July 1st, 1864 to March 31st, 1951. It is the earliest English newspaper in Shanghai and the English newspaper with the longest publication period with prominent influence in the area. It was established as a supplement to *The North China Herald*, a newspaper also founded by Shearman (Min, 1983).

North-China Daily News followed the British newspaper style: its content mainly focused on reports and commentaries on the Chinese political situation and other current affairs. In 1872, it became the first newspaper in Shanghai to sign an exclusive contract with Reuters Far East office for news resources²³. Each issue contained four pages in total with the third page mainly on news, politics and commentaries. The first appearance of the “sick man” in the English language to refer to China was in an article titled “The Condition of China” by *North-China Daily News* on October 17, 1896. The beginning of the article goes:

China has long been the sick man of the Far East, but since the war all the world has seen for the first time how very sick the sick man is. That blithe omniscience of the Western Press (which led it to locate Kucheng in Szechuan, to speak of the Empress as a woman with bound feet, and to do many other funny things) deceived the world as to the strength of

China. It is a pity if poor China, over and above the other penalties, has to pay for our stupidity by loss of our sympathy. China did not deceive us; the war only revealed the rottenness which every honest observer knew to be there. The world sees these things in their true proportions now; Europe and Lord Wolseley are at present relieved from fear of a warlike, yellow, and innumerable host overrunning our Western civilization.

“The Condition of China”,

North-China Daily News, 1896/10/17, p.3²⁴

The possibility that the origin of the term “sick man of East Asia” could be located in this article stems from the author’s use of the terms “sick man of the Far East” and “sick man” to refer to the condition of China at that time. This “sick man” image also implied the frail Qing governance led by “a woman with bound feet”, namely the Empress Dowager Cixi.

Another issue of *North-China Daily News* that referenced this term was published a month later in a general commentary on current affairs on November 30, 1896. The content was based on a Reuter’s telegram and an article printed in

²³ Hou, L. Zilixibao Dansheng. [The birth of the *North China Daily News*]. *Chinese News Newspaper*. July 2, 2004. Retrieved from CNKI.net

²⁴ See a photocopy of the original article in Appendix A.

the previous month's issue of the *Economist*. The commentary contended that "there is very little reason for hoping or fearing that foreign affairs will lose their importance within any reasonable space of time." This contention was followed up with the notion of four "sick men," namely Turkey, Persia, China and Morocco, "whose condition causes a great deal of anxiety". In their comments on the Emperor of China it said:

The third sick man, the Emperor of China, is in a different position from the other two. His huge empire, with its swarming population, is not exactly disorganised, and has many elements in it which tend to permanent cohesion; but it is so incapable of the peculiar exertions required for war, that it is unable to resist any violent assailant. The Japanese, if left to themselves, would have conquered the whole of it for a time; and it is not doubted that a Russian, English, French, or German corps-d'arme, once within the frontier, could march to Peking, and dictate any terms its Government might please.

*North-China Daily News, 1896/11/30, p.3*²⁵

As can be seen in the previous excerpts, the terms "sick man" or the "sick man

²⁵ See a photocopy of the original article in Appendix B

of Far East” were used to refer to the condition of China and the weak Qing government that will collapse easily when facing foreign invasions. The foreign powers that wish to conquer China are Japan and “a Russian, English, French, or German corps-d’arme”. The aforementioned “Great Powers” together with the British ownership of the newspaper might lead to the wide belief in China that the term “sick man of East Asia” was a “disgraceful title” originating in the West and Japan.

Even though most Chinese academic literature referenced the above record of “sick man” in *North-China Daily News* as the origin of the term, earlier documents were already obtained by scholars which prove that the above articles are not the initial instances to refer to China as “sick man”. The term “sick man” was located in a commentary titled “China and Japan” published in *The Times* on April 23, 1895:

Indeed, if China does not recover from this great disaster and this cruel humiliation, if she does not enter upon the path of progress and reform, the goal of which is her own safety, Japan has obtained for herself a position so favorable as to be sure of being the inheritance of the new ‘sick man’ of the Far East.

"China And Japan", *Times* [London, England], 1895/04/23, p.5²⁶

²⁶ Source: *The Times* Digital Archive. 2013/09/15discours

The article discussed the division of China following China's defeats in the First Opium War and the First Sino-Japanese War. The notion of "the inheritance of the new 'sick man' of the Far East" commented on the measures Japan took to guarantee her profits in China, especially following the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Thus, it is evident that the use of the term in *North-China Daily News* was not the debut of "sick man" as a metaphor to refer to China in print publication. However, the low recognition of the above-listed earlier record of "sick man," and perhaps other unlisted earlier instances of "sick man," could be attributed to the influence of *The Times* being limited to the West and the negligence of some earlier research papers that gave credence to the proof found in *North-China Daily News*.

It can be concluded that at this stage, the term "sick man" refers to a country or region in decline, but its use is not limited to China. In addition, within the context of China, it refers to the country itself, but not the physical body of the Chinese.

About the same time, the term's Chinese equivalent "病夫" (*bingfu*, sick man) appeared in an article written by a Chinese national on March 1895 (Tan, 1985). Chinese scholar and translator Yan Fu (嚴復) used the term "病夫" (*bingfu*, sick man) to metaphorically refer to China in an article titled "原强" (*Yuan Qiang*) in

the newspaper 直報 (*Zhi Bao, Zhi Newspaper*) in Tianjin (Yan, 1997, p.522). *Yuan Qiang* was written after the defeat of the Sino-Japanese War and expressed Yan's concerns on the worsening national conditions and suggested that the way to save the "sick man" China is to implement national reform. The original content in the article where the term "病夫" (*bingfu*, sick man) appeared was the following:

蓋一國之事同於人身兮 夫人身逸則弱 勞則強者 固常理也 然使病夫焉

日從事於超距羸越之間 以是求強 則有速其死而已矣 今之中國 非猶是病夫也耶

[The condition of the nation is like the condition of the body.

Indulgence weakens the body and exercise strengthens the body.

If this universal rule is obeyed becoming a sick man will not be possible.

If we cannot strengthen the nation in the correct way, it will only quicken its death.

China today is rather similar to the condition of a sick man.]

(Yan, 1997, p. 522)

Yan Fu, also known as the author of 天演論(*Tiyan Lun, On Tianyan*), a book based on the translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and Charles Darwin's *On The Origin of Species*, is the first generation of Chinese to receive a

Western education²⁷ (Wang, 2004, p. 62). He was a loyal follower of the concept of “the survival of the fittest” (自然選拔說) (Bruce & Yearley, 2006, p. 60) and advocated a Social Darwinist approach to national and societal evolution (Bao & Pan, 1999). Yan promoted this approach as a means to initiate self-strengthening of the nation, and prevent Chinese national degradation from invasions by colonizers. In order to achieve the goal of strengthening the nation, he put forward a three-way reform proposal, namely: “鼓民力，开民智，兴民德”(enhancing the strength of the nation, developing people’s intelligence and improving people’s morality) (Wu, 2011, p. 196). This motto resembles a regulated body ideology that promotes the politicization and nationalization of the nation’s body in the late Qing Dynasty. The idea he tried to convey in the above quote was: the only way to save the nation is to implement a fundamental reform plan (namely his three-way reform proposal, particularly enhancing the strength of the nation); if the reform didn’t save the “sick man” China in the correct way, it would only hasten her death (Hu, 1994).

Summary

This section briefly reviewed the origin of the term “sick man” and its documentations both in the forms of Chinese and English in

²⁷ Yan Fu graduated from the Fujian Arsenal Academy and later was educated at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich, England during 1877 to 1879. He received knowledge in line with classic liberalism and social liberalism during his years in Europe. However, he was relatively more influenced by social liberalism, and proposed that the relationship between individual and nation is to give individual freedom as a means to propel social and national prosperity (Bao&Pan, 1999, p. 179). He became one of the earliest pioneers to introduce classic Western publications to China, and translated several notable economic classics into Chinese, including Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* and Herbert Spencer’s *Study of*

domestic/international rhetoric contexts in late 19th century. The early documents of “sick man” mentioned above have been discussed in the field of history, particularly regarding the origin of the term and who inflicted this shameful title on China. This point will be further elaborated in the next section.

3.2 Arguments Regarding the Origin of “Sick Man of East Asia”

Following the emergence of the term “sick man” in the late 19th century and the spread of this term in China over decades, academics started to investigate the claim that has been taken for granted by Chinese media and the general public, that this term originated in imperialist countries (the West and Japan) and was applied by them to humiliate the Chinese nation. Historian Yang Ruisong deconstructs the print representations of “sick man” from its initial appearance in 1890s to early 1900s. He argues that the initial usage of this term in the Western media did not connote any shaming factor, but was merely applied as a metaphoric term. Its initial adaptation by Chinese literati then was also treated as a positive incentive to encourage self-examination and to promote political reform to save the nation from national crisis (Yang, 2005, pp.1-32). Thus the “sick man of East Asia” acts as a “victimization narrative” which establishes the imperialist West as the villain who not only imported opium to debilitate the national physique, but was also responsible for this “original sin” of branding China a “sick man” (Yang,

Sociology (Hu, 1994; Wang, 2004).

2005, pp.33-34). Yang considers this narrative pattern as a means to invoke nationalism by constructing an imagined enemy who shamed the Chinese nation (Yang, 2000; Yang, 2005). This line of thought echoes Sinologist Lucian W. Pye's observation on self-imagined humiliation within the evolving Chinese nationalism:

“Nationalism in China has steadfastly involved hostility toward one or more foreign nations, whether it was to hate the British, denounce the “unequal treaties,” proclaim the May Fourth movement, or resist Japanese aggression.... Instead, to a large degree they have sought to detail the real and imagined ways in which China has been humiliated by others. There seems to be a two-edged quality about this emphasis upon humiliation: It should provoke the Chinese people to anger, and it should also embarrass, and therefore hurt, those who caused the humiliation.”

(Pye, 1992, pp.70-71)

Yang further claims that in the early 1900s this term underwent a semantic augmentation from referencing the nation to referencing the actual physique of Chinese people. He states that reformer and scholar Liang Qichao (梁啓超) criticized early marriage of Chinese led to unhealthy offspring, which together with opium consumption and various other facts have resulted in the physical deterioration of Chinese. Liang lamented that it was almost impossible to find a

healthy body within the 400 million population. Liang concluded with the desperate outcry that “the people are all sick men, it is no wonder that the country itself is a sick country!” (“嗚呼！其人皆為病夫，其國安得不為病國也!”) (Yang, 2005, p.21). This transition of the meaning of “sick man” appeared in the commentary series *On New Citizen* written by Liang Qingchao in *Xinmin Congbao* published from 1902-1906.

A similar point of view also appears in Huang Jinling’s book *History, Body and Nation: The Body Formation in Modern China (1895-1937)* (Huang, 2006). Huang provides an incisive explanation of the expanded meaning of “sick man” from nation to body; as he writes, “in the beginning there is not a close relationship between the body and national survival or the nation’s prosperity. To give the body a responsibility outside forced labor and taxation is a very contemporary decision. The main background reasons behind this transformation are the deteriorating national condition and failures of all kind of reformations”²⁸ (Huang, 2006, p.18).

These two viewpoints recognize Liang Qichao’s usage of “sick man” as a strong expression of Chinese elites’ concern over the condition of the nation’s deterioration, and a desperate outcry for self-awakening from within (Yang, 2005; Huang, 2006). This level of semantic development is an evolving ramification from

²⁸ Original text in Chinese translated by the author

recognizing the self as the “victim” to bringing forward the self-awakening spirit within the Chinese nation for national strengthening and reformation.

In contrast to Yang’s summary on the transition of this term, Japanese historian Takashima Ko points out that Yang’s argument can only be convincing under the condition that Westerners did not in fact consider Chinese as a “sick man” with weak physique. Takashima argues that Westerners did in fact regard the body of Chinese males as a marginalized genre of masculinity, and Chinese were forced to accept their nation’s condition as close to that of a “sick man”. Takashima constructs his argument from the theoretical perspective of Masculinity/Masculinities and reassessed the relationship between “sick man of East Asia” and sports. His findings reveal that the discourse of “sick man” is primarily founded under the condition that the concept of Western masculinity was regarded as the hegemonic definition of a healthy adult male. This is particularly the result of the introduction of modern Western sports to China in the early 20th century and the gradual acceptance of the “Western body” as the ideal body by Chinese²⁹. Using Mosse’s concept of “marginalized groups” (women, blacks, sick people, etc.) (Mosse, 1996), Takashima argues that in comparison to

²⁹ Takahashi based his arguments mainly on data gathered from the school journal published by

the established exemplar physical figure of a Western male, Chinese males were forced to self-locate themselves within the marginalized category of “sick man”. This self-location created a crisis of national distinction among Chinese nationals, who turned to sports as a means to regain masculinity (Takashima, 2013a; Takashima, 2013b).

Summary

The previous sections have traced the various sources attributed to the initial appearance of “sick man of East Asia” and summarized established arguments regarding the origin of the term and its nationalistic implications. The next section will further document the representations of “sick man” and “sick man of East Asia”, particularly its application in the sports related literature, in the years between 1920s-1990s, which is a time gap that most academic discussions have yet to address. This part of the analysis will complete the semantic transition process of the term “sick man of East Asia” from the Qing Dynasty to contemporary China, adding the missing link in explaining the complex nationalistic emotion, aggression and confusion that have been registered under this term.

3.3 The Continuation of “Sick Man of East Asia” in 20th Century

In order to gather existing instances of “东亚病夫” (“sick man of East Asia”) from 1920s to 1990s, the author searched several newspaper databases that covered the period. A complete list of instances containing “东亚病夫” (“sick man of East Asia”) in Chinese was located in the National Index to Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals digital archive in the Shanghai Library. However, most of these reference materials are only available in title and published year, and some of the full texts can't be further examined. Thus, the author analyzed the data available from 1920s to 1938 for the term “sick man of East Asia” in the National Index to Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals digital archive. For a more thorough search of the years of 1938-1999, the author searched for the key term “东亚病夫” in the Chinese newspapers *Xinmin Evening News* from 1946-1999 and *Wenhui Newspaper* from 1938-1999 using full text discs at the Shanghai Library. In addition, materials were also gathered from *People's Daily* 1946-present database at Waseda University digital archive.

Table 2 lists three instances identified in the National Index to Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals in the 1920s and 1930s which contain the terms “病夫” (“sick man”) or “东亚病夫” (“sick man of East Asia”). The first instance used “sick man” to refer to the actual physical condition of the nation; this reference was found

in the journal *Medicine Monthly*.

Table 2. The Usage of “sick man of East Asia” in 1920s-1938

Date		Title/Quotes	Translation
20s	1921	序二： <u>中華民國一病國也，東亞人民皆病夫也……</u> 医药月刊	The Republic of China is a sick country, and the East Asians are sick men. <i>Medicine Monthly</i>
	1925	论文： <u>论东亚病夫国之病</u> 绍兴医药月报	On the Sickness of the Country of Sick Man of East Asia <i>Shaoxin Medicine Monthly</i>
	1928	<u>論新詩質東亞病夫先生</u> 饮虹周刊	Questioning Mr. Sick Man of East Asia On New Poetry <i>Yinhong Weekly</i>
30s	1934	<u>我中华民族以文弱招东亚病夫之譏，由來已久。自學制革新，體育始在教育上佔相當地位。惟其設施僅限於學校，迄未普及社會大眾；即在學校，亦往往僅以選手比賽為目的，殊失體育之真義。《教育部長王世杰對於勤奮“體育業書”之讚美詞》</u> 勤奮體育月报 1 (11)	Our Chinese nation has long been called the Sick Man of East Asia. After the reform of education, sports start to play a relatively important role. <i>Qinfen Sports Monthly</i>
	1937	<u>[東亞病夫]，是歐美各國人士贈送我們的一個雅號，我們舉國上下，都應引為奇恥大辱，格外反省和惕厲的。《湖北省第八屆全省運動大會開幕宣言》</u> 湖北教育旬刊 1 (7-8)	Sick Man of East Asia, is a “nice” name given by Western people. Our whole nation should regard this as an extreme disgrace and reflect on ourselves <i>Hubei Education Periodical</i>

The second instance, which was also published in a medical magazine called the *Shaoxin Medicine Monthly*, is titled “On the Sickness of the Country of Sick Man of East Asia” and the term was used to refer to the nation in general. It can be assumed that within this medicine related journal the term was also applied to describe the physical condition of Chinese.

The third instance points to the novelist Zengpu who used “sick man of East Asia” as his pseudonym in creating the critical masterpiece *孽海花* (*Nie hai hua*,

Flower in a Sea of Sin) (Wang, 1981). *Nie Hai Hua* is considered to be roman à clef based on an original story written by Jin Tianhe (also known as Sai Jinhua), a courtesan who traveled abroad with her scholar husband. Zeng Pu converted the original story into an historical piece and “through the adaptation, transformation and rejection of elements from traditional chuanqi, ballads and novels dealing with the love between courtesans and scholars” created a dynamic picture of the social and political society back then (Yeh, 1990). *Nie Hai Hua* was published in series in the monthly magazine 月月小说(*Yue Yue Xiao Shuo*). Figure 5 is the first page of Chapter 5 of *Nie Hai Hua* under Zenpu’s alias name “sick man of East Asia” republished in 1943. Zeng pu also used this pseudonym in his other authored articles. Figure 6 shows the title page of “病夫日記” (Diary of Sick Man) which was written under the alias of “sick man of East Asia” and appeared in the magazine 宇宙风(*Yu Zhou Feng*) in 1935.

Perhaps it is through the popularity of Zengpu’s work in the 1930s and 1940s that the term “sick man of East Asia” gradually replaced the more concise “sick man” and became a unified expression to carry diverse meanings within the Chinese discourse.

Figure 5. First page of Chapter 5 of *Nie Hai Hua* written by Zeng Pu under the alias “sick man of East Asia”

155

歷史
戲劇
孽海花

東亞病夫原著
天寶宮人編串

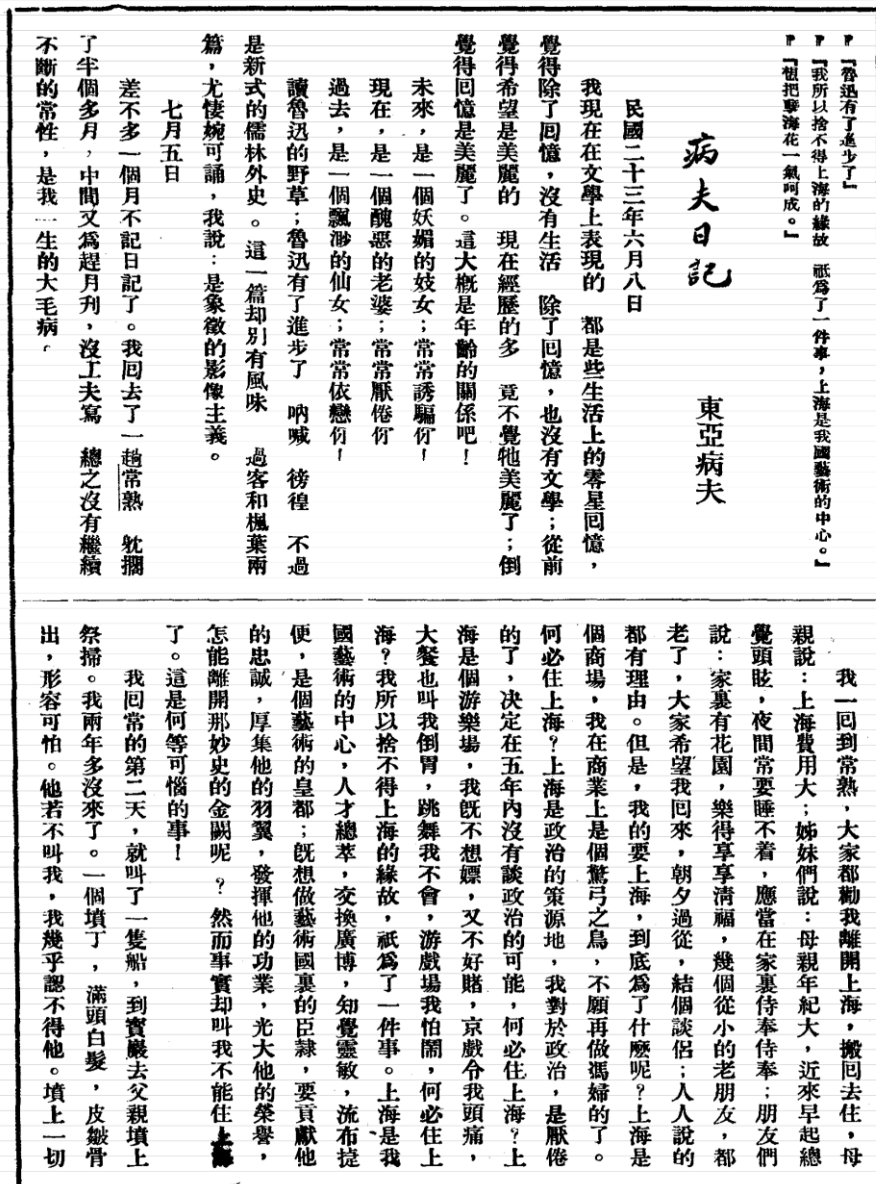
第五幕

(場面設素幔兩旁白對寫 范孟博立朝有聲爾母曰教子若斯我瞑目矣)
 (生扮黃叔蘭麻衣捧主上稽顙介) 伏帳後 (小生扮金髮青) 祝寶亭 (生扮錢唐卿) (何廷齋) 衣冠同上 (行吊介) 分立介 (丑扮莊壽香看對介) 你們看崙樵這付輓聯 好大口氣 (錢看搖頭介) 上聯還強勉 下聯不是人臣該說的話 (祝) 崙樵這種口角 都是惹人誹謗的 我看清流之禍 就在目前 (內場叫喊大人到) (淨扮臧命樵上) 雜扮衣冠二人相迎介 (臧作吊介) 見衆作揖介 恭喜諸兄 均秉玉尺量材 海內羣英 預祝盡收珊網 (衆白) 崙樵何處聽來謠言 (臧白) 方才在內廷親見硃諭 這事豈是外間敢亂說的 壽香先生 特達之知 另有一道諭旨 巡撫山西

孽海花
二七

Source: 月月小說 (Yueyue Xiaoshuo, Novel Monthly), Issue 19, 1943

Figure 6. "Diary of Sick Man" written by Zeng Pu under the alias "sick man of East Asia"

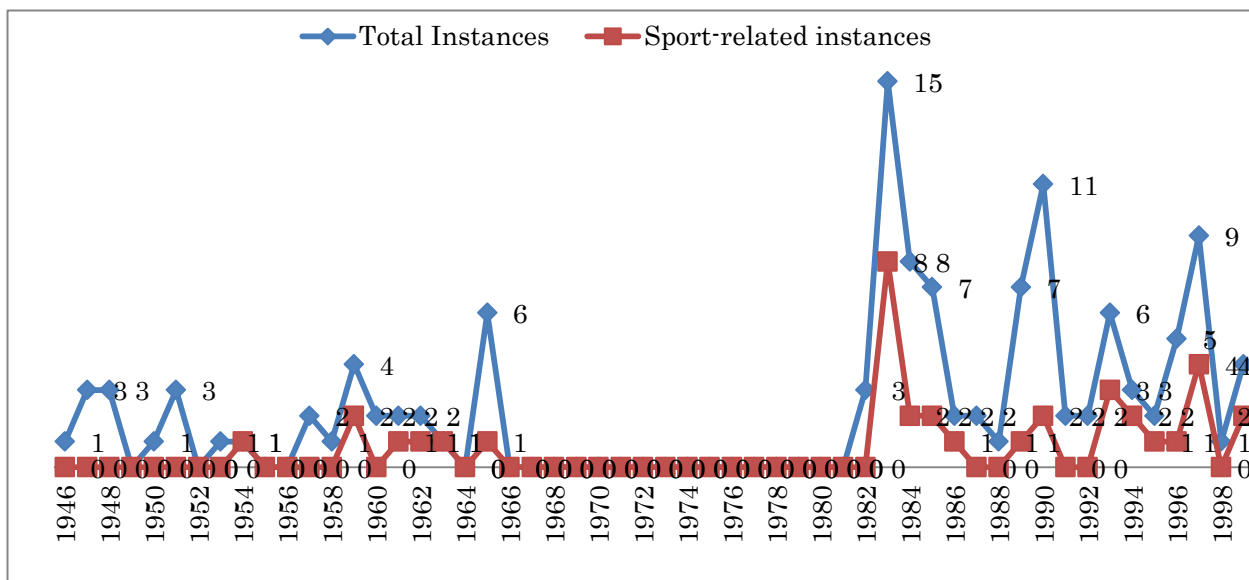


Source: 宇宙風 (Yu Zhou Feng), 1st Issue, 1935

The post-1930s witnessed a boost in the popularity of the term “sick man of East Asia” in the domestic media, with 30 identified instances in 1930s versus 10 identified instances in 1920s. The term was also used for various interpretations. In a quantitative examination of the term from 1930s onward, the key word search for “sick man of East Asia” found 123 instances in *Xinmin Evening News* from 1946-1999 and 179 instances in *Wen Hui Newspaper* from 1938-1999. An index of instances containing "sick man of East Asia" in *Xinmin Evening News* and some translated quotes can be found in Appendix C, and an index of instances containing "sick man of East Asia" in the *Wenhui Newspaper* and some translated quotes is presented in Appendix D. The instances relating to sports are highlighted in light green.

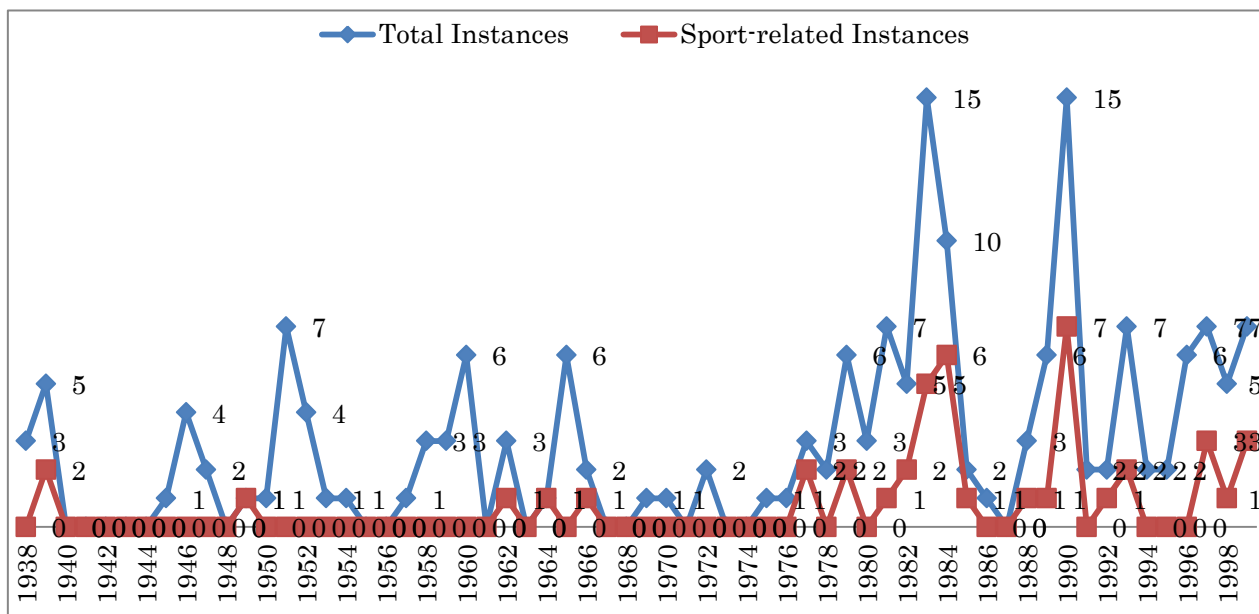
To analyze the distribution of “sick man of East Asia” during the time span of the two selected newspapers covers (*Xinmin Evening News* 1946-1998; *Wenhui Newspaper* 1938-1998) and its developing attachment to sports, the author computed the number of total instances containing the term in each year within the database and the instances relating to sport. Figures 7 and 8 summarize the findings.

Figure 7. The number of instances containing “sick man of East Asia” in *Xinmin Evening News*



As can be seen from Figure 7 the term was used moderately from 1946 to 1964 in *Xinmin Evening News* with a few cases ranging from 1 to 4 per year. Then no instance could be found from 1964-1981. The term had a comeback in the newspaper with 3 instances in 1982. Then the data witnessed a boost of the usage from 1982 onward with the highest number of 15 cases in the year of 1983. Judging from the trend line in figure 7, a clearer codependent relationship could be found between the total number of instances and the number of sport-related instances from 1982 onward.

Figure 8. The number of instances containing “sick man of East Asia” in *Wenhui Newspaper*



For the *Wen Hui Newspaper* in figure 8, the data of each year was more consistent with only an interval from 1940-1944 with no instance identified. A correlation between the number of instances and sport-related instances can also be seen from 1977 onward. Especially during the years of a major sports events such as the Olympic Games, Asian Games or the National Games, a surge in the number of instances can be seen in general and sport-related usage.

Within the articles containing the term “sick man of East Asia”, the usage of the term has come to be associated more closely with sports reports. This can be seen in 1983 (5S/15T; S: Sport, T: Total): the article “Expect the Sports Athletes to Achieve a New Height” (#97 in appendix D), for example, reports on athletes’ preparation for

the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. In 1984 (6S/10T) several articles documented the ground-breaking success achieved by the Chinese Olympic team and the exhilaration brought to the nation; see titles of “From “Zero” to “Zero”, “Proud, the Chinese Nation!” (#106 and 109 in Appendix D). In 1990 (7S/15T) articles were found dedicated to the successful hosting of the Beijing Asian Games and the achievement of the Chinese teams; see “Beijing Asian Games Glorifies the Whole Nation”; “Claiming Gold Medals Consecutively Honors National Dignity,” (#134 and 138 in Appendix D). In 1997 (3S/7T) articles emphasized the inspiration brought by the 8th National Games; see “Carry Forward the Spirit of the 8th National Games” and “A Healthy Senior’s Connection to the 8th National Games”(#164 and 166 in Appendix D). The 1988 Seoul Olympics were not particularly celebrated by the newspaper, perhaps due to the disappointing medal performance of the Chinese team when facing strong competition from countries such as the Soviet Union, rejoined the Games after boycotting the Olympics in 1984.

As can be seen from both Figures 7 and 8, the term’s connection to sports was more evident from the 1980s, corresponding to China’s enhanced performance at sports mega-events domestically and abroad. Thus, the next step of data analysis accessed the chronological development of this term which divided first by 1949, the year of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, and then the beginning of 1980s following the success achieved in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. This divides the timeframe into three periods of 1930s to 1949, 1949 to

1980s and the decades after 1980s.

The semantic development of “sick man of East Asia” from 1930s to 1949 includes the following:

1) The repetitive usage and claims within the media to identify this title as given by the “imperialist” West/ Europe/ Japan.

“Sick man of East Asia, is a ‘nickname’ given China by Western people.

Our whole nation should regard this as an extreme disgrace and reflecting and cautious of this matter on ourselves”

The Inauguration Speech of the 8th Provincial Games of Hubei Province,

Hubei Education Periodical, 1 (7-8) , 1937, (See table 2)

“No need to be sad but just remember, the country which invaded us is: Japan! We should think more carefully that the root of the humiliation has been planted decades ago, “sick man of East Asia” is the fatal wound of the torn apart families and ruined homeland.”

Zhou Heming, “Sports and National Defense (1)”, *Wen Hui Newspaper*,

1939.02.09 (See #6, Appendix D)

2) It was used in the print media in the spirit of self-awakening, self-mockery or sarcasm. This self-parody was captured in the cartoon titled “Long-term

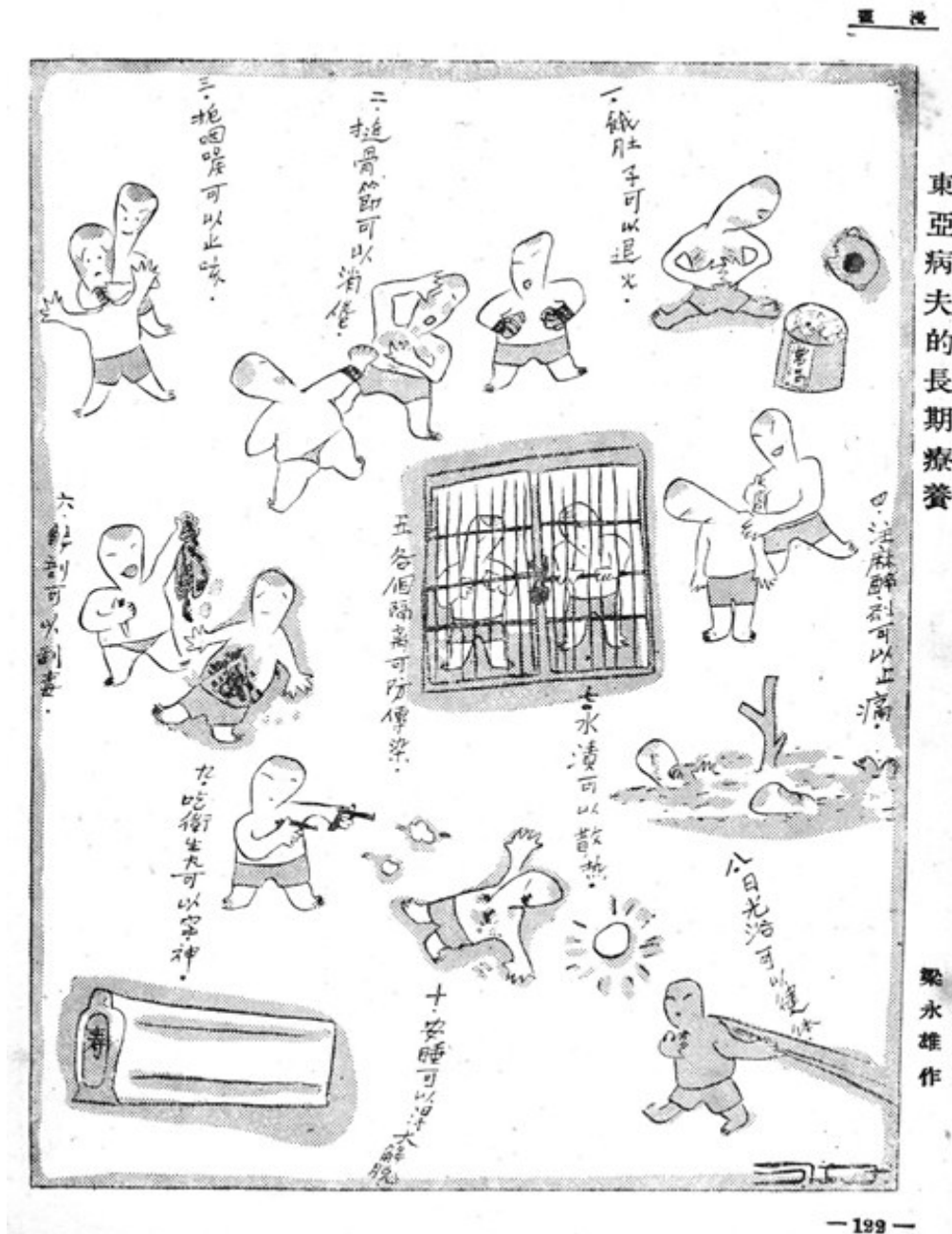
treatment for Sick Man of East Asia” published in 论语 (*Lunyu*) in 1936 (see Figure 9).

The ten principles pictured in the cartoon can be translated as follows:

1. Starvation is good for a fever
2. Knocking on the bone joints can get rid of fatigue
3. Strangling the throat can stop coughing
4. Inject anesthetic can eliminate pain
5. Separate people can prevent contagion
6. Dissection can remove poisons
7. Waterlogging can dissipate fever
8. Sunburn can strengthen the body
9. Eating naphthalene balls can quiet the nerves
10. Deep sleep is the final liberation

The 10 principles identified obviously unsuitable ways of treating sickness, therefore it presented a humorous and sarcastic image of the writer’s wish to discover a treatment for the sickness of his people, or even, the nation.

Figure 9 Liang, Y. Cartoon “Long-term treatment for the sick man of East Asia”



Source: Lunyu, 1936, p.99

3) To regard sports as a means to strengthen the body, and the sports arena as a field to replace the “sick man” image with a strengthened body image. This can be seen in this quote published in *Qinfen Sports Monthly* in 1934 (see Table 2): “Our Chinese nation has long been called the sick man of East Asia. After the reform of education, sports start to play a relatively important role.” This semantic undertone was also evident in the way Chinese print media published “evidence” in sports sections to prove the “sick man of East Asia” is sobriquet false. Figures 10 and 11 show two photographs that were published in the magazine *Health and Power* under the title “Wash away the humiliation of sick man of East Asia”. The revealing photos featured two Chinese body builders. The caption in Figure 11 reads as follows:

“Mr. Li Shoukang, 20 years old, arm measurement 15 inches, and chest measurement over 40 inches. His strong body is an exemplary figure of our nation’s youth”

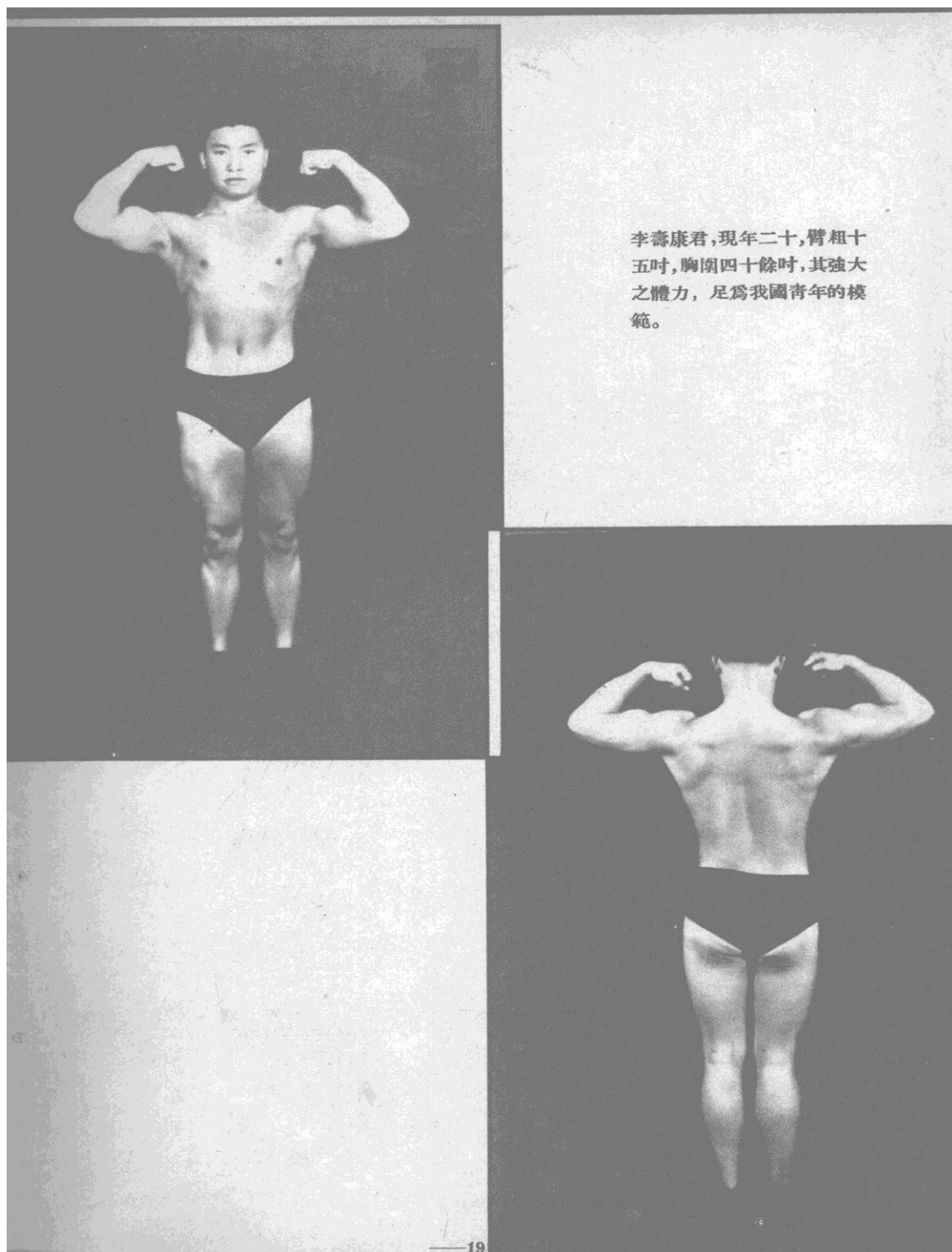
健与力,[*Health and power*], 1939, 1:2, p. 19

Figure 10. "Wash away the humiliation of sick man of East Asia" Page 1



Source: *Health and power*, 1939, 1:2, pp.18

Figure 11. "Wash away the humiliation of sick man of East Asia" Page 2



Source: *Health and power*, 1939, 1:2, pp.19

These examples highlight the link between this term and the actual physical condition of the Chinese people, and further underscores the importance of strengthening the nation's body in the sports arena by means of exercise.

Next the author considered the usage of the term "sick man of East Asia" from the establishment of the PRC in 1949 to the 1980s. During this period the term followed the main semantic directions of:

1) As an anti-Western, anti-Imperialist approach. This is seen in the claim that the title was given to China by the "imperialist West/Europe/Japan" and, occasionally, the feudalistic national government is also implicated. This approach is highlighted in this quote from appendix C (#9): "Sick man of East Asia' is a contemptuous term from imperialist countries. The 1949 Revolution and the Korean War have proved that the 'sick man's' endurance for hard work has far exceed the self-acclaimed 'master race of the world', the Anglo-Saxons." (Zhupu, "健康第一", [Health First], *Xinmin Evening News*, 1951/5/9).

2) To regard sports as a means to strengthen the body, and the sports arena as a field to regain national dignity; see quote from *Xinmin Evening News*: "Athletes like Liu Changchun, Fu Baolu... even though the nation lended grand support to them and the great effort they've invested to wash away the mud of 'sick man of

East Asia” (Yi Huo, “贺健儿”, [Congrats to the Athletes], 1962/9/16; Appendix C, # 26).

For the above analysis of the term “sick man of East Asia” from 1930s to 1980s, the research findings reveal that the first semantic meaning of the anti-imperialist/anti-West orientation remained a perpetual application of “sick man of East Asia”. However, from 1980s onward, its second semantic reference in sport made a gradual transition from regarding sports as a means to strengthen the nation to getting rid of the disgraceful title following the success of Chinese athletes in the sports arena. In short, instead of accepting the shameful title to apply to the nation, in the 1980s the domestic media representation starts to proclaim that the “sick man of East Asia” is a condition of the nation in the past, and a condition that has been conquered thanks to the leadership of the Party, the nation’s economic growth, and last but not least the triumphs in sports mega-events. The success of Chinese athletes is represented as having wiped out the disgrace brought by the term “sick man of East Asia” and re-established a new image. This new development of the term can be seen in the following quotes and more details can be found in appendices C and D.

“The image of ‘sick man of East Asia’ has been swept away by handsome athletes like Li Ning and Lang Ping. He turned into a ‘giant’, smiling, standing on the award podium, among the audience and throws his

flowers to us.”

Xinmin Evening News, 1984; Appendix C, #58

“Deng Xiaoping led us to the reform and opening up, helped our Chinese nation and Asians to get rid of the title of ‘sick man of East Asia’ ”

Xinmin Evening News, 1984; Appendix C, #102

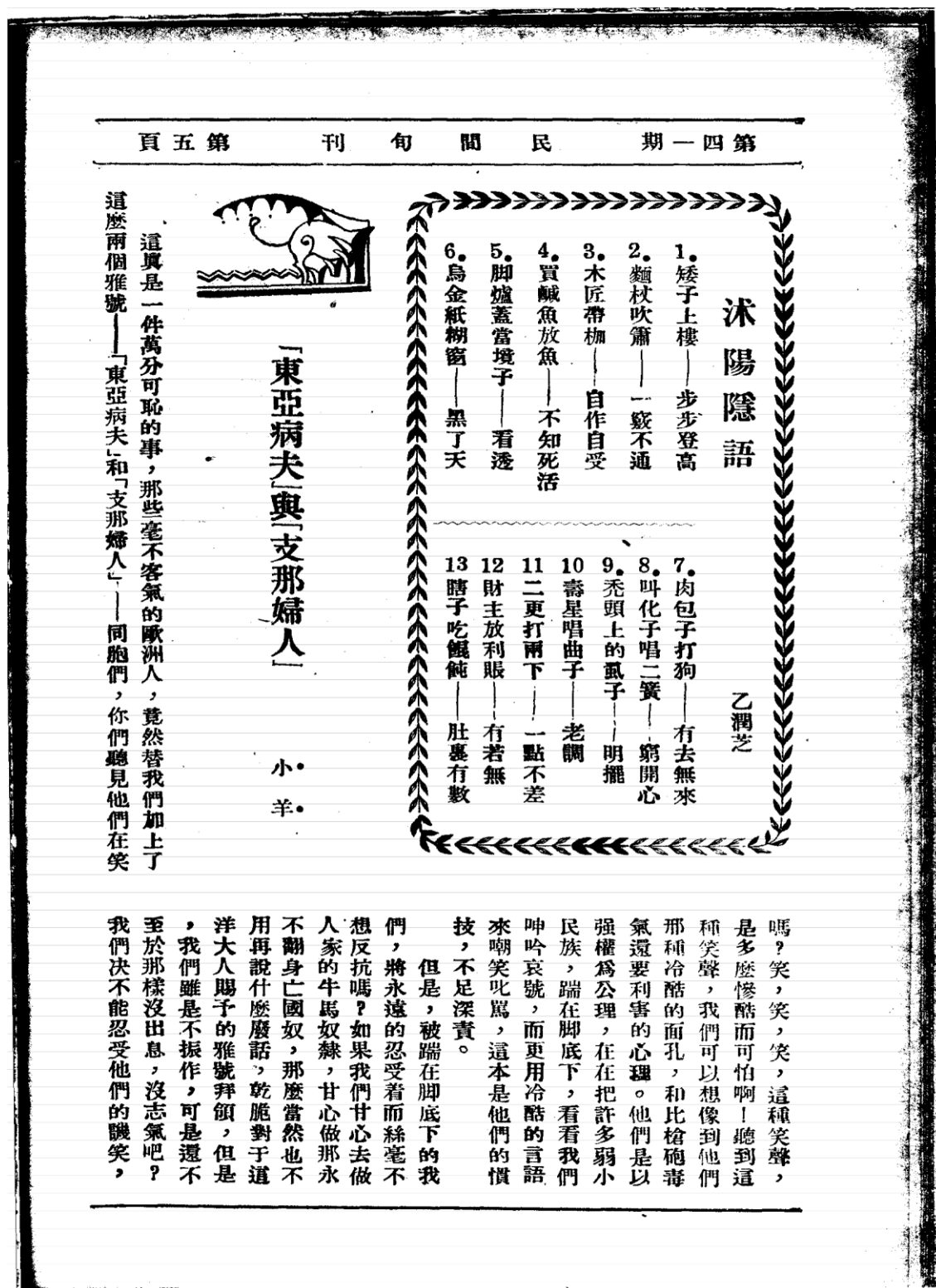
3.4 Conclusion

In the late Qing and early Chinese Republican times, there were other derogatory terms referring to China in the Chinese literary and media discourses. These terms include “shina women”, “sleeping lion” and “the Nirvana phoenix,” as can be seen in the following quotes (Feng, 2008):

“What a shameful thing, those ruthless Europeans give us names such as *sick man of East Asia* and *shina Women*. Compatriots, have you heard them laughing? Laugh, laugh, laugh, how cruel and scary is this kind of laughter! We can imagine their cold faces, and their psychological statements more vindictive than guns and poisonous gas. They use their power as self-evident truth, they step upon fragile nations, sneer at our agony, and they use their cruel language to jeer us, one of their common tricks again. ”

“‘Sick man of East Asia’ and ‘shina women’”, 民間旬刊,

Figure 12. "Sick man of East Asia" and "Shina women"



Source: 民間旬刊, [*Min jian Xun kan*], 1931, 41, p.5

However, unlike “sick man”, these terms gradually lost their popularity after a transient appearance and are unfamiliar to most Chinese today. The resilience of the term “sick man of East Asia” can be explained by the fact that following the nation’s self-awakening spirit after consecutive defeats in war and facing the critical national condition, the body was put under the spotlight, and strengthening the body of the nation became a fundamental basis for national reformation. “Sick man of East Asia” became a suitable term to apply under this timely concern.

This focus on the body was consistent with the introduction of modern sports into mainland China in the 20th century. The attention on the body propelled the dissemination of Western sports within the country; in the meantime, this adopted tradition became a means to strengthen and eradicate the title in the sports field. This phenomenon was evident in political statements (Chin & Yasui, 1989) and in media coverage on athletes’ body in popular Chinese discourse. The reason behind the long-lived popularity of “sick man of East Asia” is its natural attachment to the body and the nation, thus it became a loyal follower, in national discourse, of China’s Olympic participation in modern times.

The analysis of the development of “sick man of East Asia” unveiled a notable change from the self-perceived weak image to the gradual recognition of a strengthened body. Beneath this storyline, this part of the analysis detected a boost in the national confidence in reevaluating its body following the overall success in economic development and sports participation. This leads to examine the media representation of the physique of Chinese athletes to further verify this tendency. Thus, the next chapter attempts to compare the body representations of Chinese versus foreign athletes in eight recent summer Olympics. By extending the analysis to newspaper coverage of the eight Summer Olympics China has taken part in, the following chapter analyzes whether the growing success of Chinese participation in the modern Olympics confirms the reshaped image of the “sick man of East Asia”, and the reasons behind this phenomenon. It also explores modern China’s role in the world and its relations with other countries and regions through participation in the Olympics.

**Chapter 4. The Metamorphosis of “Sick Man of East Asia”:
Discourse of the Body in the Chinese Press Coverage of Foreign
and Chinese Athletes at the Olympics, 1984-2012**

*4.1 Metamorphosis of the Body? Locating Modern Chinese Elite Olympian’s
Body in the World Constellation*

Following Chapter 3’s historical review and discussion of the changes that the term “sick man of East Asia” has undergone and the initial positioning of Chinese national identity behind the term, the current chapter aims to expand our understanding of the body into China’s participation in the Olympic Games.

The work of Thompson (2004) and O’Donnell’s (1994) informed analysis of media discourse in mapping out the geopolitical and international positioning of a nation provides an appropriate departure point for this chapter in locating the modern Chinese national identity, and further on the development of Chinese nationalism from 1984 to 2012. The author first researched the representation of the body in Chinese media from 1984 to 2014, then analyzed the results from the production site, which corresponded to the results of the representation site. The results from the production and representation sites lead to a new section (4.2) in which the relative strengths and weaknesses of Chinese athletes in different

Olympic events is discussed.

Lastly, the chapter concludes with a summary on body politics and its nationalistic implications.

4.1.1 Representation of the Body from 1984 to 2012

The result of the representation site is based on the initial data which was gathered after the first screening based on the key word search of the Chinese characters for body, “身” (pinyin: *Shen*) and “体” (pinyin: *Ti*). The author then identified the comparative patterns on the body discourse between Chinese and foreign athletes.

In order to facilitate a close examination on the Chinese athletic body, it is necessary to distinguish Chinese athletes from foreign athletes. In the Olympic arena, there are athletes from over one hundred countries and regions. However, in order to continue our research on the “sick man of East Asia” stereotype and given consideration to its “origin” from the West and Japan, as well as the Chinese Olympic teams’ major opponents within the Games, it is efficient to further divide the foreign athletes group into Asian and non-Asian athletes. and code the results into the following categories: F, A, C.

1). “F” refers to non-Asian foreign athletes (mainly athletes from North America and Europe; due to this geographic distribution, this paper uses the term “foreign” and “Western” interchangeably when referring to F);

2). “C” refers to Chinese athletes (including Chinese athlete(s) representing foreign team(s)),

3). “A” refers to non-Chinese East Asian athletes (mainly from Japan and Korea).

The purpose of these categories is to look for the presence of the “sick man” stereotype in the modern context and identify the patterns of representation within the content. The “greater-than” (>) mark was assigned to athletes (teams) with positive bodily characteristics compared to their opponents. In particular, when a comparison was made between athletes by using descriptive (comparative/superlative) adjectives for the body, the author recognized the side that outweighs the other. For instance, when X athlete was addressed as physical stronger (更强壮, the adjective“更”means more in Chinese) than Y athlete, a greater than (>) mark would be assigned to X: $X > Y$. Conversely, the same mark was given when negative bodily characteristics are attributed to the opponent(s), such as when X athlete was addressed as physically inferior (体力无法相比, “无法相比” means non-comparable) to Y athlete, a greater than (>) mark would be assigned to Y: $Y > X$. The cases were counted by news article, regardless of whether a single news article contained multiple identical comparisons. The content analysis results were coded in the following categories:

$F > C$: Positive body attributes were ascribed to foreign athletes in comparison to Chinese athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to Chinese athletes.

“Team competitions have revealed a gap between our teams and strong teams from Europe and North America. From experience and technique to physique (身体素质), Chinese women’s basketball is lacking (in comparison). ” (*People’s Daily*, Women’s Basketball, 2004/08/25, B11)

C>F: Positive body attributes were ascribed to Chinese athletes in comparison to foreign athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to foreign athletes.

“Yao Ming fully brought his advantageous height (身高) into play, and prevented the Spanish team from scoring in the key.” (*Titan Sports*, Men’s Basketball, 2008/08/13, A2)

C>A: Positive body attributes were ascribed to Chinese athletes in comparison to other Asian athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to other Asian athletes.

“The girls from the Chinese women’s volleyball team in competition with Japanese team enjoy advantages both in height (身高) and mentality”. (*Titan Sports*, Women’s Volleyball, 2012/08/07, A14)

A>C: Positive body attributes were ascribed to other Asian athletes in comparison to Chinese athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to Chinese athletes.

“(Chinese) women’s basketball team is led by veteran players, limited in their physical strength (体力), and lacks new players. The men and women’s soccer teams lag behind Japan and Korea in terms of technique, strategy and physical fitness level” (*People’s Daily*, Commentary on Basketball, Volleyball and Soccer, 2012/08/09, B18).

F>A: Positive body attributes were ascribed to foreign athletes in comparison to non-Chinese Asian athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to non-Chinese Asian athletes.

The South Korean team also suffers from a height disadvantage (身高). Led by veteran player Jin Haozhe, it has lost to Sweden by 2-3 after a hard five rounds of competitions. (*People’s Daily*, Men’s Volleyball, 1988/09/18, B4)

A>F: Positive body attributes were ascribed to non-Chinese Asian athletes in comparison to foreign athletes, or negative body attributes were ascribed to foreign athletes.

“As the Olympics’ host, the British are helpless in front of the Koreans, disadvantaged in terms of physical combat (身体对抗). Yet another challenge for the British is: facing the physically stronger and more powerful (身材力量) Koreans, the British cannot achieve a good position in combat” (*Titan Sports*, Men’s soccer, 2012/08/05, A25).

C>C: Positive or negative body attributes were ascribed to Chinese athletes in

comparison to other Chinese athletes.

“Compared to her two younger team mates, Xian Dongmei does not have any advantage in terms of age and body (身体), but she has a lot of experience competing and a good understanding of the sport, as well as a strong will.”(*Titan Sports, Women’s Wrestling, 2008/8/11, A12*)

A>A: Positive or negative body attributes were ascribed to non-Chinese Asian athletes in comparison to other non-Chinese Asian athletes.

“This is an absolute defeat. Soni’s (Soni Dwi-Kuncoro, Indonesian) defense and offense... were inferior to Lee Chong Wei (Malaysian), and he was also inferior (to Lee) in his steps, physical capacity (体能), movement and speed.” (*Titan Sports, Battle between the Kings, 2008/8/17, A11*)

F>F: Positive or negative body attributes were ascribed to foreign athletes in comparison to other foreign athletes.

“Volleyball: The tall and strong Dutch team led by Salinger enjoys advantage over the net, but is still undeveloped in their technique and strategies. The French team is relatively shorter in height (身材) and disadvantaged over the net. After four sets of hard competition, the French were defeated by the Dutch by a score of 1-3. (*People’s Daily, Men’s Volleyball, 1988/09/18, B4*)

Other: Body comparisons were made; however the locus of positive/negative characteristics was unclear in the text.

“This is a fierce combat between European and American basketball styles, in front of the opponents with equally excellent physicality (身体素质), American players cannot fully bring their personal skills into play. Instead, (the game) brings out their impatient temperament”. (*People’s Daily*, Men’s Basketball, 2000/09/30, B4)

The content analysis yielded the following outcome as shown in Table 3: a combined total of 353 cases are found to compare the physical attributions of the athletes within coverage from selected Chinese newspapers. The author first added the F and A categories together as a general foreign (non-Chinese) group and found out that more cases were found to ascribe foreign athletes as physically superior to Chinese athletes than the other way around: 139 cases of $[F+A>C]$ versus 94 cases of $[C>F+A]$.

Within the category of $F+A>C$, the vast majority of comparisons was made between Western athletes (F) and Chinese athletes, with 138 cases of $F>C$ versus only one case of $A>C$. For the opposite case of $C>F+A$, there were 57 instances of $C>F$ versus 37 instances of $C>A$.

These results reveal a general tendency to describe foreign athletes as physically stronger than Chinese athletes; the data conforms to the common perception within China that the stronger body of athletes from North America and Europe allows them to physically dominate Chinese Olympians. In contrast,

the Chinese athletic body is not considered to be inferior to fellow East Asian athletes within the media discourse, which is evident with 1 case of A>C versus 37 cases of C>A.

Table 3. Number of cases in each category

	F>C	C>F	C>A	F>F	C>C	A>A	F>A	A>F	A>C	Other	Total
People	46	11	12	2	1	0	11	0	1	8	92
Titan*	92	46	25	48	6	1	21	3	0	19	261
Total	138	57	37	50	7	1	32	3	1	27	353

*People: *People's Daily*; Titan: *Titan Sports*

In terms of comparison frequencies, the main comparison was made between Western athletes (F) and Chinese athletes as can be seen in Table 3, with 138 cases of F>C and 57 cases of C>F. The third most frequent comparison was made between foreign athletes (F>F, 50), followed by 37 cases of C>A and 32 cases of F>A. One case was found to compare Asian athletes. Comparisons between Chinese and western (F), as well as, Chinese and Asian athletes (A) took the majority of the cases at 233/353 (66%).

The above pattern was consistent in both newspapers. However, in terms of each newspaper, the frequency and versatility of the types of comparisons was more pronounced in *Titan Sports* than in *People's Daily*, as highlighted in Table 3. This discrepancy probably lies in the limited share of coverage on sports in comprehensive newspapers such as *People's Daily*.

Titan Sports, on the other hand, has gradually increased its publishing frequency and page layout following its market success in the 1990s. During the

selected Olympic period the initial *Titan Sports* newspaper was only published on every Tuesday in the year of 1992. From 1996 *Titan* retained its publishing schedule but increased the number of pages with a special Olympic issue: Olympic Weekly (奥运周刊). During the Sydney Olympics it was published on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays; each edition contained three sections of A (Olympic Homepage, 奥运主页), B (Olympic Ballgames, 奥运球刊) and C (Olympic Magazine, 奥运杂志) that zoomed on different angles of the competition. Since the 2004 Athens Olympics, the newspaper was published daily during the Olympics.

Compared to the versatility of a specialized sports newspaper such as *Titan*, a limited number of cases were located in the comprehensive daily newspaper *People's Daily*. In terms of comparison types, it revealed a dominant tendency of addressing foreign athletes as physically superior to Chinese athletes. This can be seen in the percentage of F>C among all the comparisons made in *People's Daily*. 50% (46/92) of all coded articles described foreign athletes (F) as physically stronger than Chinese athletes. In *Titan Sports*, the category F>C only comprises 35.2% (92/261) of the total number of comparisons.

Figure 13. China's Olympic medal achievements from 1984-2012³⁰

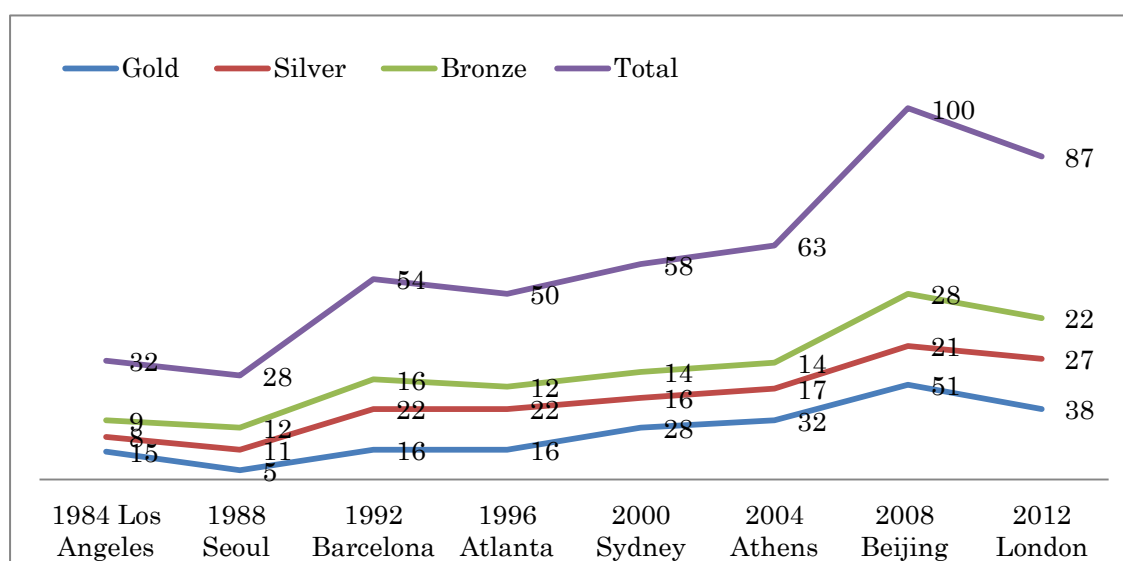


Figure 13 demonstrates the medals achievements of Chinese Olympic performance from 1984-2012. The numbers of combined total and gold medals climaxed at the Beijing Olympic when it was the host city. The medal performance of the Chinese team suffered a fallback in the year of 1988 Seoul Olympics following the comeback of the former USSR and some Eastern European nations that did not participate in the previous Olympics. Chinese Olympic team in the subsequent Olympics enjoyed a successive increase in terms of medal achievements. It is interesting to note that the Chinese Olympic team's medal performance corresponds to the number and distribution of body comparisons in the Chinese press as demonstrated in the following figure.

³⁰ Data for the figure is based on following resources:
 Net Ease Olympics <http://info.2012.163.com/> accessed on 2012/09/01
 Sina Olympics: <http://match.2012.sina.com.cn/> accessed on 2012/09/01
 Medals chart of Chinese Olympic Team 1984-2012, from *Titan Sports*, 2012/08/13, A06

Figure 14. Combined results of bodily comparisons in *People's Daily* and *Titan Sports* by year and type³¹

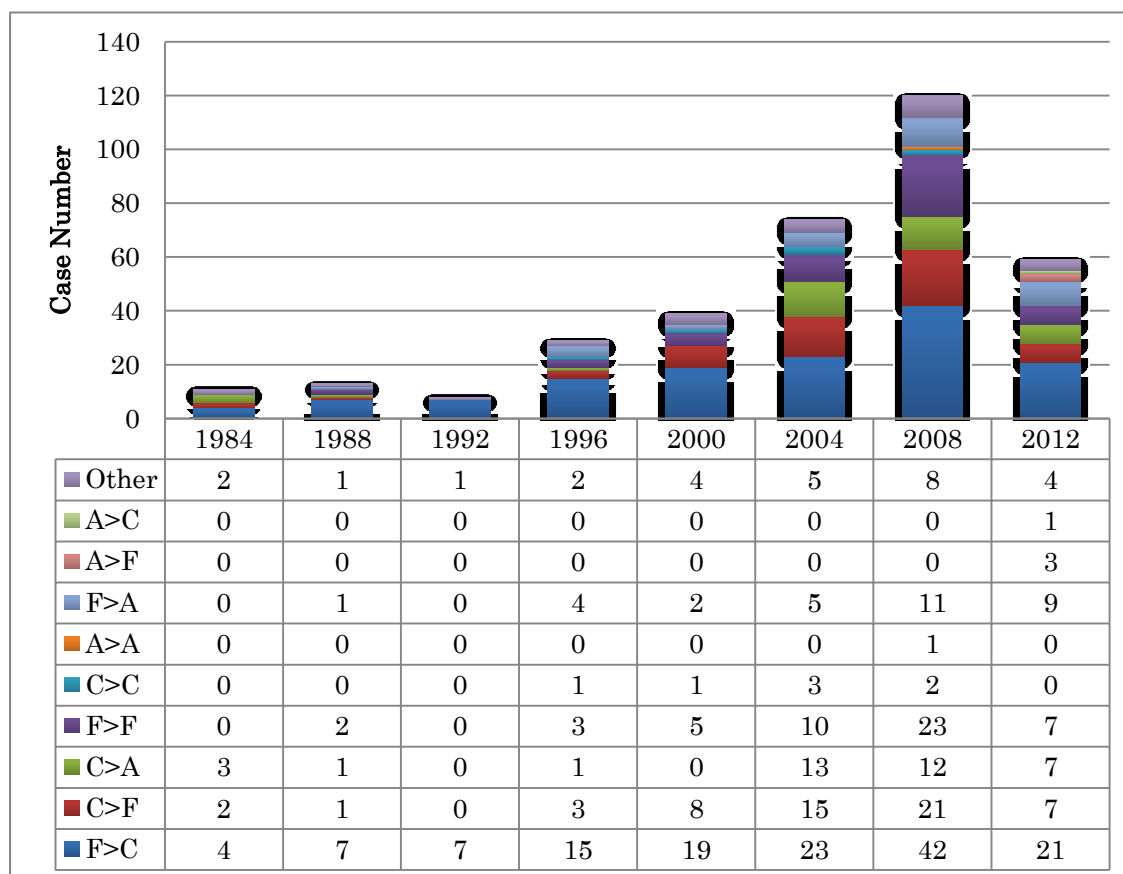


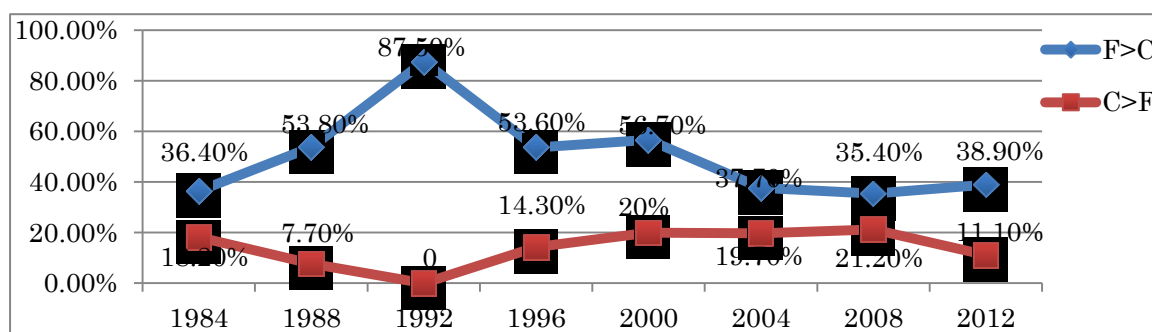
Figure 14 is the combined results of body comparisons in *People's Daily* and *Titan Sport* by year and type, in each of the Olympic years from 1984 to 2012. The total number of comparison cases increased gradually in each Olympics, corresponding with the increasing medal count. The combined total number of cases peaked in 2008 Beijing Olympics and had minor fallbacks in 1992 and 2012 as

³¹ 1988 Seoul Olympic issues of *Titan Sports* were not available in China. *Titan Sports* was based on *Titan Weekly*, the regional sports newspaper in Hunan Province, China. In 1988 *Titan Weekly* reformed and became *Titan Sports* today. The first issue of *Titan Sports* was launched in 1988,

shown in Figure 14. The fallback in 1992 is due to the limited Olympic issues published in that year by both newspapers. As stated earlier, *Titan Sports* published once a week in 1992, but increased the volume from 1996. 2012 followed the peak of coverage on Beijing Olympic for which China was the host nation.

The total number and variety of the comparison categories substantially escalated from 1996 onward. This is mostly due to the marketization of print publications after the end of government subsidies. In 1984 Los Angeles Olympics the object of physical comparison was only found between Chinese versus Asian and Chinese versus foreign athletes. C>F started to appear for the first time in *People's Daily's* Olympic section during the 1984 Summer Olympics.

Figure 15. Ratio of cases of F>C and C>F to total number of cases



In search of the athletic positioning of the Chinese body (C) against foreign athletes (F), the author further divided the case number of F>C and C>F with the annual total. The combined percentage of cases of F>C and C>F can be seen in

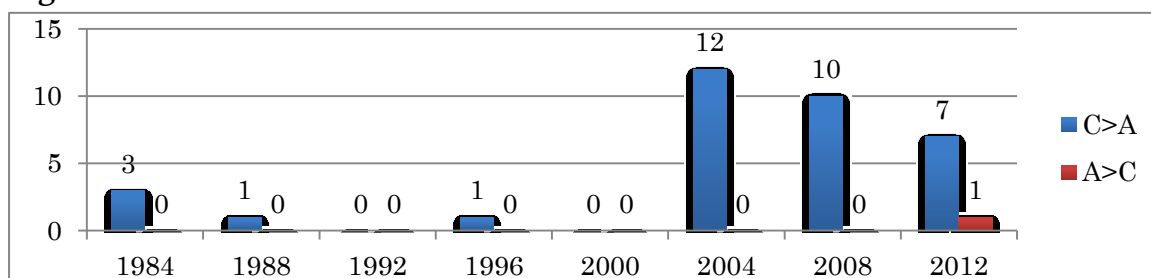
however, no newspaper record of 1988 could be found in any major, local libraries and the *Titan* newspaper publisher in China.

Figure 15. Due to the limited coverage available in 1988 and 1992³², and judging the trend from 1992 onward, it is obvious to see that in terms of Chinese athletic physique, the number of matching cases have revealed a decline in the percentage of cases of F>C, and a substantial increase of percentage of C>F following the successive Olympics from 1996 to 2012.

Especially, the impact of hosting the Olympics in this ongoing process has a sufficient influence on the share of F>C and C>F. This further confirms the effect of the Olympic Games to glorify the nation and raise national sports enthusiasm, which further enhances national confidence. This can be seen as the percentage of F>C fell to the lowest number of 35.40% and the percentage of C>F received the highest ratio of 21.20% in the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Considering the quantity of coverage in each Olympics, the output of the Olympic coverage is steadier after 1996. Thus, it would be fair to assume that the pattern of comparisons is more valid after the 1996 Olympics. Thus it is accurate to conclude that to a certain extent the weak “sick man of East Asia” image of the Chinese, which casted in contrasted to the superior western body, was still valid in the media discourse, though with a gradual decreasing presence since the mid-1990s.

³² No newspaper record of *Titan Sports* can be found in any major and local libraries and the Titan newspaper publisher for 1988. Limited Olympic issues were published in the year of 1992 by *People's Daily and Titan Sports*.

Figure 16. Number of cases of C>A and A>C



The final stage of analysis targets the Chinese body representation versus Asian athletes (A) as shown in Figure 16. It is clear to see that the majority of cases are listed in the category of C>A, the number peaked in 2004 with 12 cases and received the first A>C in the 2012 London Olympics. This was found in a comment in *People's Daily*: "Male and female football athletes fall behind Japan and Korea in all aspects of technique, strategy and physicality" (*People's Daily*, B18, 2012/08/09). The London Olympics is also the Olympics when other East Asian athletes were first addressed as stronger than foreign athletes with three cases of A>F. The data revealed that when body comparisons were made between Chinese and other Asian athletes, a strong tendency of superiority could be observed in physical attribution to Chinese athletes, as can be seen in the number of the cases of C>A. It is interesting to discover that whether winning or losing to a fellow East Asian athlete(s)/ teams, the Chinese athletes always stand firm in their superior physical representation. The following is a comment from *People's Daily*:

Japanese women's football team developed their physical strength. The only advantage Chinese women's football team has now is height. Now,

the Japanese women's football is even stepping forward, as their technique has surpassed Chinese; they eliminated China in the Olympics.

People's Daily, B9, 2008/08/19, Commentary

Thus to conclude the first segment of analysis on the body representation in Chinese media in answering the initial inquiry on the "sick man" phenomenon of Chinese athletes in comparison against the West and Japan. The discourse pattern has shown that the "sick man" image is still valid in terms of contextual comparisons, notably with Western athletes, though with a gradual decreasing presence. While in judging the discursive pattern of physical comparison between Chinese and Asian athletes, the notion of Chinese athletes being physically inferior to East Asian (Japanese/Korean) athletes was never prevalent in the modern Olympic period of 1984-2012. To a certain extent, the representation of the Chinese athletic body has metamorphosed toward a more positive and stronger physical presence through participation in the modern Olympics.

4.1.2 Results of the Interviews on Representation

This discourse pattern conforms to a certain degree with the ideology that operates in the media production process. The author interviewed fourteen journalists on their perceptions of Chinese versus non-Chinese athletes. The

interview questions for this chapter mainly consist of two aspects: 1) The comparison between Western and Chinese athletes' body types in the production of Olympic media coverage; 2) The comparison between East Asian and Chinese athletes' body types in the production of Olympic media coverage.

Regarding the first inquiry, most sports journalists refrained from offering a general definition of which side is stronger, but gave examples of competitive sports such as basketball, football or track and field, where there is an acknowledged physical gap between Chinese athletes and Western athletes, as can be seen in the following quote:

In terms of height and weight, I don't think the Chinese athletes differ much from those from Europe and North America, but the big differences lie in the criteria of muscle type and muscle power. The simple case to support this point of view is none of the Chinese basketball players playing for NBA dare to challenge the key, during the games. Yao Ming's position required him to enter the key, but after a short time his body cannot take it; this is a matter of physical stamina.

Journalist B

In terms of answering the second inquiry regarding the body representation of East Asian athletes, the interview results also correspond to the results of the

content analysis, namely that Chinese athletic physical ability is better; or enjoys a minor advantage in terms of height and weight; or no less about the same level with fellow East Asian athletes. This conclusion is reached under the commonality in some specific sports genres as highlighted in the following quote:

There are many sports at the Olympics and they are suitable for people coming from different ethnic backgrounds, physical condition and sporting talent. We are certainly not comparable to western athletes for pure competitive sports under the umbrella of athletics, such as track and field as well as swimming. I think it is reasonable to compare China, Japan and South Korea; there is not much difference in terms of physical rivalry within the athletes from these three countries.

Journalist K

When exploring the reasons for China's Olympic triumphs and their relation to the possibility of an advancing physical presence, an interesting idea that rose from the journalist responses was the idea of the "gene pool". The concept of the so called "gene pool" is based on the thinking that the immense population of China makes athletic selection possible on a grand scale. This opinion is highlighted in the following quote:

I think the Chinese athletes who passed the final selection must be

innately better than Japanese, Korean, Indian or Pakistan athletes. This is pre-determined by our population. Perhaps our average physical condition is not considered ideal, but with this grand population and national selection system, we can find natural athletes that are far better than others. Take Sun Yang [a Chinese swimmer] for example. He is 1.98 m tall and perfect in all physical indexes. He can only be found within a massive population. A great talent like him would be difficult to find in small countries like Japan or Korea. So I think no matter how limited Chinese innate physical condition is, it is not a problem. Like basketball, despite the short height of Chinese, we can find Yao Ming who is taller than every American player. To select a couple of flexible [basketball] prospects over 2.1 m is not difficult. I think China has a big advantage in this regard.

Journalist D

It is worth mentioning that this idea was put forward by a journalist working for a foreign media company, whose main reporting topics are not sports-specific. However, all the sports journalists in the following interviews refuted this idea, as highlighted in the following counter argument

Theoretically speaking, the 1.3 billion Chinese population is a big pool of talents, but if we are looking for a professional sports talent, first the candidate should have potentials then he or she needs to go through

meticulous, serious and scientific training to reach a certain competitive level. Also in a competition the person who claims the gold might not be the most competitive candidate; there are so many factors that influence athlete's performance which may include weather, psychological condition, social factors, luck, injuries, etc.

Journalist K

Most objections come from the fact that although China has a large population, there is still a limited number of registered athletes and lack of motivation for Chinese youth to be involved in professional sports. In addition, as stated in the above quote, there are various factors contributing to the final performance of athletes. However, it cannot be denied that this strand of thinking might be prevalent among a substantial number of people in China.

One interesting development within the interview results is the division of body type in association with the characteristics (physical versus skill-based) of various sports. This includes, on the one hand, the emphasis on a superior physique in competitive sports such as football and basketball and the aforementioned perceived disadvantages of Chinese athletic body in this regard. On the other hand, most interviewed journalists tend to emphasize the advantage of Chinese (Oriental) athletes' petite body in sports that celebrate qualities of skill, dexterity, flexibility and intelligence, such as table tennis, badminton and tennis. This development within the interview results lead to a investigation on the

characteristics of Olympic sports, in regard to perceived distinctions and compensations established by the unique Chinese athletic physique.

4.2 Distinctions and Compensation in Chinese Olympic Sports

Following the previous section's discussion, it is important to introduce several concepts that are vital in the evaluation of Chinese athletic ability in relation to the body. All these concepts are cited frequently in the media's coverage on Olympic sports in China, as well as, during the interviews with journalists on the production site of the Olympic discourse. They are *Daqiu* (大球, big ball), *Xiaoqiu* (小球, small ball) and *Mengzhidui* (梦之队, dream team). The first set of concepts is *Daqiu* and *Xiaoqiu*. In Chinese dictionaries, the definitions of *Daqiu* refer to team sports such as football, basketball, volleyball and handball, etc. (Deng, 2010, p.538); and *Xiaoqiu* to individual sports such as table tennis and badminton (Ruan & Guo, 2009, p.1090).

As indicated in the Chinese characters Da (大, big) and Xiao (小, small), these two terms are directly associated with the sizes of the balls utilized in the competition. However, behind the direct visual image, there is another lineage of political ancestry, social impact and modern sports phenomenon in China underlying the two terms.

The ideas of *Daqiu* and *Xiaoqiu* are connected to the strong and weak ties

within the current Chinese sports landscape, as the majority of Chinese would concede that *Xiaoqiu* sports are the leading Chinese sports in the Olympics. These include table tennis, badminton and the rising status of tennis, golf and snooker³³, see in this quote from *Titan Sports*: “In these types of [*Daqiu*] sports, Oriental people’s power cannot compare to Occidentals, we are more suitable to participate in *Xiaoqiu* sports (*Titan Sports*, A2, 2008/8/18, *Meizhongbuzu sanda qiu*).

Xiaoqiu sports have also been regarded as a major compensation for the Chinese physical “handicap” when facing strong competitors such as the USA. The Chinese media has rendered the American team as undefeatable, especially when facing physical combat with US athletes (*Titan Sports*, “尽人事听天命”, [Fighting US], 2012/7/27, B11; *Titan Sports*, “瞄准第二, 瞄准捷克”, [Aim for the second, aim on Czech], 2008/08/10, A28). However, facing the strong opponents from the U.S., Chinese Olympic team seems to be able to maintain its medal standing by succeeding in *Xiaoqiu* sports. (See Figure 17 and the following discussion of 梦之队 [Dream Team]).

In terms of political impact, *Xiaoqiu* sports also served an active role in establishing international relations in the early years of the PRC and became the catalyst that led to the normalization of the diplomatic ties between China and the US in the famous “ping-pong diplomacy”³⁴.

³³ Article: Xinhua News Agency’s Review of Chinese sports in 2013
Xiaoqiu Sparks Daqiu Dims: <http://sports.qq.com/a/20131215/003682.htm> accessed on 2014/02/20

³⁴ Article: Mao Zedong and the Reunification of the nation:
<http://dangshi.people.com.cn/n/2013/1104/c85037-23425576.html> accessed on 2014/01/25
More details in page 9 of the introduction chapter.

Following the grand success of *Xiaoqiu* sports in China, discussion has been put forward in the Chinese sports circle on the concern that the dominance of *Xiaoqiu* sports in China has resulted in an unbalanced structure of sports, namely the prevailing popularity of *Xiaoqiu*, and as a result limited attention and support given to *Daqiu* sports. This division within the Chinese national sports landscape presents a peculiar case that is on the contrary to the sports structures of majority countries. That is to say, in comparison to *Xiaoqiu* sports, *Daqiu* sports such as football or basketball are more competitive thus secure a substantial stable viewership. The profits behind the *Daqiu* games attract more investment and attention,

However, the overpowering success of *Xiaoqiu* sports in China has created a rather bizarre distinction in Chinese sports, which is further enhanced by governmental investment. This approach determines the future landscape of Chinese Olympic sports and sports-for-all as more Chinese parents strategically engage their children to practice *Xiaoqiu* sports³⁵.

³⁵ Sohu Sports Feature on the “bubble crisis” of Chinese Sport:
<http://sports.sohu.com/s2010/jrtt200/> accessed on 2013/07/11

Figure 17. “Dreamy 200 Gold medals” 2012.08.11 Ao8 Titan Sports



Note: Indicators from left to right: Diving, Weightlifting, Gymnastics, Table Tennis, Shooting, Badminton and Others

Another concept that share certain similarities with *Xiaoqiu* sports is the concept of *Mengzhidui* (梦之队, Dream Team), which refers to the sports in which Chinese teams are unrivaled and contribute the most to the Chinese Olympic achievements. These sports are considered to be: diving, weight lifting, gymnastics, table tennis, shooting, and badminton³⁶. In figure 17 from *Titan Sports*, the six Chinese Olympic dream teams account for 76% of the 200 gold medals China has achieved in the past Olympics.

In light of these three unique Chinese sports concepts that further divide the sporting strength recognized within the nation, it is interesting to explore how body comparisons were located within the established sports categories. Table 4 is the allocation of body comparison within types of sports in *People’s Daily* and *Titan Sport*, 1984-2012. As the table shows, *Xiaoqiu/Mengzhidui* sports (highlighted in blue) were generally not subjected to the primary body comparison in selected

³⁶ The underlined sports are considered to be *Xiaoqiu* sports.

newspapers. No bodily comparisons were made at all in coverage of diving and shooting, and comparisons were infrequent in the coverage of other *Xiaoqiu/Mengzhidui* sports, as the numbers reveal: weight lifting (1 case), gymnastics (4 cases), table tennis (11 cases), and badminton (8 cases). On the other hand, physical comparisons were more prevalent in team sports or *daqiu* sports (highlighted in green), such as basketball (144 cases), football (100 cases) followed by the individual sports of swimming (33 cases), volleyball (30 cases) and track and field (22 cases). Thus it is fair to conclude that bodily comparisons are more evident in the media representation of *Daqiu* sports and a minor criterion in *Xiaoqiu* sports. Regarding the ratio of comparison categories within different types of sports, the shares of F>C in basketball, football and volleyball are 38.19%, 42% and 36.67%. In contrast, the percentages of C>F in the above listed sports are 20.83%, 3% and 6.67%.

Compared to the ratio of C>F in football (3%) and volleyball (6.67%), basketball received a relatively high ratio of C>F (20.83%). The main reason behind this phenomenon is celebrity impact. Out of the 30 cases of C>F made in basketball, Yao Ming, former NBA star stands at 2.29-meter contributed 14 of them, comprising almost half (46.7%) of the total share of C>F. It is obvious that when bodily comparison is made in *Daqiu* sports, the main comparison type would be to address foreign athletes as physically superior to Chinese athletes.

Table 4. The allocation of body comparison within types of sports in *People's Daily* and *Titan Sport*, 1984-2012³⁷

Coverage	Types of Comparison											
	Sport	F>C	C>F	F>F	C>A	F>A	C>C	A>A	A>F	O	A>C	T
Basketball	55	30	28	12	5	0	0	0	0	14	0	144
Football	42	3	14	14	20	0	0	3	3	1		100
Swimming*	12	5	1	2	7	0	0	0	6	0		33
Volleyball	11	2	3	11	3	0	0	0	0	0		30
Track&Field	7	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	5	0		22
Table Tennis	6	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0		11
Badminton	1	1	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0		8
Gymnastics	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		4
Weightlifting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		1
Tennis	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
Fencing	2	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		8
Rowing	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0		8
Judo	8	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0		13
General	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0		8
Hockey	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		8
Boxing	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0		7
Handball	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0		2
Water Polo	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
Taekwondo	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		4
Beach	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		2
Volleyball												
Wrestling	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		4
Sailing	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		3

*Including Synchronized swimming

Source: Author's tabulation

The above results reveal that in the representation of Chinese athletic success, the body played floating roles within Olympic sports with marked distinctions. The strength of the Chinese athletic body is not subjected to much comparison with foreign athletes in sports that are recognized as *Mengzhidui* sports, namely

³⁷ Some news items refer to more than one sport thus difference might apply in combined total with previous table.

the aforementioned diving, weight lifting, gymnastics, table tennis, shooting, and badminton. In the meantime, in team sports such as basketball or football are the main subjects for bodily comparison, and the Chinese sporting body was treated as a physical handicap that should avoid direct combat with foreign players and overcome by smartly utilizing the Chinese physical characteristics, as indicated in the following quote:

The Chinese body type comes off a bit short on average, even compared to Greeks, not to mention athletes from Germany, Norway, Central Europe or Scandinavia. The Chinese athletes are chosen based on mass selection and stand out in their height among average Chinese. However, most of them are just close to the average size of a European and North American. If Chinese want to make a difference in competitive sports, we must break the fatalist theory that race determines everything. Whereas height and weight are not our strength, Chinese athletes should make more effort to be fast, swift, and display flexibility [in competition]. To exceed in teamwork and fighting spirit, not just to pick big athletes to catch up with others.

People's Daily, "Don't compare your shortcomings", 2004/08/21, B10

The analysis on the quantitative data revealed the tendency to assume that Chinese Olympians are innately inferior in physical combat with foreign athletes. This, combined with the factors of not receiving high quality coaching, limited

ability to improvise within competition, discouraging personal performance and individuality by their coaches, and lack of investment in sports, are all said to have contributed to the disappointing performance of *Daqiu* (team) sports in the Olympics³⁸.

In essence, combined with the result of body discourse, it is fair to suppose in the Chinese media representation the above sports share a symbolic commonality on the emphasis on height, strength, and power. These qualities are assumed to be more associated with foreign (Western) athletes in Chinese news coverage in the media discourse and Chinese athletes compensate for this physical handicap by their advantages in petite size, swiftness, superior technique, intelligence, and confidence. This notion is highlighted in the following quotes from *Titan Sports*:

I said to MA Yuanan and women football players, the natural advantage of Westerners lies in their physical strength, and our Oriental people's asset is our intelligence. They are raised by beef and milk, and we are by rice and water; of course we cannot compare to them physically.

“No good prospects for the girls”, *Titan Sports*, 2000/09/20, C4

³⁸ Article: The treatment of Daqiu and Xiaoqiu Sports in China:
http://sports.sohu.com/20100516/n272127143_1.shtml accessed on 2013/07/11

During the interview with Pan Zhichen (fencer) he said: “I always stand firm in my belief that Chinese are very suitable for fencing. Because Chinese can move swiftly, (we are) smart, intelligent and can respond quickly. You can see, besides China, Korea is also doing very well (in fencing).”

“Breakthrough to catch up with the dream teams”, *Titan Sports*,

2012/08/05, A13

However, within *Xiaoqiu* sports the body is either not subject to comparisons in the media representation, or the petite physical type is rather celebrated as an advantage. This emphasis on the petite size is prevalent in authoritative direction from the sports governing body to the training drills designed for Chinese body type within several Olympic sports teams.

The Chinese national sports governing body released the Olympic Gold Medal Strategy, which emphasized sports with the characteristics of “swift, petite, water sports, as well as, individual sports” ([It is not good to just combine our strength], *People’s Daily*, 2008/08/13, B6). This strategy reflects the view that Chinese athletes can compensate for their physical “handicap” against foreign players by their advantages in their petite size and swiftness. Thus a set of skills that best celebrate these qualities was practiced in Chinese Olympic sports: “Based on the

characteristics of Chinese body type, the Chinese diving team invented the technique to control the entry into the water. This is our unique method to succeed.” ([Six sports contribute to 70% of the gold medals], *People’s Daily*, 2012/08/10, B18).

Based on the distinctions between *Daqiu* and *Xiaoqiu* sports that divided the strength and weakness of the sporting body, the interviewed journalists offered several opinions that mapped the current sports landscape in China. Some journalists conceded that in terms of physical criteria, Chinese athletes are not lagging behind in the criteria of height and weight, but still cannot compare in terms of muscle power and type. It has also been suggested that the physical gap is more or less a matter of lack of attention and scientific training schedules, as can be seen in the following quote:

The reason we think that the physical strength of Chinese, of Asians, is weak, is because we don’t pay attention to training for physical strength and don’t regard this issue with a scientific attitude.

Journalist L

The responses also offer the explanation that the popularity of the *Xiaoqiu* sports that permeate China might have to do with the nation’s sporting culture and tradition; a similar sports pattern that has been conceded to be in commonality among East Asian nations such as Japan and Korea, as the following quote indicates:

Chinese and Asian athletes emphasize more on sports that rely on technique, such as archery and Taekwondo in Korea, wrestling and judo in Japan, and table tennis, badminton, and gymnastics in China. The reason behind the success of these sports has to do with national sports traditions, not the criteria of the body.

Journalist K

To conclude the second segment of discussion on the body discourse, it seems that behind the previously established result of the comparisons, sports categories such as *Daqiu*, *Xiaoqiu* and *Mengzhidui* sports further divide the strength of Chinese athletic power. Within the current Chinese Olympic sports structure, the body is recognized as a “handicap” in *daqiu*/team sports that needs to be compensated with superior technique, intelligence, hard work, and stable mental state. The same token is considered an asset in *Xiaoqiu* sports where Chinese athletes enjoy a great advantage in terms of body type and strength.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 The Construction of the Body and Its Nationalistic Reflections

As suggested by previous research, the Olympic Games are “a microcosm of society, reflecting past, present, and foreseeable societal and cultural changes” (Lee, 1992, p.216). In light of the Chinese sporting stereotype “sick man of East Asia” and in search of the reasons behind its modern application and in verifying the validity of

the weak “sick man” image, content analysis and semi-structured interviews were conducted for this purpose. The result tends to suggest that coverage of the eight Summer Olympics has documented a tendency towards a more positive, stronger Chinese elite Olympian’s body image in the Chinese media discourse. This can be seen in the declining comparisons in the number of F>C and increasing number of C>F. This orientation was consistent across both newspapers, but most obvious in the Chinese Party publication *People’s Daily*.

The media discourse revealed a certain level of consent of commonality shared among East Asian athletes’ body types. However, when physical strength was compared, the Chinese athletes are always deemed to be stronger. The result of the interviews with journalists has partially confirmed this orientation in the media. If the stereotype of “sick man of East Asia” sets the tone of a rather fragile physical image, the discourse of the modern Olympics in China has proven it to be a false alarm. In the media representation of Chinese elite Olympians, the “sick man” is getting stronger in terms of how the body was addressed in comparisons.

This improvement is mostly achieved in sports events that emphasized physical strength and qualities, namely *Daqiu* sports (team sports) such as basketball, football and volleyball etc. The comparison was not so pronounced in individual sports that contribute greatly to the Chinese Olympic success such as table tennis, diving and shooting, etc. This result conforms to the existing norms that Chinese athletes are good at sport events that emphasize technique and dexterity, as well as, women’s and light weight class events. This is a partial

outcome of the Olympic strategy initiated in the mid-1980s (Wu, 1999; [Sydney expedition, where is the breakthrough], *Titan Sports*, 1996/08/13, Front Page). In terms of the compensation for the physical handicap against foreign athletes, the Chinese sports coverage emphasized the petite physique, superior technique, intelligence, dexterity, and confidence that have contributed to the success of the Chinese athletes.

Table 5. The relationship between international sports and international relations

International sports	International relations
Small Japanese athletes	The small country Japan
Large foreign athletes	Large foreign countries
Physical power	Abundant natural resources
Athletic competition	Economic competition through trade
Skill and technique	Technology
Hard training	Hard work
Emphasis on spirit	Devotion to work

Source: (Thompson, 2004, p. 109)

Previous research has suggested that the narrativeness of mega sports events belong to a larger discourse, which underpins the relations between nations (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell, 1993; O'Donnell, 1994). Based on a content analysis of the usage of the term “*pawa*” (a loan word from the English term “power”) in Japanese newspapers, Thompson (2004) proposed the following relations in mapping out modern Japan’s role in the world. It is suggested in table 5 that the representation of the athletes in terms of size, performance and strength correspond to the reflection of the nation’s self-imagination, geo-political positioning and national

strength.

The same token cannot be applied to China given the differences within geographical and geopolitical conditions of the two countries. So what is the implication behind the “sick man of East Asia”, who seemed to redeem himself in the modern Olympic arena, via the lenses of the construction of the athletic body? This inquiry requires a revised approach to analyze the data at large and considers the specific social historical context of China.

In contrast to the discourse pattern of exploring geo-political location of a nation as highlighted in O’ Donnell’s and Thompson’s research, this study revealed that most research on Olympics in China seemed to emphasize the impact of the Games in presenting, reflecting, constructing and transforming the nation (Xu, 2008; Brownell, 2008; Lu & Fan, 2014), especially the political, social, cultural and national impacts it brought, and in reflecting the nation. Amidst this evolving process, the dominant power recognized underlying this movement is nationalism.

Following the footsteps of previous research, the sports arena has been transformed into a major site to record the trajectory of the power struggles within the nation over decades, reinforcing, creating and reflecting nationalism in contemporary China. This continuing movement is documented in Lu and Fan’s (2014) recent work on Chinese nationalism. The authors defined the primary power struggle during the past century (1912 to present) is in the form of China versus foreign countries.

Table 6. The transformation of Chinese nationalism and the role of Sport

Time Period	The Theme of Nationalism	The Type of Nationalism	The Role of Sport
1864-1895	Self-strengthening	Political	The promotion of Western militarized gymnastics
The Hundred Days Reform (1890s)	Self-strengthening	Political	The promotion of modern sport and physical education
The Boxer Movement (1899-1901)	Anti-foreign Nativist	Ethnic Cultural Religious	Wushu directly served the uprising
The 1911 Revolution	Self-strengthening Anti-imperialism Anti-colonialism Anti-Manchuism	Ethnic Civic Political	Modern sports were promoted by the nationalists and directly served the revolution
The Republic of China Era (1912-1949)	Anti-imperialism Anti-colonialism Self-strengthening Anti-Japanese Class Struggle Liberalism	Political Ideology-constructed Cultural	Military physical education, mass sport and competitive sport were promoted Wushu flourished Nationalism was reflected in and consolidated by international sports competitions
1950s & the early 1960s	Self-strengthening Anti-imperialism	Ideology-constructed Political	The promotion of mass sport and elite sport Sport was promoted to serve national defense
The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)	Self-strengthening Anti-imperialism Defensive nationalism	Ideology-constructed Political	Sport was promoted to serve national defense and class struggle
The 1980s	Self-strengthening	Civic Political	Nationalism was reflected in and consolidated by international sports competitions
The 1990s and 2000s	Self-strengthening Anti-Western 'Containing' Liberalism	Cultural Ethnic Religious Political Civic	Gold Medal Fever Nationalism as reflected in and consolidated by international sports competitions The changes in Chinese people's views on sports patriotism

Source: Lu & Fan, 2014, P.162

Since “national unity and nationalism are reinforced through sporting

success”, participation in international sports games have consolidated a “sense of patriotism and national unity” which were validated in a series of events such as the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers’ rafting expeditions in the 1980s (Lu & Fan, 2014, pp. 160-164)³⁹.

In this ongoing march of nationalism within Chinese sports, the forces of government, sports organizations, governing bodies, athletes, sports fans and the media have all contributed to the creation of Chinese sports nationalism. The transformation of Chinese nationalism followed by the changing roles of sport is demonstrated in table 6.

Judging the relationship between the theme and type of nationalism and role of sport, one could argue that this relationship does not operate in a one-way direction, but rather is constructed in a dynamic interwoven relationship. That is, the perpetuating theme and type of nationalism in a certain time period influenced the role of sport; in the meantime, sports further reflect and consolidate the nationalistic theme and type during the time. A close examination on the themes and types of nationalism from 1864 to 2000s reveals that the political type of nationalism is the perpetual type with the highest occurring frequency in the past centuries. This perhaps determines the self-strengthening and anti-foreign/imperialism themes of nationalism within the past decades.

³⁹ In early 1980s American traveler and adventurer Ken Warren set out to raft through the longest and one of the most dangerous rivers in China, the Yangtze River. In order to beat Warren’s attempt to be the first team to navigate the Yangtze river, a rafting team lead by amateur traveler and adventurer Yao Maoshu began its expedition in 1985. The mission was finally completed by Luoyang teams and the rafting team organized by Chinese Academy of Science at

This can be further linked to the review of modern Chinese sports history; the movement is especially liable for two sets of responsibilities domestically and internationally. To the outside world, sports are a vehicle of communication and a form of cultural, political exchange, a means of granting national honor and pride to the socialist nation. Inside the nation, it has become a medium of self-strengthening and national consolidation/unity by establishing a distinction between the “us” (Chinese) and the “others” (the foreign countries, most notably Japan and the West) and national salvation is achieved by defeating the rival. This phenomenon of casting foreigners/Americans as a common adversary was also mentioned in Thompson’s paper on the Japanese professional wrestler *Rikidōzan* as a site of memory; he commented that:

Rikidōzan’s performances recalled the recent struggle with the USA, but gave that struggle the ending that had been desired. Rikidōzan’s bodily performance rehabilitated Japan’s nationhood by casting Japan as a victor in the bloody fight against its adversary, the United States.

(Thompson, 2011, p.533)

As highlighted in the above quote, the body performance of athletes and especially the success achieved against a foreign rival has permeated the victory within sports arena but to a certain extent represents the struggle within a rising

the cost of 10 lives in 1986 and became the first group to raft the whole distance of Yangtze River

nation facing the fear/competition against foreign powers. This motif is not only a phenomenon prevalent in the modern sports movement in Japan as demonstrated in Thompson's argument, but can also trace back to a similar analogy within Chinese Olympic representation.

4.3.2 Sino-U.S. Sports Combat: The Rising Asian Tiger

The ground breaking success at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, when China carried home an unprecedented 32 medals including 15 gold medals, sparked a carnival atmosphere in the nation, and exhilarating reports in Chinese media celebrated the milestone in breaking the title of "sick man of East Asia". Following the successive years of triumphs at the Olympics, the Chinese Olympic team is not merely satisfied at accelerating medal achievements and a growing sports giant who distant himself further from the disgraceful title of the "sick man", but an ambitious sports power who aims to compete with the leading sports power of the world: the United States.

This could be seen in the narrative of the China-US Gold Medal Race, especially when Chinese Olympic Team's achievement was running neck-and-neck with Team US on the gold medal and medal charts at the 2008 Olympics. The medal race between China and US took a great share of coverage and media analysis on a daily basis in the Olympic reports both online and in print forms,

(Lu & Fan, 2014).

especially in *Titan Sports*. Figure 18 is a screenshot of the *Titan Newspaper* online during the Beijing Olympics; the whole webpage is dedicated to the medal race between China and US. The left part of the banner used the Chinese national flag as the background with bust shots of gold-medalists Chinese gymnasts Zou Kai, He Kexin and Chinese pistol shooter Qiu Jian. On the other side standing in front of the US national flag was American gymnasts Shawn Johnson and Nastia Liukin. The following contents featured detailed news, analysis and predication of medal performance in the coming games.

Figure 18. Titan Sports special issue on the China-US gold medal race (web version)

The screenshot shows a website layout for Titan Sports. At the top is a banner with a red background on the left (China) and blue on the right (USA). The banner features the text 'Titan 24' and 'PK' in the center. On the left side of the banner, it says '中国 51金' (China 51 Gold) and on the right '美国 36金' (USA 36 Gold). Below the banner, there are several news snippets and a medal table.

名次	国家/地区	金	银	铜	合计
1	中国	51	21	28	100
2	美国	36	38	36	110
3	俄罗斯	23	21	28	72
4	英国	19	13	15	47
5	德国	16	10	15	41
6	澳大利亚	14	15	17	46
7	韩国	13	10	8	31
8	日本	9	6	10	25
9	意大利	8	10	10	28
10	法国	7	16	17	40

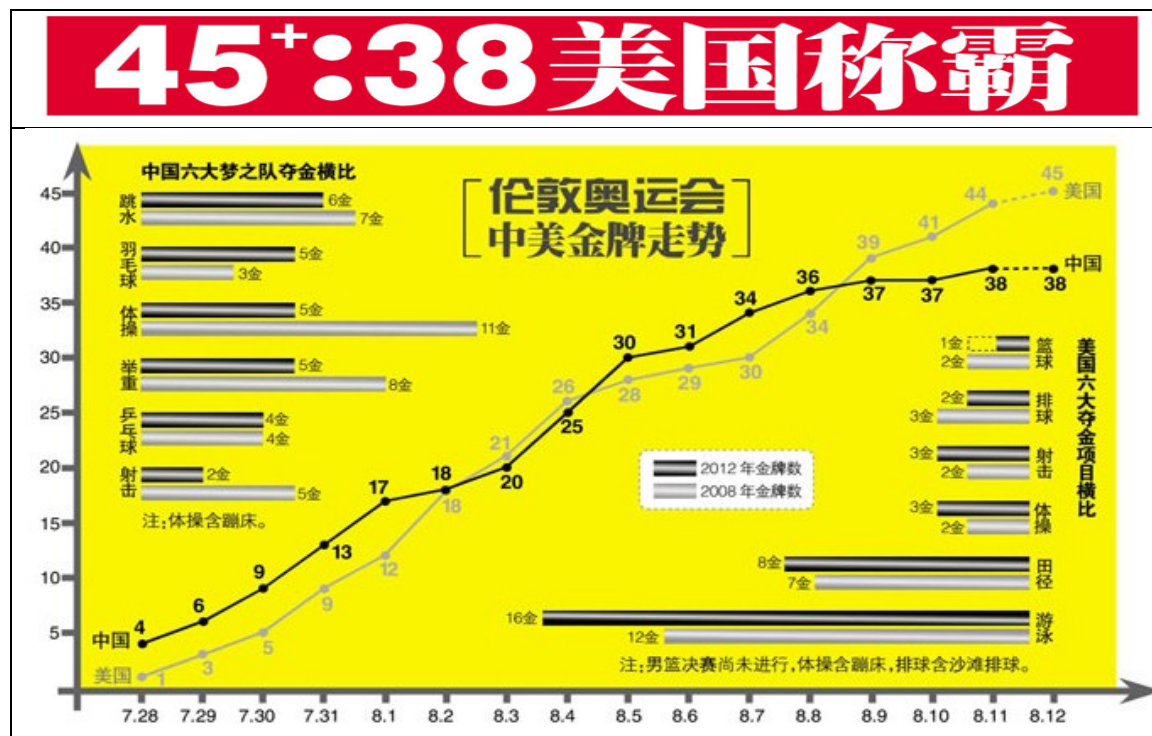
Notes: Left: China 51 Gold medals versus Right: US 36 Gold medals
 Chinese side: headshots of Chinese gymnasts Zou Kai, He Kexin and Chinese pistol shooter Qiu Jian
 American side: headshots of American gymnasts Shawn Johnson and Nastia Liukin

Source: 2008.titan24.com/focus/zhongmeipk

On top of the media analysis featuring star athletes as indicated in figure 18, the total medal/ gold medal race between China and U.S. comprised a regular

routine of the Olympic issues of *Titan Sports*.

Figure 19. Upper: 45⁺:38 US Dominates, 2012.08.12, A02, *Titan Sports*



Notes: Lower: London Olympics Sino-US Gold Medal Trend lines

X-axis: Date; Y-axis: Number of gold medals

Black line: Medal achievement of Chinese team; Grey line: Medal achievement of USA Olympic team.

Figure 19 was published in *Titan Sports*, the X-axis indicating the date and the Y-axis on the number of gold medals attained. The black line refers to the medal achievement of Chinese team and the grey line refers to that of the USA Olympic team. The bar figure on the left recorded the Chinese gold medal results of the six most competitive Chinese Olympic (*Mengzhidui*, Dream Team) sports' performance in 2008 and 2012. The bar figure on the right points out to the gold medal achievements of the USA in 2008 and 2012 in the sports of basketball, volleyball, shooting, gymnastics, track and field and swimming (indicators in this

order). The intense attention on the competition between these two Olympic sports superpowers is palpable.

4.3.3 Sino-Japanese: An Ongoing Rivalry

The discourse of the body in the Sino-Japanese rivalry is not merely floating on the surface of physical advantage, but also presents a discursive pattern that is embedded in the socio-historical relationship between the two nations: an emotional yet a nationalistic one. Aside from the dominance Chinese athletes enjoyed in terms of physical comparison with Japanese athletes, the domestic media representation seems to associate an undefeatable pride in this scenario that “no matter who we lose to, we cannot lose to Japan” as can be seen in the following passage in a news article:

Chinese always sigh that “we have 1.3 billion population but we cannot find a couple of football players to compete”. The ranking of the Chinese National Football Team is 83rd in the world and there are many explanations for being on the bottom of the chart: ill management of the football clubs, lack of reasonable structure and even “Asian physical abilities cannot master football, especially Chinese”. But Chinese retain their fervent support for their national teams, especially when they compete with Japan.

Titan Sport, 2008/08/08, A41, Football

In terms of choice of words, military language is applied in the popular print representation, suggesting a fighting spirit against Japan, which was cast against the wider background of a historic past with Japan. When a competition takes place between Japan and China, the media often use the term “抗日” (Kang ri, resistance to Japan) frequently, a term that would normally be applied in military situations (*Titan Sports*, “Cheng Zhonghe occupied with the thought of fighting Japanese”, 2004/8/23).

This anti-Japanese emotion was further illustrated in the media “trial” of the former Chinese table tennis player He Zhili (Chire Koyama) and made the public newspaper a forum for an emotional outlet and social “justice”. He was a leading figure in the Chinese table tennis team who used to participate in major events under the name of He Zhili in the 1980s. In 1989, she married a Japanese engineer and changed her family name to Koyama. She has been representing Japan since⁴⁰. Her triumph over Chinese table tennis player Qiao Hong in the semi-final in 1996 Atlanta Olympics stirred a public outrage and He (Koyama)’s image was associated with the impression of a “traitor” in the domestic newspaper. Thus when she was defeated by Qiao Hong in the following game, *Titan Sports* published the following

⁴⁰ Article: Ye Yonglie: Please understand He Zhili:
<http://news.163.com/07/0307/11/38VQRJF800011SM9.html> accessed on 2014/2/20
accessed on 2013/03/01

comment in the “Letters to the Editor” section:

I felt so exhilarated after Qiao Hong claimed victory over Chire Koyama with a 3-0 score, even more so than the finale. For somebody, who forgot about her country and origin like Chire Koyama, she deserves a harsh lesson like this! ... Chinese were disgusted when she defeated Deng Yaping (another Chinese table tennis player) to win the gold medal of women’s single (for Japan) at the Hiroshima Asian Games, and the sound of “Yoshi yoshi” she produced ...during the competition.

Chire Koyama is nothing, *Titan Sports*, A3, Hotspot, 1996/08/06

The selective display of the anti-Japanese sentiments of the public by *Titan Sports* presents a populist nationalism that is not only transmitted by the media as a vehicle, but with media as one of its main creators. The patriotic sensation sparked by the case of He Zhili and brought out by the media is nothing spectacular given the rubrics of nationalism in post-1990s China. As can be seen in Table 7 on the four major media patterns of nationalism, the regime, the media, the market and the public all contribute to the formation of nationalism in contemporary China. The party sets the boundary line and the tone for the media; and the media conform to the party line. The discourse on “sick man of East Asia”

is one exemplar case to “constantly reminding people of China’s century-long humiliation at hands of foreign powers”, in contrast to the national salvation achieved under the party’s leadership, is regarded as “affirmative nationalism” in Table 7 (Huang & Lee, 2003,p.53-54).

However, within the safety zone established by the Party, the media have the flexibility to pursue their own discourse approaches and attach sub-agendas to increase their marketability. In certain cases, the media even elevate the affirmative nationalism to aggressive nationalism by pointing to a specific national enemy with bellicose and demagogic discourse approach to explore the alternation of agendas between the party line and the bottom line(Huang & Lee, 2003, p.53-55). Therefore, the emotional tainted portrait of He Zhili is one of such media-initiated agendas that caters to the public’s demand for a display of populist nationalism. Thus this ongoing process of anti-Japanese rhetoric is not merely a single-handed movement presented by the media, but an orchestrated act involving more than a single player, and an exploitation of the raw nationalistic sentiment of the public (Huang & Lee, 2003,p.56).

Table 7. Four major media patterns of nationalism in contemporary China

Media patterns of nationalism	Affirmative	Assertive	Aggressive	Rational/democratic
Central position	State nationalism/patriotism	state-cum-popular nationalism	popular nationalism	rational nationalism
Core frame	the Communist Party represents China's national interests and pride	China redeems itself from a century-long humiliation by the West	The USA, by containing a rising China, is the chief national enemy	call for political reform to build a democratic China
Agenda-setting strategy	strictly following the party line	stretching the party line to include media agendas.	main media-initiated, alternating between the party line and the bottom line	pushing the boundaries of the permissible
Discourse approach	mobilizing, propagandistic	emotional, sensational	bellicose, demagogic	Argumentative, analytical
Party's attitude	Fully supportive	Consenting and pro-active	Tacitly endorsing	Antagonistic and suppressive
Examples of media campaign	Patriotic education, HongKong/Macau handovers, bid for the Olympic Games	Crisis coverage of the Chinese embassy bombing (1999), Chinese-US plane collision (2001)	The China Can Say No series, the US Media Demonization series	Southern Weekly, Open Times, some online forums

Source: Huang & Lee, 2003, p.53

To conclude this chapter, the discourse of the body in China's participation in the contemporary Olympics has pointed to a gradual development toward a more positive, stronger body image. This contention is achieved through the comparative discourse analysis of the body between Chinese and foreign athletes and the result from semi-structured interviews with journalists. This research

finding provides further insights on the distinctions and compensation in Chinese Olympic sport and facilitated a discussion on the media patterns of nationalism in contemporary China. The next chapter will examine another side of the story, in this case, when a successful elite Olympian failed to defeat the foreign rivalries and defend the rising body presence of the nation, through the media's treatment of a fallen sports hero, Liu Xiang.

Chapter 5. Mapping the Modern Chinese National Identity through the Celebrity Body: The Rise and Fall of the Sports Hero

Liu Xiang

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters mapped out the general positioning of Chinese elite Olympians in the world of Olympic sports by examining the comparison of body representation in the span of eight summer Olympic years. The research revealed that the success of Chinese athletes has brought up the confidence level of the nation. This result is achieved in the Olympic arena in terms of body judgment in the media representation and presented a modern body portrayal of Chinese. The previous part of the analysis focused on a rather successful side of the Chinese Olympic story, in other words, when the Olympians fulfilled their mission to refute the “sick man” image and redeemed an enhanced body of the nation.

This chapter deepens the scope of the investigation by exploring the other side of the story by investigating the trajectory of a star athlete’s failed mission to erase the “sick man” title and defend the Asian physique: the Chinese “Flying Man” Liu Xiang (劉翔⁴¹) who once stirred the nation with his record-breaking success but then withdrew from competitions at consecutive Games. This chapter discusses

⁴¹ The Chinese character *Xiang* (翔) refers to the meaning of flying.

the rise and fall of the body of Chinese sports prodigy, hurdler Liu Xiang, and explores how the Chinese media represented Liu's body within the frenzy of the Chinese Olympic success in Athens, and after his failed performance in Beijing and London, and from there, attempts to interpret the Chinese national identity projected through the discourse formation of Liu.

5.1.1 From "Petite Chinese" to the "Flying Man": The stories of Liu Changchun and Liu Xiang

In order to fully interpret the story of Liu Xiang, it is necessary to briefly review China's participation in the track and field sport to help understand the reasons behind the national sensation sparked by Liu Xiang's success. China's first appearance on the world stage of track and field began in 1932 Los Angeles Olympics; and Chinese sprinter Liu Changchun was the first Chinese Olympic athlete to compete in the Games representing the Republic of China.

Following the introduction of modern sports into China by YMCA, it had always been the wish of the nation to send athletes to represent China, even under the turbulent civil conditions in the early 20th century. The presence of Republican China in the world sports arena came to a critical point when the puppet state of the Japanese government *Manchuko* wanted to send Chinese athletes to represent the newly established state. The Manchurian officials gradually paid their attention on Liu Changchun, who represented Northeastern University in various collegiate

and national sports competitions with outstanding performances in short-distance races. He and the mid-distance runner Yu Xiwei became the initial candidates selected by the puppet state to represent *Manchuko* at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics (Yuan et al., 2008; Sun, Fan & Li, 2009, pp. 109-116).

Figure 20. LIU Changchun (1909-1983)⁴²



Later informed with this news, Liu Changchun was infuriated by the proposition to compete for the puppet government. He made a public declaration

⁴² Source: Shanghai Memory Digital Database in Shanghai Library Institute of Scientific and Technical Information.
<http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/tpsh.jsp?action=picname&value=%C1%F5%B3%A4%B4%BA>
Accessed on 2015/03/01.
<http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/tpsh.jsp?action=picname&value=%C1%F5%B3%A4%B4%BA>

of his strong opposition in the newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* in May 1932 stating that “I am a descendent of Yan and Huang, I am Chinese and I absolutely refuse to represent the ‘*Manchuko*’ in the 10th Olympics” (Yuan et al., 2008, P178). However, this short episode didn’t stop China’s Olympic momentum. With the financial support of General Zhang Xueliang and others, a group led by the general director of China National Amateur Athletic Federation Shen Siliang (沈嗣良) embarked on a trip to America with Liu as the only athlete⁴³ (Wei, 2007, p.72). Liu Changchun participated in 100 meter and 200 meter competitions and was eliminated in the heats, Figure 21 recorded the historic moment of Liu ending in the fourth place during the heats of 200m at the Games.

A
⁴³ Source: Shanghai Memory Digital Database in Shanghai Library Institute of Scientific and Technical Information.
<http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/tpsh.jsp?action=picname&value=%C1%F5%B3%A4%B4%B>
A
Accessed on 2015/03/01.

Figure 21 Original Photo of Liu Changchun competing in the heats of 200m at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics⁴⁴



From his arrival in the US on July 29th till the closing date of the event on August 14th, Liu documented his 17-day experience in his diary, within which he not only described the major sports events of the day, but also included miscellaneous observations and experiences regarding his journey to the West (Wei, 2007, pp.72-73). After his arrival in Los Angeles, he wrote the following diary under the title of “Gala of the China Town”:

After a long 25-day trip on the ocean and in ports, we arrived at Los Angeles Wharf on July 29th at 4 p.m. Disembarking from the ship, I took a limousine to the welcome ceremony in Chinatown. Ten minutes later, I stepped out of the limousine, and, accompanied by the crowd, went up to

⁴⁴ Source: Shanghai Memory Digital Database in Shanghai Library Institute of Scientific and Technical Information.
<http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/tpsh.jsp?action=picname&value=%C1%F5%B3%A4%B4%BA>

the rooftop of the hotel to take pictures. (While taking pictures), an American journalist asked me to raise my hands. I immediately raised my hands over my head, but suddenly realize this looks like a gesture of surrender to enemies, so I immediately put my hands down. Then the American journalist explained that by raise my hands I represented the Chinese nation of 400 million. The next day a US newspaper published this photo commenting,

‘How will this petite Chinese compete tomorrow?’

This unfriendly remark touched my heart. Our country [China] is weak, and our nation is being bullied and discriminated against. My heart aches.

Liu Changchun,

“Our Nation’s First Participation in the Olympics • Gala at Chinatown”

(Yuan et al., 2008, P183)

As demonstrated in Liu Changchun’s story, the body image of Chinese Olympians is closely tied to the nation’s global standing and the perceived national identity. This elucidates the point by Rivenburgh and Larson that “at the very least, participation in the Olympics is seen as a presentation of national membership, ability and identity in a global arena as expressed through athletic team” (as cited

in Bernstein, 2012, p.72).

Interestingly, 72 years later, another Chinese track and field athlete, bearing the same family name Liu, Liu Xiang, brought the Chinese to the champion podium of a short-distance race for the first time at the Athens Olympics. He claimed the gold medal in the 110m hurdles with a world-record time that was on par with the record American Colin Jackson established in 1993 at the 4th World Championships in Athletics at Stuttgart, Germany⁴⁵.

However, the Chinese prodigy was not able to maintain his prime performance in the succeeding Olympics. Four years later, Liu withdrew from the Beijing Games when he aggravated an existing injury after a false start. He again withdrew from the London Olympics after he tripped over the first hurdle in the heats, which resulted in a pulled Achilles tendon. After his second withdrawal, rumors went viral in Chinese social media that he already knew he could not perform due to an incomplete recovery, but he still competed (or in some coverage “pretended” to compete) just to pacify the expectations of his fans at home and the demands from his endorsement sponsors⁴⁶. This episode of “acting” was further aggravated in CCTV (China Central Television) Channel 5’s mediated live broadcasting drama in 2012 London Olympics⁴⁷. The rise and fall of the sporting

⁴⁵ <http://www.iaaf.org/athletes/great-britain-ni/colin-jackson-1264>.

⁴⁶ Chinese social media’s response on Liu Xiang’s withdrawal:
http://zhidao.baidu.com/link?url=ovO_uSyFao_9jKjlrb-boJcGpt5wg5mZhpiPqJhkP1Tf09Gfje3UtzfsAc4thvt4E8z_sigmpYcKH2lsXqK
<http://www.douban.com/note/16779962/> accessed on 2014/04/15 Accessed on 2014/08/15.

⁴⁷ CCTV 5 Mediated Live Broadcasting Drama in 2012 London Olympics
To add to the already complicated situation, the live broadcast of Liu’s race on CCTV 5 aroused another round of national slandering on the event itself. During the live broadcast of Liu Xiang’s

hero Liu Xiang is the starting point of this chapter.

5.1.2 Fallen Sports Heroes and Celebrity Culture in East Asia

The story of the “Flying Man”, as Liu Xiang was called by the Chinese media, has notable social and historical dimensions. His story is a true testimony to the fact that elite athletes serve as national representatives and shoulder the responsibility to win glory for the nation (Dong, 2003; Brownell, 1995; Brownell, 2008; Xu, 2008). This acquired identity puts elite athletes under the media limelight, and generates a celebrity phenomenon that constantly subjects them to media scrutiny and framing, especially when they fail to live up to national expectations.

In recent years, a growing body of research has been dedicated to the fallen status of sports stars to analyze the “changing moral fault line in contemporary society”, especially the role of fallen sports heroes in judging the national identity and the social/cultural meaning reflected in the discourse on the celebrity body (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Bernstein, 2012; Denham, 2013; Sandvoss, Real &

heat in London and following his tragic fall after the first hurdle, Chinese commentator Yang Jian told the national audience in a sobbing voice: “Liu Xiang definitely put up a desperate fight today. Liu Xiang is a warrior, today may be his final competition but the result and process is a bit horrifying. We may find it hard to accept mentally but it is a fact and this is the brutality of competitive sports. He is a warrior when he knew he might not be able to fight to the finishing line he still ‘fled’ [to the end]. This ‘flying’ act brought me back to the 2004 Athens when his flying speed shocked the world. A 29-year old veteran, it is time for him to take a rest”. This moving commentary made millions Chinese viewers wept in front of their TV sets and became one of the most memorable Olympic moments of London 2012. However, just one week later news started to surface that perhaps this heart-felt commentary was yet “another” calculated act by the national broadcast authority. It was later confirmed by the media itself that Yang Jian’s comments after Liu Xiang’s fall were based on one of four well-prepared plans drawn up after CCTV was noticed before the race that his injury had reoccurred (Wan & Ming, 2013,

Bernstein, 2012; Wenner, 2013). As highlighted in Jackson's study on Jamaican-born Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson, the trajectory of his career revealed a twist of race that served to "define and redefine Ben Johnson's racial and national identities" as the "other" in Canada after his performance-enhancing drug scandal (Jackson, 1998, p.21). This research perspective has been limitedly applied in the research on East Asian celebrity research which includes Chinese sports celebrities.

Instead of mapping the social and cultural meanings behind the hero-to-villain arc of sports celebrities, contemporary research on sports celebrity in East Asia pays tribute to their heroic achievements and the national impact. This research presents a standard for defining sports celebrity that is influenced by traditional cultural values, social norms and stratification in an East Asian society that was primarily founded on Confucian values (Whiting, 1989; Whiting, 2004; Holden, 2012, p. 18-35). This tradition can be drawn from Dennis Frost's analysis on a series of sport stars in modern Japan, in which he proposed a star paradigm in Japan: "skill + a lot of hard work + devotion to family and nation =sports stardom" (Frost, 2011, p.234). The emphasis on the "devotion to family and nation" is a unique departure from research on sports celebrity in the West, in which individualism and personality are particularly celebrated qualities.

As noted by Mikos: "(a)lthough heroes are born in sports events, the hero narratives are rooted in the cultural contexts of their countries of origin." (Mikos, 2012, p. 164). Looking back on the history of Chinese sports, it is obvious that the

Chinese sports circle never lacked stories of former national heroes turning into cowards or traitors. Such cases are those of multi Olympic gold medalist gymnast Li Ning, high jumper Zhu Jianhua and others in the 1980s (Lu & Fan, 2014, p.112). However, limited research can be found dedicated to the fallen Chinese sports celebrity and the cultural meaning embodied by the celebrity body representation.

In this vein, a case study on Liu Xiang is an interesting starting point to deepen our understanding of sports celebrity or even fallen sports celebrity culture in China. Some recent academic publications have shed some light on the representation of celebrity body and corporeal expressions (Cao, 2007, p.149; Chong, 2013, p. 242). Chong examined the way media representations inscribed gender ideals/norms on the star athletes' body, and how body and corporeal representations of top athletes have "helped exemplify China's nation-building project and its pursuit of modernity" (Chong, 2013, p.242). On Liu Xiang, she commented:

After 30 years of reforms, China has gained strength and a place in the global arena. It eagerly looks for channels to express this acquired power and confidence that dispels the humiliating 'sick man' title. Liu's victory in the 2004 Games presented this desire of the nation to express a new kind of manliness, a masculinity that was assertive, confident and lively. What these images did was to consolidate an alternative gender performance, in which the Chinese/Asian body claimed victory over the

hegemonic 'Western' bodies.

Chong, 2013, p.254-255

This "victory over the hegemonic 'Western' bodies" is the starting point to understand the sensation that Liu Xiang's success invoked within the nation; it also underlies the suspicions, disappointment, and scrutiny registered by the media and the nation in the years after his fallen status. Thus, this chapter explores how the Chinese media represented Liu's body within the frenzy of the Chinese Olympic success in Athens, and after his failed performance in Beijing and London, and from there, attempts to interpret the Chinese national identity projected through the discourse formation of Liu Xiang.

5.2 Result and Analysis

5.2.1 General Result: Representing China, Liu Xiang in the media

The examination of the representation of Liu's body began by examining the publicity Liu received in both newspapers during the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympics. Table 8 and table 9 reveal that the total number of articles dedicated to Liu Xiang reached the highest number of 18 and 11 in *People's Daily* and *Titan Sports* respectively in 2004. This was followed with a subsequent drop in 2008 and 2012, with a total number of 10 for *Titan* and 3 for *People's Daily* in 2008 and 13 for *Titan* and 2 for *People's Daily* in 2012.

Table 8. Number of reports on Liu Xiang in *Titan Sports*

Titan Sports	2004	2008	2012
Cover	2	2	2
Feature	4	4	9
Articles (Total)	18	10	13

Table 9. Number of reports on Liu Xiang in *People's Daily*

People's Daily	2004	2008	2012
Cover	3 *	2	1
Feature	1	1	1
Articles (Total)	11	3	2

* 2 out of 3 were published on the cover of *People's Daily*, 1 in the *People's Daily* Olympic Special

Table 8 and table 9 show that the number of reports on Liu Xiang experienced a significant decrease after the 2004 Athens Olympics. This phenomenon is most obvious in the party-lead *People's Daily* with the total numbers of articles of 11, 3 and 2 in the years of 2004, 2008 and 2012. In the following sections, these results will be expounded on using the content analysis of the representation of his body in the Olympic years of 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympics.

5.2.2 2004 Athens Olympics: "Flying man" breaking the Asian body norms

The record-breaking success of Liu in 2004 generated a nationwide media sensation. The Chinese media gave dominant space to celebrate Liu's success and his body image was omnipresent on the cover page of Chinese newspapers following the event. The domestic media also further connected his success to the

breaking of the hegemonic Western bodies and expanded his identity to represent all East Asian athletes.

In terms of newspaper editors' treatment of his body image, it can be inferred that the Chinese media tended to attribute a strong, confident body image to Liu in the 2004 Athens Olympics. Illustrating the exuberant body image is the cover of *Titan Sports* on August 28th (Figure 22; titled "Xiang [Fly] 12.91", the muscular running figure of Liu rushing through the finishing line is casted in contrast to the background image of a tripping black foreign athlete.

Under this photo, there is a minor image that provides an overview of the finish line. It can be seen from this photo that Liu Xiang claimed his victory with a commanding lead. While highlighting this winning record, the title "Xiang [Fly] 12.91" (翔12"91) not only refers to his given name but also emphasized the fact that in both literal and metaphorical senses, he was not only flying over the finishing line with a record-breaking speed, but was also flying over a presumed boundary in the sport of track and field for Asian athletes.

Liu's success was also given primary attention on the cover of *People's Daily*, published on August 29th, 2004 (Figure 23). Two articles ran under the following titles:

1. The Chinese Flying Man wowed the world

中国飞人惊世界

A strong motherland is the incessant driving force

『祖国强大是我不竭动力』

2. Stirring up the patriotic enthusiasm Inspiring the national spirit

激发爱国热情 振奋民族精神

Our Olympians' historic breakthrough at the Olympics gives rise to
resounding reception nationwide

我国选手在奥运会实现历史性突破引起巨大反响

The reports were written in extremely proud and exhilarated tones relating to the national pride and patriotic enthusiasm that were aroused by the groundbreaking success of the winning Chinese athletes. The text also made reference to the “motherland China” that has become the major driving force of their achievements. One paragraph went like this:

The 28th marked a milestone in track and field events in Chinese sports. It is a victory most worth celebrating for black-haired, yellow-skinned Asians at the Olympics. Liu Xiang not only sprang over 10 hurdles, he also sprang over the yellow race's silenced performance in the past century in this sport event... China's Liu Xiang, internationally acclaimed Feiren (飞人, flying man), and his unconquerable strength made the dream of generations of Chinese come true. We are proud of Liu, proud of China.

People's Daily, Cover, 2004/08/29

Figure 22. Title "Xiang [Fly] 12.91, Titan Sports, Cover, 2004/08/28

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翔

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意外的... 决定性的!

就在刘翔刚刚飞过的跑道上,邢慧娜又在女子10000米决赛中冲破3名埃塞俄比亚姑娘的包围,为中国代表团夺得了第27枚金牌。意外!女子10000米并不是中国代表团预定的夺金点;意外!跑在前面的不是老将孙英杰而是初出道的邢慧娜。

邢慧娜的第27枚金牌是决定性的,它使中国代表团遥遥领先两项历史纪录,其一,以金牌总数29枚超越悉尼奥运会的28枚;其二,中国甩开第二集团并超越俄罗斯列金牌榜第二位。



特派记者王宇翔雅典报道 完美的起跑——刘翔听到发令枪响后的反应速度是0.139秒。完美的前三栏,完美的冲刺,“完美”叠加造就了12秒91的新奥运纪录。

中国参加奥运会已经20年了,还没有一位男选手在田径赛场上拿金牌,而刘翔第一次参加奥运会就为中国乃至亚洲实现了历史性的突破。刘翔之前,中国男子田径选手在奥运会上的最好成绩属于他的上海同乡朱建华。1984年洛杉矶奥运会上,朱建华夺得跳高铜牌。

赛后,兴奋异常的刘翔在记者招待会上说:“请大家不要以为亚洲或中国运动员跨栏项目不如欧美,我会用实际行动证明,亚洲有我,中国有我。”

“在雅典之前我没想到那么多,只想发挥出自己水平,把竞技状态调整到最佳。比赛前更是什么都没有想,没想到能拿金牌,也没想到能跑进13秒,我认为黄种人能跑进13秒是不小的成绩,是一个奇迹,我想在今后的运动生涯中,有更多的奇迹等着我去创造,相信我吧。”

决赛中,刘翔最强劲的对手杜库尔就在刘翔的左边,事实上,起跑并不好的杜库尔一直离刘翔最近,但在最后一栏他被杜库尔绊倒。法新社形容杜库尔“看着自己的希望在一场由刘翔治的令人难以置信的赛跑中破灭”。

旗手刘翔

记者王宇翔雅典报道 代表团团长袁伟民第一时间对刘翔的金牌“定性”,这是含金量最高的一块牌,是中国田径的一个突破。从中国驻希腊大使馆庆功会上中途退席赶来观看110米栏决赛的团团长殷世杰也非常激动:“刘翔创造了奇迹!”

颁奖仪式结束后,一位中国代表团官员透露:在决赛前一天团部已经决定,在闭幕式上,将由刘翔担任中国代表团的旗手。这样,开、闭幕式两位旗手都将来自上海。

据悉,田管中心曾许诺刘翔在奥运会上夺金的田径选手奖励人民币100万。对此,上海市体育局局长金国祥说:“我不知道这条消息是否属实,但上海市将对刘翔额外重奖。”上海市卫计委对上海籍奥运会金牌选手给予50万人民币的奖励。



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Figure 23. People's Daily, Cover, 2004/08/29

2004年 第29期
 星期日
 甲申年七月十四日
 北京地区天气预报
 白天 晴间多云
 降水概率 0%
 风向 北转南
 风力 二、三级
 夜间 晴
 降水概率 0%
 风向 南转北
 风力 一、二级
 温度 30℃-20℃

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我国积极就业政策体系基本形成 今年城镇新增就业岗位有望超过900万个

本报北京8月28日讯 记者刘军 随着中央宏观调控、积极财政政策、稳健货币政策、促进就业政策、鼓励发展非公有制经济、加大西部开发力度、支持中小企业发展、增加公共财政投入、加大职业技能培训、完善社会保障体系等一系列政策的实施，我国积极就业政策体系基本形成。据人力资源和社会保障部有关负责人介绍，今年城镇新增就业岗位有望超过900万个。

[A strong motherland is the incessant driving force] The Chinese Feiren (Flying Man) wowed the world

「祖国强大是我不断动力」 中国飞人惊世界

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- 郑洁/李娜 女子双打冠军
- 孟关良/杨文军 男子皮划艇冠军
- 罗微 女子跆拳道冠军



本报北京8月28日电 记者刘军、陈超、王慧光报道：我国奥运健儿不负众望，在雅典奥运会上取得历史性突破，为祖国争得了32枚金牌、17枚银牌、14枚铜牌，共获得53枚奖牌，创造了中国奥运史上金牌、奖牌总数最多的纪录。在雅典奥运会上，中国代表团共参加了30个大项的比赛，共夺得了32枚金牌、17枚银牌、14枚铜牌，共获得53枚奖牌，创造了中国奥运史上金牌、奖牌总数最多的纪录。

人大常委会第十一次会议闭幕

吴邦国主持会议表决通过两部法律 和十部法律修正案

本报北京8月28日电 记者李海 吴邦国主持会议表决通过两部法律 和十部法律修正案。会议通过了《中华人民共和国劳动合同法》和《中华人民共和国劳动合同法实施条例》。会议还通过了《中华人民共和国劳动合同法实施条例》和《中华人民共和国劳动合同法实施条例》。

人大常委会举行第十次法制讲座

吴邦国主持 学习贯彻科学发展观 推进社会主义法治建设

本报北京8月28日电 记者李海 全国人大常委会日前在京举行第十次法制讲座。吴邦国主持，学习贯彻科学发展观，推进社会主义法治建设。吴邦国在讲座中强调，要深入学习贯彻科学发展观，推进社会主义法治建设，为构建社会主义和谐社会提供有力的法治保障。

贾庆林会见韩国国会议长和总理

本报北京8月28日电 记者李海 贾庆林会见韩国国会议长和总理。贾庆林在会见中表示，中韩两国关系近年来取得了长足进步，各领域合作不断深化。他祝愿两国关系在互利共赢的基础上不断向前发展，为两国人民带来更多福祉。

激发爱国热情 振奋民族精神 我国选手在奥运会实现历史性突破引起巨大反响

本报北京8月28日电 记者李海 我国选手在奥运会实现历史性突破引起巨大反响。奥运健儿在雅典奥运会上取得的优异成绩，极大地激发了全国人民的爱国热情，振奋了民族精神。人们纷纷为奥运健儿加油助威，为祖国的荣誉感到自豪。

新农村周刊
 记者走村
 我的竹乡
 亚洲有我 中国有我
 雅典奥运金喜报
 奥运健儿 为中国健儿加油
 为您服务

「祖国强大是我不断动力」

本报北京8月28日电 记者刘军、陈超、王慧光报道：我国奥运健儿在雅典奥运会上取得历史性突破，为祖国争得了32枚金牌、17枚银牌、14枚铜牌，共获得53枚奖牌，创造了中国奥运史上金牌、奖牌总数最多的纪录。在雅典奥运会上，中国代表团共参加了30个大项的比赛，共夺得了32枚金牌、17枚银牌、14枚铜牌，共获得53枚奖牌，创造了中国奥运史上金牌、奖牌总数最多的纪录。

Within the media discourse, the phenomenal sensation brought by his success was direct and constantly tied into the attributions of breaking the East Asian body norm, proving the speed of the “yellow race”. Thus Liu’s success was elevated from a mere Olympic champion to a declaration of a belief that maybe the old judgment on the physical inability to compete with foreign athletes amongst Chinese or even East Asian athletes was wrong. Liu’s triumph transcended a national celebration to the breaking of a superstition worth celebrating with fellow East Asians. Thus it comes as no surprise that within the Chinese media discourse, Liu’s success was also translated from representing China and the Chinese to an expanded identity of representing the East Asians at large. As noted in this article published by *Titan Sports*:

This is the biggest victory Asian athletes have achieved in track and field; nobody would believe that they [Asian athletes] could compete with black athletes in terms of speed... Liu Xiang said no [to racism]; his victory belongs not only to sports, but also to biology; perhaps his gold medal not only belongs to China, but also to the whole of Asia.

[The biggest victory], *Titan Sports*, Ao2, 2004/08/28

However, behind the bombardment of media attention paid to Liu Xiang after his Olympic success, the response from the hero himself revealed another side of the story. Despite the media’s exaltation of this new Chinese prodigy, the

milestone record struck Liu as a bit unexpected. When commenting on this record-breaking success in 2004, Liu Xiang said:

I didn't expect this result myself, when I was training the fastest I could go was 12.99, and even that very few times. I can't believe I achieved 12.91 at the Olympic stadium, it is really perfect. I know that the moment I passed the finishing line, many Chinese must have been tearing up for my success but the only thing left in my head was 'magic'.

[Magic, all to this 12'91 record], *Titan Sports*, A10, 2004/08/29

His own confession of the possibility that he accidentally outperformed himself to this record-breaking speed at Athens perhaps are part of the hidden reasons or paved the road that would eventually lead to his fallbacks in the following Olympics.

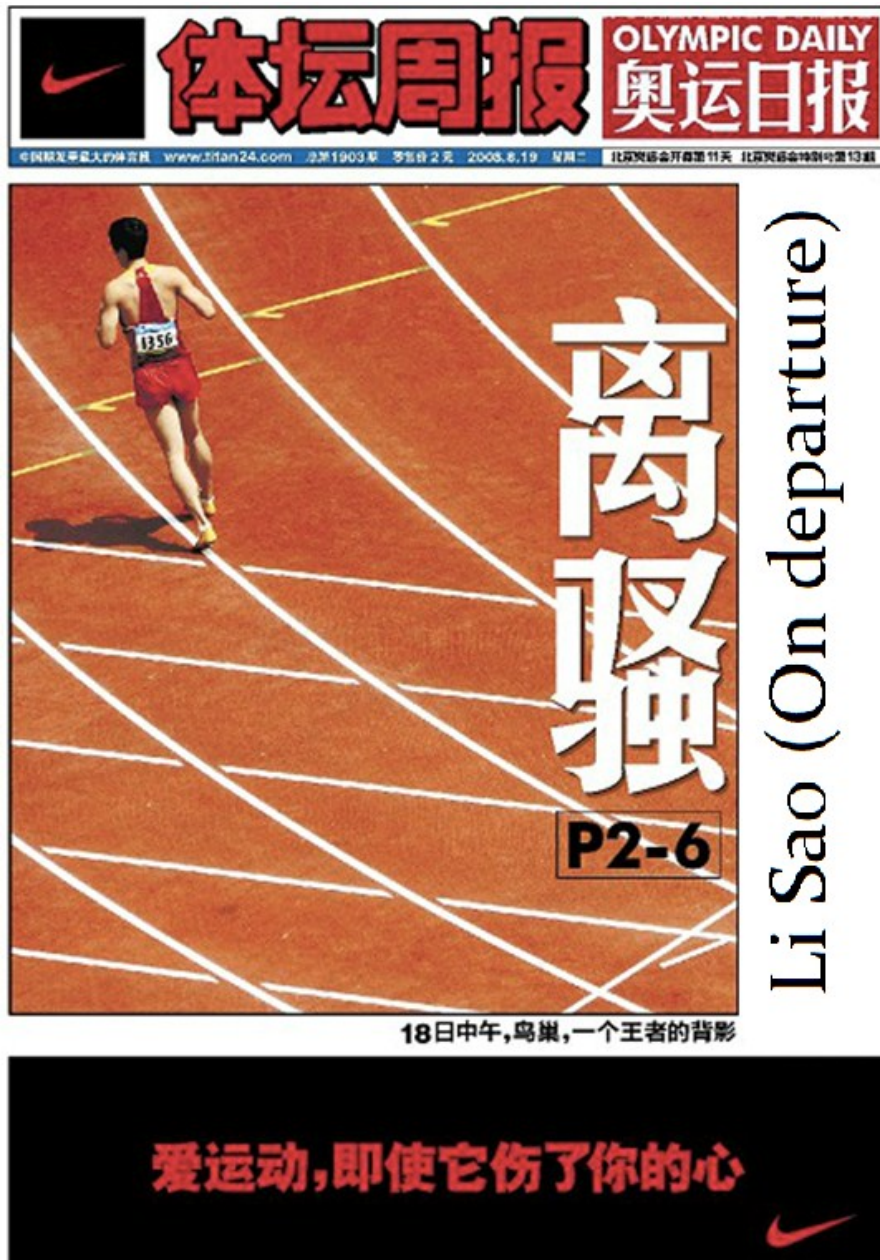
5.2.3 2008 Beijing Olympics: Cognitive dissonance in representation

Following his withdrawal in the Beijing Olympics, the body representation of Liu in *Titan Sports* took a drastic turn. The confident strong figure and the high-spirited facial expression of the Chinese prodigy were replaced with a crippled body and a tortured face. Figure 24 entitled "*Li Sao (On departure)*" was published in *Titan Sports* on August 19th, 2008, followed with a five page feature on pages 2-6. The back of Liu's pale and minuscule figure was cast against the backdrop of the giant orange running track, rendering his physical presence rather

frail, insignificant, powerless and perhaps helpless. A line runs below the picture: “August 18th noon, Bird’s Nest, the back of the former champion”. The other highlight of the cover is the Nike advertisement that follows the photo. On top of the charcoal black background the red text says: “Love sports, even though it breaks your heart”, making a direct reference to Liu’s failed attempt at the Beijing Olympics. This cover is followed by a four-page feature on Liu Xiang published in *Titan Sports* in 2008. The media started to question his record-breaking performance in 2004 and wondered whether his record in Athens was only a one-time fluke.

A close analysis on the feature sheds light on the gradual development of confusion, disappointment and doubt in the selected media concerning his performances in 2008 and 2012. Figure 25 is the layout of the feature published in *Titan Sports* in 2008. It gathered articles and voices from Liu’s family members, coach, doctors, foreign media and correspondents, Chinese sports fans, Chinese social science academics, etc. The collected voices shared a tone of disappointment, but more importantly appeared united under the theme of understanding and unrelenting support for the decision he made to withdraw in 2008. This united theme can be drawn from the following titles within the feature:

Figure 24 Title: Li Sao (On departure), *Titan Sports*, Cover, 2008/08/19



Love sports, even though
it breaks your heart

Figure 25. Title: Li Sao (On departure), Titan Sports, Feature, 2008/08/19

OLYMPIC DAILY 离骚

不能承受之踵 1

众口一词：好样的 3

世界关注刘翔 5

我对他更尊敬了 7

刘翔首先是一个人 8

那一刻，鸟巢死一般寂静 6

一被扇，我就知道坏了 4

伤退之际，刘翔祝福杜库里 2

黑市要价缩水7成






OLYMPIC DAILY 离骚

9 分享光荣，分担痛楚

伤情需要保密吗？

生命不能承受之重

10 英雄悲剧早已注定

11 8日下午，刘翔打电话给父亲

后面的日子长着呢

细之踵

罗伯勒斯：哥们，我等你回来！ 12








1. The unbearable Achilles Tendon
2. Ready to retire, Liu Xiang wished [Ladji] Doucoure good luck
3. Unanimously, good job!
4. I knew it the moment he frowned
5. The World's eyes on Liu Xiang
6. The moment the Bird's Nest became deadly silent
7. ESPN Magazine Chief journalist on Athletics: I respect him more
8. France L'Équipe Journalist: He is a human after all
9. Share the glory, shoulder the pain together
10. The Hero's tragedy is destined
11. 18th Afternoon, Liu Xiang called his father: There is still a long way to go!
12. [Dayron] Robles: I'm waiting for you brother

This rise of sympathetic emotions and understanding toward his career setback can also be observed at the textual level as indicated in the following quote:

Liu Xiang's coach Sun Haiping and related people at the State General Administration of Sport think he did his best when he strove to walk to the Bird's Nest, and presented himself on the track. In the senior members meeting [at the State General Administration of Sport] hosted on the August 18th afternoon, the decision was reached to suggest Liu

Xiang not to participate in this Olympics based on the condition of his serious injury. 'But he insisted on fighting to the end, he did a good job'.

“Unanimously, good job!”, *Titan Sports*, A04, 2008/08/19

However, it is interesting to note that for a color printed newspaper, *Titan's* editors used only one color page in the four-page feature “Li Sao [On departure]” as can be seen in Figure 25. The rest of the layout was in black and white giving the feature a bleak, somber impression resembling a sad obituary. The cognitive dissonance between textual and imagery representations presented a subtle message that is evident within the Chinese media's treatment of Liu Xiang.

5.2.4 2012 London Olympics: Confusion, disappointment and doubt

After his second withdrawal at the London Olympics, the editors selected yet another partially-revealed weak and pale body image of Liu Xiang as the cover photo. This can be seen in the imagery selected on the cover of *Titan Sports* published on August 8th, 2012. Figure 26 shows the body of Liu after falling over the hurdle at the London Olympics. Lying on one side of his body, he is apparently suffering a great deal of pain and possibly struggling to get back to his feet, his face is filled with agony and frustration. On the right side of the photo is a big question mark; within it is written the following.

“The 2012 London Olympic stadium and 2008 Bird’s nest stadium shared a striking resemblance. After four years, Liu Xiang shocked the world in almost the same way, and stunned the nation for the second time! It took 50 years for China to possess an athlete like Liu; his performance at Olympic hometown Athens not only inspired countless Chinese but also disproved the proposition about *Huang zhong ren* [黄种人, yellow race]’s ‘speed’(...) However, in these 8 years there are too many questions to ask...”

“8 Questions for Xiang”, *Titan Sports*, Cover, 2012/08/08

Figure 26. Title: 8 Questions for Xiang, *Titan Sports*, Cover, 2012/08/08



An eight-page feature in the issue accompanied this cover with each page making an attempt to answer one of the questions relating to his disappointing Olympic performance and the condition of his injury. However, the media editors withdrew the amount of sympathy, mercy and support they extended to Liu in 2008. This time, the Chinese media were more positioned in the role of an investigator who tried to unravel the questions that surrounded Xiang's injury, his treatment, his disappointing performance and the future of his career. The feature published by *Titan* in 2012 ran 8 pages. Each page was headed by a question, as can be seen in Figure 27-28. The questions and a summary of each question are given below:

Q1: [Liu] hit the hurdle and withdrew from the competition; was it already destined?

Liu Xiang's parents came to London but they did not watch the race. Rumors [of his injury] were out early from the Chinese Center of Athletics, sports and coaches. Advertisements were replaced beforehand. The withdrawal this time seems to have left footprints to trace.

Q2: Emotional breakdown; why did he refuse to let his feeling out?

As the only journalist to be allowed in the athletes' alley, Yan Xiaoyan recorded everything she witnessed during 85 minutes: Dr. Eddie was

crying, team maintenance leader Li Guoxiong leaned on the wall after a few steps, [coach] Sun Haiping's eyes were red, but Liu Xiang refuse to vent his feelings in front of people who he is close with after an emotional breakdown. He also didn't attend the press conference that IOC hoped he would appear at.

Q3: Was it a sudden injury or he was holding on under an injured condition?

At the press conference, two questions that mentioned repeatedly were: Where exactly was he injured? What is the cause of this injury? Even though it is not clearly stated, suspicion filled the air: Was this a sudden injury or he was competing under pain? About this, the head coach of Chinese Athletics team Feng Shuyong said that Liu Xiang's injury had always been there, it was not fully healed contrary to the media report.

Q4: Should the treatment or the training schedule to be blamed?

History always repeats itself in an amazing way. Liu Xiang said goodbye to the Olympics for the second time. From "fully recovered" to "irritating and painful", from withdrawing two times from Olympics due to injury to another pale excuse. What kind of responsibility should Liu Xiang's team be blamed for?

Q5: Is it the feet or the heart that is painful?

Liu Xiang fell and injured his Achilles tendon this is a wound of body. In the meantime, Liu has repeated the story of four years ago and has undergone uncounted pressure, and this is a wound of the heart he cannot escape. Is it the wound of the body or the wound of the mind that lead to this Olympic result? We don't know. But for sure, both wounds rely on and counteract each other.

Q6: Who pushed Liu Xiang to step into the stadium with injury?

Liu's old tendon injury re-occurred [at London Olympics] and he stepped onto the track with a sealing compound. He ruptured his Achilles tendon with his attempt at the first hurdle. Based on this physical condition, he should have made the wise choice to withdraw before the heats. But in Beijing and London, he stepped into the stadium both times. Who made this decision?

Q7: Why, in two months, [did his physical condition go] from heaven to hell?

To conclude the competition in this way, it is too cruel for the Chinese national hero; it also shocked the world media. The head journalist for sports of France's *L'Équipe* questioned in June this year if Liu still has the [physical] status to re-establish the world record. How can Liu's

Figure 27 Feature Titan Sports on August 8th, 2012 Title: Xiang 8 Questions Page 1

Q1: [Liu] Kicked the hurdle and withdrew from the competition, was it already destined?

「特别报道」

4.19
8问

踢栏退赛 是否早已注定

刘翔在决赛中踢倒栏架，预赛中心及起跑早于起跑线，广东卫视解说员「第一时间」说，刘翔在起跑时就已注定失败。

Q2: Emotional breakdown, why he rejected to let his feeling out?

「特别报道」

4.19
8问

情绪崩溃 为何拒绝发泄

刘翔在赛后情绪崩溃，赛后第一时间拒绝了记者采访，刘翔在赛后第一时间拒绝了记者采访。

1356, 折翼之吻



跛脚走入检录口



Q3: Was is a sudden injury or holding on under an injured condition?

「特别报道」

4.19
8问

是突发伤情 还是带伤苦撑

刘翔在赛前训练中，左脚脚踝处突发伤情，刘翔在赛前训练中，左脚脚踝处突发伤情。

Q4: Should the treatment be count to blame or the training schedule?

「特别报道」

4.19
8问

是治疗失责 还是训练失责

刘翔在赛后第一时间拒绝了记者采访，刘翔在赛后第一时间拒绝了记者采访。



治疗师称应遵医嘱

“你应该对此负责！”

内幕：师徒曾发生分歧

“上量导致跟腱断裂”



Figure 28. Feature *Titan Sports* on August 8th, 2012 Title: Xiang 8 Questions Page 2

Q5: Is the feet or the heart that is painful?

「特别报道」

是脚伤还是心伤

脚伤导致心伤 心伤加剧脚伤 这是一个循环



如果有一群刘翔 还在于一个倒下?

「特别报道」

刘翔脚伤 还是心伤? 这是身体上的, 还是心理上的? 刘翔, 亚洲中短跑名将, 多次在四年一届的奥运会上斩获金牌, 这又是身体和心理上的双重打击, 最终让他倒在了这个领奖台上, 这身心的伤痛, 我们不知道, 可以肯定的是, 身体和心理上的伤痛, 终究是一种相互伤害。

刘翔脚伤 还是心伤? 这是身体上的, 还是心理上的? 刘翔, 亚洲中短跑名将, 多次在四年一届的奥运会上斩获金牌, 这又是身体和心理上的双重打击, 最终让他倒在了这个领奖台上, 这身心的伤痛, 我们不知道, 可以肯定的是, 身体和心理上的伤痛, 终究是一种相互伤害。

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Q6: Who pushed Liu Xiang to step on the stadium with injury?

「特别报道」

谁逼刘翔带伤上场

信念不倒 激情永在



田径队的“造血机”

刘翔脚伤 还是心伤? 这是身体上的, 还是心理上的? 刘翔, 亚洲中短跑名将, 多次在四年一届的奥运会上斩获金牌, 这又是身体和心理上的双重打击, 最终让他倒在了这个领奖台上, 这身心的伤痛, 我们不知道, 可以肯定的是, 身体和心理上的伤痛, 终究是一种相互伤害。

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Q7: Why in two months from heaven to hell?

「特别报道」

为什么2个月 从天堂到地狱

伤病? 心病? 两者兼有?



刘翔脚伤 还是心伤? 这是身体上的, 还是心理上的? 刘翔, 亚洲中短跑名将, 多次在四年一届的奥运会上斩获金牌, 这又是身体和心理上的双重打击, 最终让他倒在了这个领奖台上, 这身心的伤痛, 我们不知道, 可以肯定的是, 身体和心理上的伤痛, 终究是一种相互伤害。

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Q8: To appear for the second time or retire directly?

「特别报道」

第二次复出 还是直接退役

“小王子”接班刘翔



刘翔脚伤 还是心伤? 这是身体上的, 还是心理上的? 刘翔, 亚洲中短跑名将, 多次在四年一届的奥运会上斩获金牌, 这又是身体和心理上的双重打击, 最终让他倒在了这个领奖台上, 这身心的伤痛, 我们不知道, 可以肯定的是, 身体和心理上的伤痛, 终究是一种相互伤害。

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dream be shattered just in August? What happened in these two months?

Q8: To appear for the second time or retire directly?

In a telegraph sent to Liu Xiang from the Shanghai government, a line went “heal fast and pull yourself together again”, but can he really compete for the second time? From all the information gathered, the London Olympics might be the farewell performance of Liu. In the meantime, Liu’s fellow teammate Xie Wenjun entered the semi-final with a third-place; can he become the next Liu Xiang?

Figure 29 Title: Imperfect smile? Unintentional kick on the hurdle? *Titan Sports*, A5, 2012/08/08



In addition to the research on Liu Xiang’s body conditions, the Chinese media gave their best efforts to map out the real (or imagined) reasons behind this tragic fall, even his facial expressions were not excluded from investigation⁴⁸. In an article

⁴⁸ Excerpts of comments from *Titan Sports*:

Dong Lu: I do not despise Liu Xiang as a human. His choice was not up to him: the bitter smile on his face already proved everything. I only despise those who manipulate him, those who lifted him up and now drop him down and eventually abandon him cruelly.

titled “Imperfect smile? Unintentional kick on the hurdle?”, the editor invited a facial-expressions expert to interpret the “weird smile” (on the left in Figure 29) that appeared on Liu Xiang’s face while he was all set on the starting block. The expert’s conclusion after studying the baselines of his past smiles (the three smaller headshots on the right) proves that the smile on Liu’s face signified nothing peculiar. This attempt to find out the cause(s) of his fall in any possible context can be seen as a desperate cry or the morbid curiosity of the media to dig out the truth behind the event.

In *Titan’s* coverage on Liu, the journalists made their best effort to map out the reasons behind Liu Xiang’s decision; this editorial choice fulfilled the curiosity of the readers and increases the marketability of the newspapers. But in hindsight, behind the eight question marks is an exasperated frustration of the public over a shattered dream of dispelling the “sick man” title, an unfulfilled expectation to conquer the hegemonic “Western body” after yet waiting for another four years. The gap in the representations before and after his career fallbacks to a large degree mirrored an underlying mentality of a failed mission in self-validation which eventually leads to a crisis in self-identification.

Netizen: I watched the video closely and couldn’t help but wonder. First, his left foot hits the hurdle and touches the ground, and his right foot followed later. Theoretically his left foot should be more injured than the right. To take another close look, before his fall, his right foot is already well prepared, during the process with some minor protective movement, after touching the hurdle he also carefully put the right foot down.

To follow this topic, in the next discussion section the interviewed journalists' comments on producing the representation of Liu Xiang will be incorporated in accessing the web of interests behind Liu Xiang to further map the modern Chinese national identity through the celebrity body of Liu.

5.3 Discussion

I was bouncing on one leg [after I tripped], at the beginning I was jumping backward, and then I thought this is wrong, I should jump to the finish line. A staff member pulled out a wheel chair in front of me, I saw it and decided I'm not going to take it. I still have one [good] leg; I can jump to the end. When I passed the last hurdle, the idea in my head was I wanted to kiss the hurdle. Because this is the last Olympics for me as an athlete, I'm not planning to compete in 2016 Rio Olympics. So I found it hard to let go [retire] even though it was a cruel decision that needed to be made. When I jumped to the end, the idea in my head is: Goodbye my Olympics.

Liu Xiang's exclusive interview with CCTV on August 23th, 2012⁸

The ground-breaking achievement of Liu Xiang in Athens was primarily established on breaking the Asian body norms and proudly claimed the world record result on behalf of all East Asians. When his body failed to perform under

the 2008 Beijing and 2012 London Olympics, emotions of confusion, disappointment and doubt were further registered under the myths surrounding his injury, his treatment, and his entire performance at both Olympics, and even his facial expressions. The Chinese media paid a grand tribute to his Olympic finale and bid a sad farewell to the national hero that had once been worshiped by the whole nation. The story of Liu Xiang is a true sensation created by the media, the Chinese sports authority, himself and the public opinions, as highlighted in this quote by Miller: “[T]he celebrity sports star is a complex mix of marketing methods, social signs, national emblems, products of capitalism and individualism, and objects of personal and collective consumption, with desire and control in a necessarily unsteady relationship” (Miller, 2013, p.21).

In light of this quote the “unsteady relationship” that perhaps lies behind the reasons for Liu Xiang’s participations in both Olympics of Beijing and London facing a possible devastating injury is the nature of elite sports careers in China, his personality, the demands of sponsors, bureaucratic pressure and national expectations. This point of view is elucidated in the interview that:

He shouldered the political interest of the states, national interests of the public and business interests of the sponsors; personal interests as well. When you are under these three interests [the first three], you are not responsible for your own decision. His personal interest is trivial after them.

Journalist A

Unlike many competitive sports systems abroad, under the state-sponsored sports system the Chinese Olympians shoulder the responsibility to win glory for the nation; and are also employed and provided for by the Chinese government. As the result, the Chinese sports authority played a decisive role in the selection of the athletes to represent China. As noted by one interviewed journalist: “[after London Olympics,] he (Liu Xiang) will not have the opportunity to compete again. The opportunity of Olympic participation is not in the hands of the athletes, this is unlike the situation abroad. Sports is Liu Xiang’s career and what he does for a living”.

This also leads to other journalists’ belief that Liu Xiang is an opinionated person and has a unique personality. After training hard for another Olympiad, facing the pressure from junior members of the Chinese athletic team, and with the limited opportunity available, it might have been his own decision to bet his luck on the unstable injury and not waste another precious chance to compete.

In addition to his employment with the Chinese government, Liu Xiang was also employed as the spokesperson for multiple international brands such as Visa, Amway, Cadillac, Coca Cola and Nike, as well as domestic companies like Yili Dairy Group and Aokang Shoes’ International, just to name a few. According to Forbes China, Liu Xiang’s endorsement income reached 23 million RMB in 2004; this number ballooned to 58 million RMB in the following year, and eventually he became the most hired spokesperson under the names of 14 brands in 2007. His endorsement payment was estimated to be 100 million RMB

in 2008. The top beneficiary of Liu's lucrative endorsement contract is the Chinese Athletics Association, according to journalist B:

Without Liu Xiang the funding received by the Chinese athletics team is about 10-20 million RMB. There is a saying inside the sports circle: Liu Xiang single-handedly maintains the Chinese athletics teams' survival. The Chinese athletics team is a beneficiary of Liu's sponsorship profits; if the sponsor pays a million RMB, Liu Xiang might be able to receive half a million or 600 thousand RMB, and 300-400 thousand will go to the Chinese Athletic Association and another 100 thousand to the coaches. It is just a matter of profit distribution.

Journalist B

The miraculous performance achieved by Liu Xiang's exponential body performance brought him to the altar of worship for the Chinese nation. However, the sensational success and the power fluctuations following his success took a grip of him and tied him down to very limited options. His once-worshiped corporeal presence in the Chinese media was also subjected to challenge after his career setback. Especially after he failed at his second Olympic attempt, the Chinese media started to reinterpret his groundbreaking success in 2004 and whether his physical strength did in fact break the stereotype of Asian body norm. One of the Chinese sports journalists explained as follows:

The reason that Liu draws a lot of attention is because he broke the myth on the Asian body [that it can't compete with foreign athletes], but did he manage to do so? [Not really], first of all 110m-hurdle race is not like 100m race which relies purely on muscle power. The 110m-hurdle race demands a certain command of skill, body coordination and rhythmic control, this has nothing to do with his physical strength. Liu is exceptionally strong in these areas, and that compensated for his physical weakness.

Journalist L

The rise of Liu Xiang's performance claimed to break the Asian body norm, however his fall lead to the old belief that Asian athletes are more capable in sports that emphasize skill and dexterity. Floating on top of Liu's body representation in the Chinese media is the gap between the rapid growth of the national economy and a matching maturity in ideology, knowledge and personal belief. The nation demands a hero that can claim victory over the perceived stronger "Western body". A body that can bring confidence to the perceived national self, in particular a strong, masculine and exemplary male figure following the dominance of Chinese female athletes at the Olympics and a long unfruitful investment in track and field events. The national tide aroused by Liu's success is inevitable; his falling status is

also another story that can be traced in the past and possibly point to future directions of Chinese nationalism and identity formation process.

Chapter 6. Epilogue: The “Sick/Strong Man of East Asia” in the Contemporary Chinese Olympic Discourse

This dissertation tracked the metamorphosis and contemporary interpretation of the discourse on the Chinese athletic body in the Olympics. It began by verifying the practice in domestic discourse of referring to China as the “sick man of East Asia.” The success of Chinese athletes in the sports arena has helped shed the weak and distained image this term establishes. By locating the origin of this term and examining the production and representation sites of body discourse over the period of China’s participation in the Olympics, the central argument of this dissertation has been that contrary to the weak and fragile image this term might convey, the result has presented a nation metamorphosed toward a more positive and stronger body presence through participation in the modern Olympics. The contention is that from the 1980s onward, the usage of term has transitioned from a descriptive term referring to the status quo, to the refutation of the image through successes on the sports field. The dissertation also shows a gradual increase from the 1980s in the instances of Chinese athletes being addressed as

physically stronger than foreign athletes, by examining comparative discourse patterns on the body from 1984-2012.

In more detail, this conclusion is first achieved by tracing the origin and semantic development of the stereotype “Sick man of East Asia” and its association with Chinese Olympic discourse in the span of mid-19th century to the 20th Century. A historical review of this term confirms that, contrary to previous works and popular belief that its initial application to China appeared in an English publication, the term appeared in an earlier Chinese text written by Chinese scholar Yan Fu in 1895. However, its subsequent appearance in an English article in British newspaper *North-China Daily News* published in Shanghai in 1896 sowed the seed that would later cast the term as a foreign-imposed comparison and a scourge on Chinese identity. In the following decades, the term was subjected to various rhetorical meaning such as pseudonyms, self-parody and to refer to the nation in crisis. However, from the 1940s onward, the application of “sick man of East Asia” in print took two main semantic directions: first as a title given by the West/ Japan to humiliate the nation; Second to reject it, by recounting how the successes of Chinese athletes have wiped out the disgrace brought by this term and re-established a new image of the nation, especially in the sports arena.

To continue the exploration of contemporary representation and production of the Chinese athletic body by unraveling the myth of this term and its underlying connotation of rivalry against the hegemonic “imperialist Western/ European” body image, the fourth chapter presented a content analysis of comparative body representations of Chinese versus foreign (Western and East Asian) athletes from 1984-2012. The discourse pattern shows that, when physical comparisons are made between Chinese and Western athletes, the Western athletes are still deemed to be stronger, though with a gradual decreasing dominance. In the meantime, the Chinese media discourse unveiled a certain level of consent of commonality regarding East Asian athletes’ body type. However, when bodily comparisons are made, the Chinese athletes are always deemed to be stronger than East Asian athletes. This discourse pattern is verified in the interviews with journalists and points to a rather clear distinction and compensations within the current Chinese Olympic sports landscape. A further examination reveals that within the Chinese Olympic sports structure, the body is recognized as a “handicap” in team/*daqiu* sports and should be compensated with superior techniques, intelligence, hard work and stable psychological conditions. The same body type is considered as an

asset in *xiaoqiu* sports where Chinese athletes are thought to hold a great advantage in terms of body type.

Following the quantitative analysis of media coverage of the eight summer Olympics, the author sought to dig deeper on the representation and production of the athletic body by focusing on an individual case. The last result chapter thus focuses on the body representation and production of the Chinese celebrity hurdler Liu Xiang. His record-breaking success in the 2004 Athens Olympics was seen as breaking the Asian body norm and triumphing over the hegemonic Western body. Chapter 5 documented how his body was represented after his groundbreaking performance and subsequent withdrawals from the Beijing and London Olympics. Tracking media coverage combined with interviews with over 10 Chinese sports journalists, the chapter documents that Liu's failed performance (on the field and in his professional career) led Chinese people back to the old belief that Asian athletes are more capable of sports that emphasize skill and dexterity. In essence, behind Liu Xiang's career trajectory is the nation's demand for an ideal heroic male figure to stand out against the effeminate performance of the Chinese Olympic team; an exemplary masculine man to conquer the more challenging power sports after a long unfruitful investment in track and field.

Floating on top of the celebrity body representation of Liu Xiang in the Chinese media is an unbalanced relationship between the rapid accumulation of wealth within the economy and an un-matching level of mentality, knowledge and personal belief within the current Chinese nation.

Coda: The “Sick/Strong Man of East Asia” in Contemporary Chinese Olympic Discourse

To conclude, the discourse on body in contemporary China has presented a rather bizarre “sick/strong man of East Asia”. The “sick man of East Asia” was established when China’s social, political and military weaknesses made it an easy target for the aggressive foreign powers (West and Japan), particular after the devastating failures in the Opium Wars. The term was then incorporated by the reformists as a term to provoke self-strengthening and national redemption. After the turbulent national condition ended with the establishment of the PRC, the newly established regime demanded “its practitioners negotiate a relationship with both the state in all of its complex manifestations and capital (often, but not always, the same thing), national pride and achievement act as a glue that further bonds the relationship” (Barme, 1996, p.207). The Olympics became the perfect

“glue” to consolidate the nation; in particular the achievement of Chinese athletes has been celebrated as a national success and reaffirmed a strengthened national image.

The symbolic meaning of the athletic triumph of the body in Olympic sports is to redeem the pride against the “imagined” rivalry, which the media assumed to be the West and Japan even before the actual competition. When success was achieved the discourse pattern celebrated it as a redemption, not only out of the grandeur of the nation’s success but also the assumption that the Chinese team prevailed against the “foreign enemies” who once humiliated them. The rhetoric of breaking the self-loathing concepts such as “sick man of East Asia” further added an inculcated patriotic ire to the Games, and unified the nation with the patriotic theme endorsed by the media discourse favored by the State.

In factual terms, the Olympic body discourse has undergone an increase in images of a strengthened national physique, a rather “strong man of East Asia” in the Olympic arena. This image was seen in the comparative content analysis on the body in eight summer Olympics, and the analysis of Asian “flying man” Liu Xiang. However, this newly established physical confidence within the public discourse is rather fragile, especially when the performance fails to live up to the

expectation of an exceptional body. The discourse pattern seems to retreat back to doubt in body capability and further lead to an identity crisis within the public discourse, which is the scenario highlighted in the case of Liu Xiang. This identity crisis is perhaps attributed to the nation's status quo, a rapidly growing economy without a matching maturity in self-positioning and ideology. Just like the term "sick/strong man of East Asia", the modern Chinese identity is in a constant negotiation between the state and public displays of nationalism to seek for an appropriate self-positioning within the current social and economic condition. This paradigm can be traced in the past and possibly will map future directions of Chinese nationalism and identity-formation process.

Research significance and future directions

This dissertation hopes to fill in the gap of research on sporting stereotypes in China and contribute to the understanding of the jigsaw of Chinese nation and national identity in the contemporary era in the following aspects: 1) To supplement the literature regarding the term "sick man of East Asia" from 1930s to the twentieth century, particularly the evolving relationship between this term and Chinese sports; 2) To provide valid primary data on the evolution of the Chinese

athletic body representation under the background of the Olympic success achieved between 1984 and 2012. Since *Titan Sports* newspaper does not have a digital database, there has been limited systematic research done on this newspaper, and many research findings are published for the first time; 3) To locate the Chinese celebrity body within the frame of hero-coward arc is an approach that has been limitedly applied in celebrity culture studies in China and has ample possibilities for future exploration; 4) The methodological approach to incorporate the circuit of culture framework to combine cultural sites for a thorough examination of the Chinese nation and national identity. This approach has proven its validity within this dissertation and could serve as a valid approach for future work and research.

Upon the completion of data analysis, the author acknowledges that due to the various terms for body in Chinese language, the decision to adopt two Chinese characters to conduct keyword search can be limited and result in discarding partial data on the body representation. It is also within the author's recognition that to compare body representations without resourcing to the profound literature on race and ethnicity can limit the width and depth this research touches.

Thus it becomes the future task of this dissertation to incorporate more theoretical and historical insights to further examine the current research findings, particular to review past literature in regard to the philosophical and historical interpretation of the body in China, in addition to literature on body, race and ethnicity studies in the West and Japan.

While writing the case study on Liu Xiang, the author was inspired by the idea to expound the current chapter to a panoramic project on the body representation of a series of fallen Chinese athletes. Review the history of Chinese sports, it is obvious that the Chinese sports circle never lacked stories of former national heroes turning into cowards or traitors. The unique angle to locate the star athlete's body representation within the hero to villain arc has been scarcely applied to evaluate former sports celebrities. The case study on Liu Xiang has proven the validity of this paradigm to form a critical analysis on contemporary nationalism and national identity in China. This will be one of the remaining tasks for the author in the post-doctoral stage.

Appendix

Appendix A. Original article "The Condition of China" published by *North-China Daily News* on 1896/10/17. (Photocopy from Shanghai Library -Xujiahui Branch)

The
North-China Daily News.

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, 17TH OCTOBER, 1896.

THE CONDITION OF CHINA.

CHINA has long been the sick man of the Far East, but since the war all the world has seen for the first time how very sick the sick man is. That blithe omniscience of the Western Press (which led it to locate Kuchêng in Szechuan, to speak of the Empress as a woman with bound feet, and to do many other funny things) deceived the world as to the strength of China. It is a pity if poor China, over and above the other penalties, has to pay for our stupidity by loss of our sympathy. China did not deceive us; the war only revealed the rottenness which every honest observer knew to be there. The world sees these things in their true proportions now; Europe and Lord Wolseley are at present relieved from fear of a warlike, yellow, and innumerable host overrunning our Western civilisation.

There is still a lazy theory held by many that in spite of weakness and slowness China must of necessity somehow hang together still. It has lasted so long, its bulk is so stupendous, it has weathered so many storms, that the mind naturally objects to regarding it as perishable, it is easier to suppose it will survive somehow than to imagine that now, just now, is the great crisis of its history.

It is easy to answer this theory with platitudes; to say the pitcher goes often to the well yet gets broken at last. It is better, however, to call to mind that though existing long it has existed under various masters; and better still to remember that in its long existence it has never once been in circumstances at all comparable with those of to-day. The very forces which make a body cohere while in one medium may cause it to fall to pieces in another. We have heard of strange deep-sea creatures which when dredged up from their native depths not only could not live in shallow water, but actually fell to pieces for want of the pressure to which they were accustomed. Thus the very reasons for China's having held together so long under some con-

ditions may be very good reasons for its disintegration under new conditions. China remains the same it is true, but its environment has changed "with a vengeance." To give a nobler meaning to a hackneyed phrase, it is the very life of nations to say *tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*; but China has proudly said in all her deeds: "The times may change but we will change not at all, if we can help it." And when such a sentiment is held, even with four or five more powerful nations jostling at her closed but rotten gates, it would seem as if the end of China was not far.

Yet the situation if desperate is not really hopeless. The first thing required is time, and time is just the one thing which Chinese diplomacy has always known how to get. But alas! time in itself will bring no help, it must be time well used. It is now a year and a half since the Treaty of Peace was signed and China's hands left as free as they ever will be again for the work of self-renewal. Two years is not long enough to accomplish anything very great, but it is long enough for making good beginnings of many things in a hopeful and energetic style. It is long enough, in a word, to give the world a guarantee that she is in earnest and realises her danger. But what is the sum total of the solid beginnings that can be pointed to? Can any assert and prove that China has learnt anything from her defeat? A small section of a small railway is being made; Reform Clubs have started and been put to sleep; changes in army and navy are talked of; but nothing adequate has been attempted in any direction; all things continue as they were from the beginning.

When on the other hand we consider the immensity of the work that needs to be done, it seems almost impossible that diplomacy can gain the necessary time or the most strenuous exertion complete the task; it seems impossible that Fate should be staved off while China builds her railroads, creates her army, prepares her navy, changes her currency, alters her educational standards, establishes her postal service, purges the corruption of her official classes, reforms her prison system, and does the thousand other things that must be done before she can demand and obtain recognition as a civilised nation. It seems as if these things must all be done for her by those who divide her.

But the two Great Powers chiefly interested in the fate of China, England and Russia, do not want her to be divided. England has responsibilities enough on her hands, and yet, if a division of China were inevitable, England would be obliged to take a large share; while again, it would be no easy task to divide the carcass of China so as to please all the eagles. And England knows that while the whole of China is now open, on equal terms with all the rest of the world, to her trade, she would in case of a division be shut out by preferential tariffs from all but her portion. Russia is supposed to look forward to a time when the whole of the Chinese Empire will fall into her hands, and she, as the *Times* pointed out the other day, does not want to see what she regards as her inheritance impaired. The indications then are in favour of China's getting time; time for Western education to spread among the young, and for the leaven of enlightenment to work; and if there were any sign that the necessity for reform was appreciated at Peking, any sign that an honest attempt was being made to improve the government of the Empire, the case would not be entirely hopeless.

Appendix B. Original article excerpt published by *North-China Daily News* on 1896/11/30. (Photocopy from Shanghai Library -Xujiahui Branch)

ance within any reasonable space of time." There are the Alsace-Lorraine question, the dread felt by Central Europe of the hosts of Russia, and the question of predominance in Africa; and besides that, there are four "sick men," whose condition causes a great deal of anxiety. There is first Turkey, which includes some of the fairest regions of the earth's surface. Next comes Persia, which is also by nature exceedingly rich; everything will grow on its plateaux, and every mineral abounds in its mountains, while from its position its independence is of great importance both to Russia and to the owners of India. Then there is China:—

The third sick man, the Emperor of China, is in a different position from the other two. His huge empire, with its swarming population, is not exactly disorganised, and has many elements in it which tend to permanent cohesion; but it is so incapable of the peculiar exertions required for war, that it is unable to resist any violent assailant. The Japanese, if left to themselves, would have conquered the whole of it for a time; and it is not doubted that a Russian, English, French, or German *corps d'armée*, once within the frontier, could march to Peking, and dictate any terms its Government might please. This weakness does not threaten the independence of China at present, because nobody exactly wants to undertake the task of governing three hundred millions of Mongols all hostile to their governors, and all given to secret plots and cruel massacres. But all European States want to gain from China naval stations, routes for railways, concessions for industrial enterprises, and, above all, special rights to sell goods to the largest market existing in the world. As the Chinese Government grants nothing except to menace or offers of money, the pressure put upon it is always diplomatic, and the intrigues, quarrels, and threats of war at Peking among the Powers are almost worse than they are in Constaantinople; are in fact worse, because as they do not involve quite such extreme dangers the diplomatists use more violence. Ambassadors will have much to do for many years before they have settled their relative position at Peking, and are able to decide on what terms they can divide, not the provinces of China, but the grand commercial loot which the weakness of China enables them all to hope for.

Lastly there is Morocco, and "there are able men who think that the position of the fourth sick man, the Sultan of Morocco, is even more dangerous to the peace of Europe than that of the Sultan of Turkey." For the heritages of all these four the European Powers will certainly quarrel, and, perhaps, wage actual war. The second leading article is on "The Crisis in the Liberal Party," the remarkable feature of which is the almost complete apathy displayed by the country as a whole. There is an informing article on "The Currency Question in the United States," and an interesting one, full of figures, headed "Home Banking Statistics."

Appendix C. Index of Instances Containing "Sick Man of East Asia" in *Xinmin Evening News*

N	Title	Author Time	Quote
1.	食人主义 Cannibalism	高潮 1946.12.11	“日本长崎县某妇人，食其甫达四月之私生子，文汇报以‘日本发现食人主义’为标题，赋此抒感。日本本是食人国，中国被食尸横陈，今虽得救暴易暴，东亚病夫仍哀呻！” A Japanese woman in Nagasaki Japan ate her four-month-old child born out of wedlock... Japan is a cannibalistic country, and China has been eaten with corpses dispersed, the Sick Man of East Asia is still moaning.
2.	孽海花的遗漏人物 - 顾衡如 The Missing Character in Nie Hai Hua - Gu Hengru	白虹 1947.3.20	孽海花说部，原系由曾猛朴（号东亚病夫）与金天翻（号爱自由者）二人合著 The Shuo Chapter of Nie Hai Hua was originally written by Zeng Mengpu (by line: Sick Man of East Asia) and Jin Tianfan (by line: Love Freedom).
3.	打油集 Doggerel Collection	鹑衣小使 1947.9.8	卜算子 有客“做”金钞，条子送了命，连日传讯各证人，案悬久未定。只恐似沈崇，臧大成借镜； <u>来世莫做中国人，东亚病夫“病”。</u> Do not want to be Chinese in the next generation, with sickness as Sick Man of East Asia
4.	从缅甸到台湾 From Myanmar to Taiwan	沙 1947.12.4	<u>联合国抗日多年，对于战败国的处分仍然议论纷纷，未有结局，现在却向我们的领土与边界转起念头来了，难这中国永远是东亚病夫，到今日还是要成为瓜分的对象么？</u> The UN has been fighting Japan for years, now the UN still hasn't come to a punishment for the vanquished countries. Is China forever the Sick Man of East Asia and has become the target for profit divisions?
5.	青年健康民族健康 Health of the Youth Health of the Nation	英东 1948.3.16	<u>“东亚病夫”这一顶帽子，很早的戴中国人的头上了，直到今天为止，这一顶帽子，不仅没有脱去，而且愈戴愈高；当然，整个社会经济的破产，整个国民经济的贫困，铸定了青年人的命运，使青年们在现实环境的折磨之下，遭受到贫病交迫，健康破产的浩劫，...</u> The hat of “Sick Man of East Asia” has been placed on the head of Chinese very early. Until today, this hat has not been taken off but has increased in height;... the Chinese youth under the scourging reality is tortured by sickness and on the verge of crumpling health, ...
6.	国大侧影 The Profile of Republic of China Presidential	1948.4.7	<u>大会开幕，迄今九天，每日会场中呛咳声不绝，有人浩叹曰：“此东亚病夫之国也”。亦有人谓，此系首都寒暖无常，代表水土不服所致属国。</u>

	Election		It has been 9 days since the opening of the congress. Every day the assembly room is filled with incessant coughing. Someone signed that: "This is the nation o 'Sick Man of East Asia'". But other people said that this was due to the fact of changing temperatures in the capital and a sign of unaccustomed to the local climate.
7.	亲族关系作家录 The Record of Clan Related Authors	梁甫吟 1948.8.8	
8.	奉劝 Persuasion	朱朴 1950.3.27	今日这一面准备土改,一面发动增产;一面收缩通货,一面发动重点建设;一面包下旧人员,一面加以整编……一切的一切,不都是积极的在为我们这个历史有名的东亚病夫打算吗? Aren't all of these an active planning for the notorious Sick Man of East Asia?
9.	健康第一 Health First	刘彬 1951.5.9	<u>“东亚病夫”是帝国主义者鄙视中国人民的话,解放战争及朝鲜战事都已证明中国“病夫”的耐劳机制,远胜于自称“世界优秀民族”的盎格鲁撒克逊人。</u> "Sick Man of East Asia" is a contemptuous term from imperialist countries. The 1949 Revolution and the Korean War have proved that the "sick man"'s endurance for hard work has far exceed the self-acclaimed "master race of the world," the Anglo-Saxons.
10.	今天是帝国主义倒霉的日子 纪念抗日战争胜利日六周年 Today is the Setback Day of the Imperialists In remembrance of the 6th Year Anniversary of Triumph in Second Sino-Japanese War	1951.9.3	一百年中,中华民族在卖国求荣的反动派政权统治之下受尽了帝国主义的欺凌和剥削.在我国国土之上,驻外国之兵,行外国之法,用外国之币,国虽未亡,与亡无异. <u>伟大的有五千年优秀传统文化的中华民族,国际地位,一落千丈.被帝国主义嘲笑为东亚病夫,讥诮为一盘散沙.</u> The Chinese nation with 5000 years of magnificent cultural heritage plummeted in international positioning. [China has been] ridiculed by the imperialists as sick man of East Asia, in a state of disunity.
11.	成药害了我十多年 严重的肠胃病在解放后才治好 Patent Medicine Harmed me for Over Ten Years Serious Intestinal Disease is Cured after the Establishment of PRC	赵群 1951.11.17	我的身体自小就很不好,当我还在初中读书的时候,患了比较严重的胃肠病和营养不良症,同学们都说我是‘东亚病夫’,心理非常难受. My body was not in a good condition since I was little, when I was studying in middle school I got serious intestinal disease and malnutrition. All my classmates call me 'Sick Man of East Asia' I feel bad.
12.	陈爱芬走上医疗工作岗位 Chen Aifen Step into the Role of Medical Work	1953.1.5	
13.	历史性的会师 五彩纪录片 “民间体育表演”明起上映 The Historic Moment of Joined Forces The Documentary on "The	1954.11.18	<u>在解放以前,许多人以为我们的体育活动,远远落后于欧西各国,以为我们是“东亚病夫”</u> Before the 1949 Revolution, many people regard our sports activity far behind European and Western countries, Chinese elieve we are "Sick Man of East

Performances of Folk Sport Tomorrow			Asia
14.	读“詹天佑” Read “Zhan Tianyou”	易厂 1957.3.3	12. “东亚病夫”、“远东睡狮”等等名词，曾经被外国侵略者无理地硬按在我们国家和民族的额角上，任意侮辱过的吗？ Titles such as “Sick Man of East Asia” and “Sleeping lion in the Far East” used to be a disgrace hard pressed on our country and nation by foreign invaders.
15.	记霍元甲 On Huo Yuanjia	郁陀 1957.4.15	后来有个拳艺界的前辈张文达，偏不服气，硬是要与霍较量。这时元甲抱病在身，好言对张道：“我立意要在外国人面前一雪‘东亚病夫’的耻辱，但以不伤同胞为主旨。我们还是部较手罢”。 “I’ve decided to wipe out the humiliation of ‘Sick Man of East Asia’, but under the guiding rule of not injuring a fellow countryman. I think it is better we don't fight against each other”.
16.	“五四”时代的街头诗 Street Poetry During the May Fourth Movement	沈廷凯 1958.05.04	“卖国贼人曹、章、陆，献媚日本求和睦，若是万众不齐心，亡国岂止一家哭”，这又是痛恨三个卖国贼一曹汝霖、章宗祥、陆宗舆，更能反映出群众激昂的心意。那时，我还在蓬莱路见过一副门对：“拿出龙马精神，不做东亚病夫。”也是反映了人民的爱国热情的。 Back then I saw a couplet on Penglai Road: “Bring out the vigorous spirit and do not become Sick Man of East Asia.” This reflected the patriotism of the nation.
17.	和平、进步、正义 - 中国向世界发出的声音 Peace, Progress, Righteousness - The Voice Send from China to the World	宋庆龄 1959.4.16	中国人民本身从来就不是软弱的。捏造“东亚病夫”这一恶毒的说的帝国主义伪善者，一方面竭力扶持毫无希望的国民党，使它继续骑在中国人民头上，另一方面又宣传中国没有能力料理自己的事情。 The Chinese nation has never been weak. The imperialist hypocrite who fabricates the saying of “Sick Man of East Asia” has been supporting the KMT and propagating China can't take care of her own business.
18.	全运会祝词 Congratulatory Speech for the National Games	林放 1959.9.13	
19.	万岁，中国的工人！ Long Live the Chinese Workers!	田林 1959.9.27	
20.	在冬季锻炼的行列里 In the Group of Winter Training	林圃 1959.12.6	我们锻炼的场所是外滩绿化地带。这在解放前百年间是饱经帝国主义践踏的地方。敌人污蔑我们是什么“东亚病夫”；什么“狗与华人不得入内”的辱华招牌，帝国主义的兵舰，以及什么“汇丰银行”、“沙逊大楼”，都在这一带。 This place used to be trampled on by imperialists. The enemy slanders us to be “Sick Man of East Asia” and put up humiliating post such as “Dog and China men can't enter”
21.	不怕“切腹”吗？ Not Afraid of Seppuku?	林放 1960.1.25	
22.	发愤图强	林放	从前，外国侵略者总是污蔑我们，说中国是“一盘散

	Determination to Succeed	1960.7.27	沙”，“东亚病夫”，侮辱我们是什么劣等民族。 Before, foreign invaders always slander us, saying Chinese are “in a state of disunity”, “Sick Man of East Asia”, insult us as an inferior nation.
23.	“孽海花”写甲午之战 <i>Nie Hai Hua on First Sino-Japanese War</i>	拾翠 1961.1.21	
24.	锦标以外 <i>Outside the Trophy</i>	林放 1961.4.16	
25.	狂飙为我从天落 <i>Hurricane Fallen from the Sky for Me</i>	林放 1962.7.1	
26.	贺健儿 <i>Congrats to the Athletes</i>	易火 1962.9.16	刘长春，符保卢，钱行素，吴必显，陈宝球 55 等跑跳掷选手，他们在创造当时的全国纪录，参加了一些国际比赛时，想起来曾引得多少人的欢呼和瞩目。然而，尽管全国人民对他们的支持，尽管他们自己也作了极大的努力，希望创出较好成绩，一洗“东亚病夫”的泥垢， <i>Athletes like Liu Changchun, Fu Baolu... even though the nation lend grand support to them and the great effort they've invested to wash away the mud of “Sick Man of East Asia”</i>
27.	篮球名将话今昔 <i>Known Basketball Players Today</i>	赵雨 1963.12.20	
28.	奇花硕果 <i>The Wonder Flower and the Ripe Fruits</i>	张德山 1965.9.10	
29.	爱国必须反帝 反帝必须反修 <i>Patriotism Must be Against Imperialism Anti-Imperialism Must be Against Revisionism</i>	1965.9.27	
30.	李家仁先生在记者招待会上的谈话 <i>Li Jiaren' s Remark at the Press Conference</i>	1965.9.27	
31.	是优待也是期待 <i>Priorities but also Expectations</i>	陈士杰 1965.10.23	
32.	也叫人家赶赶我们 <i>Also Let Others to Chase Us</i>	林放 1965.10.25	
33.	干一辈子革命 练一辈子身体 <i>Works a Lifetime Exercise a Lifetime</i>	隋英 1965.12.29	
34.	重阳节有感 <i>On the Double Ninth Festival</i>	秦似 1982.10.25	
35.	中南海的客人	张晓岚；	

	Guests of the Zhongnanhai	徐民和 ; 李贺普 1982.11.17	
36.	启用石秀 Using Shixiu	方任 1982.11.17	
37.	当前体育战线形势如何? What is the Status Quo of the Sports Field	卢璐 1983.1.1	
38.	兄妹同仇 Mutual Hatred Shared by the Brother and Sister	沈耀庭 ; 梁晨 1983.1.2	
39.	贺新佳 Congratulations on the New Year.	奚丰淑 1983.1.28	
40.	球王李惠堂 Li Huitang the King of Football	李松福 ; 林一玮 1983.4.2	
41.	球王李惠堂 Li Huitang the King of Football	李松福 ; 林一玮 1983.4.23	
42.	洋人林培瑞 The Westerner Lin Peirui	郑逸梅 1983.7.12	
43.	拥护这个倡议 Supporting this Proposal	冯英子 1983.6.17	
44.	全运会今昔 The National Games Today	铸成 1983.9.10	
45.	生命在于运动 Life Lies in Movement	方任 1983.9.15	
46.	秋光赞 Autumn Accolade	一张 1983.9.18	
47.	体育热 Sports Fever	顾回 1983.9.19	
48.	群体活动的新高度 New Height of Group Activity	致明 1983.9.23	
49.	我们的眼神注视着奥运会 Our Eyesight Fixed on the Olympics	言微 1983.10.2	所谓“东亚病夫”，乃是封建朝代的祸害和帝国主义者侵略破坏，造成我们政治、经济以及人民体质受灾受害的结果。The so-called “Sick Man of East Asia” is the result of damage of politics, economics and the physical condition of the nation by the feudalistic dynasty and the imperialists.
50.	笔名探趣 Exploring Pseudonyms	王德林 1983.10.17	
51.	三考上海郎 Testing the Shanghainese Gentleman for the Third Time	何亚君 1983.10.26	
52.	《霍元甲》廿集后日开播 The 20th Episode of Huo Yuanjia Will be on the Day	1984.3.11	

	after Tomorrow		
53.	霍元甲与精武体育会 Huo Yuanjia and Jing Wu Athletic Association	1984.3.17	
54.	“病夫” 威慑俄国佬 “Sick Man” Deters the Russian	晨曲 1984.4.5	有一天，刘振声拿来几张广告传单，上面印着俄国大力士在戏园卖艺，声称：“打遍中国无敌手，让东亚病夫们见识见识，开开眼界。” 霍元甲看了传单以后，勃然大怒，说：“全不把中国人当人看，一个外国卖艺的，也敢如此侮辱中国，真是欺人太甚！” A Russian performed in the local theatre and claimed to be: “unmatched in China and will broaden the vision of the ‘Sick Man of East Asia’”. Huo Yuanjia was infuriated after seeing the leaflet and said “a foreign busker dare not to treat Chinese as a fellow human. This act to humiliate China, it really went too far!”
55.	决雌雄拳来脚往 Fighting for the Winner	晨曲 1984.4.9	
56.	当年篮球名将蔡演雄抚今 思昔 Cai Yanxiong the Famous Basketball Player Reflect the Past and Present	李国田 1984.7.21	
57.	话说“鸭蛋”英雄 Story of the “o” Hero	林放 1984.8.3	
58.	初试锋芒 Debut	言微 1984.8.13	“东亚病夫”的印象，已被李宁、郎平等那样健美的人物一扫而光，它变成“巨人”了，但一点也不“神秘”，笑吟吟，活生生地站在大会的领奖台上，观众中间，他们向大家抛献手中的鲜花。 The image of “Sick Man of East Asia” has been swept away by handsome athletes like Li Ning and Lang Ping. He turned into a “giant”, smiling, standing on the award podium, among the audience and throws his flowers to us.
59.	一套引人注目的邮票 A Set of Stamps that Catches Attention	蔡绍彬 1984.11.23	
60.	《奋起呀，中华》拍成 Rise, China Finished Shooting	周洪涛 1985.2.7	
61.	建造“水上城” 三任“总 指挥” Building the “Water City Three “General Directors	陈钟； 蒋家风 1985.5.14	
62.	往事回忆点滴 Collections of Past Memories	黄佐林 1985.6.21	
63.	上海县：华盛顿县 Shanghai Town: Washington Town	杨铭鼎 1985.6.21	
64.	一场别开生面的国际排球 赛	1985.8.1	

An Exceptional International Volleyball Competition			
65.	《霍东阁》为何不如《霍元甲》 Why Huo Dongge is not comparable to Huo Yuanjia	傅歆 1985.08.02	此剧把东洋人蔑视“东亚病夫”的挑衅,降低到个人复仇的纠葛上,正如霍东阁不把比武看作是中华民族的奋起,而是作为个人思仇来对待一样,削弱了主题的表现力量和撞击观众心灵的激情。 This drama limits the provocative acts of Japanese addressing us as “Sick Man of East Asia” to personal revenge. This is just like Huo Dongge didn't treat martial combating as a means of national uprising, but out of personal struggles.
66.	喜爱和热心关注体育活动 Love and Enthusiastic about Sports Activities	卢璐 1985.10.23	
67.	营养过剩 Over nutrition	言微 1986.5.27	
68.	“社会办体育”不应该频频降温 We shouldn't Lower Our Enthusiasm for Sports Activities Organized by Society	徐世平 1986.10.13	
69.	谈“素质” On Quality	婴叔 1987.1.15	
70.	从 500 张请柬中回顾历史, 领略社会风尚 Tracing the History from 500 Invitations, Glancing through the Social Customs	之一 1987.2.14	
71.	闪光的数据 The Shining Statistics	肖禾 1988.10.2	
72.	不是续书的续书 The Sequel of the Non-sequel	高旅 1989.1.10	
73.	让群体之花遍地开 Let the Group Flowers Blossom	肖禾 1989.9.5	
74.	体坛雏鹰从这里起飞..... Let the Sports baby hawks take off from here.....	李修乐 1989.9.12	
75.	瞧我一家子 Look at My Family	1989.9.18	
76.	海派杂技出洋史 The History of Shanghai Style Acrobatics' Foreign Expedition	翁思再 1989.10.15	
77.	橱窗模特儿的疑惑 The Confusions of the Window Showcase Model	冶福龙 1989.12.10	
78.	雀战之灾	唐敏;瞿鹭	

	Disaster of the Sparrow Fight	1989.12.17	
79.	“张园”话旧 “Zhangyuan” Reminisce	汪正元 1990.02.19	1907年,有一西洋大力士奥皮音在沪吹嘘他天下无敌,讥笑中国人是东亚病夫,不堪一击,于是霍元甲来沪决定与奥比武,约期在张园决斗。 In 1907, a Westerner Aopiyin bragged in Shanghai that he is unbeatable and ridiculed Chinese as Sick Man of East Asia who cannot stand a single blow. Thus, Huo Yuanjia decides to fight with him in Shanghai and the location has been decided at Zhangyuan.
80.	给贩毒吸毒活动沉重打击 A Serious Blow to the Drug Trafficking and Drug Consumption	1990.3.17	
81.	北京百万人签名祝愿亚运会成功 Over a Million Sign in Beijing For the Success of Asian Games	侯俊侠; 亦真 1990.4.3	
82.	轻装才能前进 Light Equipped then Move Forward	王德宝 1990.6.22	
83.	“黑头发飘起来” “Let the Black Hair Flying”	1990.9.22	
84.	心中的丰碑 The Monument in Heart	徐世平 1990.9.22	
85.	亚运圆满成功 世界反响强烈 Asian Games Succeeded The World Accolades	1990.10.9	
86.	拼搏须及春 Fighting from the Spring	慕蓉萍 1990.10.9	
87.	“中国人自豪的一件大事” “A Big Event Chinese should All be Proud of”	1990.10.11	
88.	新闻引出新闻 喜事加上喜事 News trigger New Happy Events One Tops Another	余铮 1990.10.13	
89.	东瀛义士川喜多 The Righteous Japanese Man Kawakita	冯英子 1990.11.2	
90.	爱丽园 Love Liyuan	沈寂 1991.11.16	
91.	爱丽园 Love Liyuan	沈寂 1991.11.24	
92.	笑在关东 情留影城 Laugh in Northeast China Affection Stays in the Movie Theater	张敏贤 1992.8.29	
93.	到底该怎么奖?	朱霖发;	

	How to give reward?	小芳 ; 万祖年 ; ... 1992.8.30	
94.	“为国争光” ? “Win Honors for the Country?”	司马心 1993.1.5	
95.	‘36 奥运—’ 93 东亚运 : 梦想与荣耀 ‘36 Olympics —’ 93 East Asian Games: Dream and Glory	朱国顺 1993.5.16	
96.	“世纪之梦” 的昭示 The Revelation of the “Century Dream”	霜叶 1993.5.17	
97.	不以成败论英雄 Don't judge the heroes by Success or Failure	1993.9.25	
98.	健将从这里诞生 The Top Athletes are Born Here	李修乐 1993.9.29	
99.	“健康工程” 赞 Laurels on the “Health Project”	韦德锐 1993.12.23	
100.	从体能测试说开去 On the Physical Agility Test	婴叔 1994.3.20	
101.	禁毒上海滩 Drug Prohibition on the Bund	何建华 ; 赵进一 1994.7.3	
102.	马俊仁笑侃 “马家军” Ma Junren Talks the “Ma Family Army”	葛爱平 1994.10.13	马:我走邓小平的路, <u>邓小平让我们改革开放, 为中华民族, 为亚洲人争气, 摘掉西方人说东方人是东亚病夫的帽子。</u> (In a interview with marathon coach Ma Junren) Ma: Deng Xiaoping led us to the reform and opening up, helped our Chinese nation and Asians to get rid of the title of “Sick Man of East Asia”.
103.	为孙雯叫好 ! The Amazing Sun Wen!	徐源 1995.2.9	
104.	武大郎搓麻将 Wu Dalang Plays Mahjong	笑嘻嘻 1995.5.21	
105.	“风水宝地” 又一春 Another Spring of the “Geomantic Location”	邱之华 1996.2.2	
106.	神圣的种子 The Sacred Seeds	吴孟超 1996.06.23	我们在侨务委员会的安排下, 于 1940 年 1 月 3 日出发, 途经新加坡、越南 (当时称安南), 前往云南。在 <u>西贡登岸时, 验关的法国殖民主义者要我在入关护照上揪手印, 我因见欧美旅客都是签字而过; 便质问: “为什么不让我签名? 我会英文, 会中文, 会写自己的名字!” 他吼道: “黄种人签什么字! 你们是东亚病夫。”</u> When I was boarding in Saigon, the French Colonists at the custom asked me to provide fingerprint on my

passport. I saw all the western tourists just needed a signature so I asked: "Why not let me sign as well? I know English and Chinese, I can sign my own name!" He shouted: "Yellow Race people sign what! You are the Sick Man of East Asia."

107.	奥运演义 The Romance of Olympics	季一德 1996.8.19
108.	怪笔名 Strange Pseudonym	赵牧 1996.10.12
109.	万国禁烟会 The International Opium Commission	邢建榕 1996.10.25
110.	牛年说牛劲儿 Talk about the Ox Spirit in the Year of Ox	仲言 1997.2.7
111.	千万远离“白魔” Stay away from the “White Devil”	何建华； 杨丽琼 1997.5.4
112.	尝一口便抵押了自己 A Taste will Pledge Yourself	何建华 1997.5.13
113.	十日谈：挪威纪行 Decameron: Travel Notes in Norway	乔步法 1997.6.23
114.	童心大发的“啦啦队队员” The “Old Cheerleading Member” Maintains the Childish Disposition	姚荣铨 1997.8.15
115.	“中华百年体育回顾展”开幕 The Opening of “Retrospective Exhibition on Chinese Sports Century”	张伟 1997.10.8
116.	上海，中国近代体育的摇篮 Shanghai, the Cradle of Chinese Modern Sports	季一德 1997.10.19
117.	国运兴 体育兴 The Thriving Nation The Thriving Sports	1997.10.24
118.	国旗升起 热泪盈眶 The Rise of the National Banner The Warm Tears Well up the Eyes	俞亮鑫 1997.11.8
119.	“跑快快”寿星常跑治百病 “Pao Kuaikuai” Running Cures Sickness tip of Longevity	李修乐 1998.11.2
120.	六十年前的留学经历 The Study Abroad Experience 60 Years Ago	朱烨 1999.1.23
121.	五妹旧梦	俞明

	The Old Dream of Wumei	1999.2.12
122.	铁臂振雄风—陈镜开 The Iron Arms Bring out the Pride— Chen Jingkai	1999.9.13
123.	谁是体坛“世纪之星” Who is the “Century Star” of the Sports Arena	1999.12.7

Source: Compiled by the author

Appendix D. Index of Instances Containing "Sick Man of East Asia" in *Wenhui Newspaper*

N	Title	Author Time	Quote
1.	发刊词 Forward	1938.4.7	本刊的发刊，都是本着上述的主张，所以专就提倡卫生，发扬医学的立场，充实内容，使读者目光集中于民族前途的死亡，疾病的痛苦，各自警惕， <u>以积极的态度，努力锻炼，预防，医疗三要点，以洗滌“东亚病夫”四字的耻辱，而奠定自身健康的基础！</u> With positive attitude, keep three points of exercise, prevention and medical treatment to wash away the humiliating title of “Sick Man of East Asia” by strengthening the foundations of one’s health!
2.	健康之大敌 The Primary Enemy of Health	文载道 1938.7.22	我们的祖先，替我们扶植了一个“重文”之邦。到了眼前，“斯文”不但将要临到“扫地”的厄运。有时也成为荏弱的象征。对于我自己，也许不幸地生长在柔弱的环境里，时时感到痛愤的，是必须用一部分的生命，去跟病魔相搏斗。 <u>自种人称我们为“东亚病夫”，倒也并非怎样的落空。但因此也说明了扛着“病夫”的旗帜的，不单单是中国，也包括了“东亚”。取这外号的人，或许是绝无恶意的吧？然已经使我们感到无穷的羞耻，无穷的悲哀了。</u> The Caucasian people call us “Sick Man of East Asia”. This is not a rather empty title. But it also explains that under the banner of “Sick Man” there is not only China but also “East Asia”. Maybe the person who came up with this nickname is not vicious? But it already made us extremely ashamed and sad.
3.	小医院 Small Hospital	1938.7.27	
4.	时代妇女的乳峰美 The beauty of the Bust	姚崇培 1939.1.4	

5.	丈夫的性能健康问题 The Health Issue regarding the Husband's Sexual Performance	姚崇培 ; 詹念曾 1939.1.21	
6.	体育与国防 上 Sports and National Defense (1)	周鹤鸣 1939.02.09	勿再悲伤，只需记住，那侵略我们的是一日本！更须仔细一想，今日我们受辱的根苗，远在数十年前已经种下，“东亚病夫”这几个字，便是现在使我们家破人亡，山河变色的致命伤。... 但是全面抗战，关系在于全民动员，我们要打破“东亚病夫”之讥讽，要培养未来复兴民族的战士，要实践“用我们的血肉，筑城我们新的长城”这句话，那末眼前训练体格的工作，是何等的重要呢？ No need to be sad but just remember, the country which invaded us is -Japan! We should think more carefully that the root of the humiliation has been planted decades ago, "Sick Man of East Asia" is the fatal wound of families torn apart and homeland left to ruins.
7.	体育与国防 下 Sports and National Defense (2)	周鹤鸣 1939.02.10	
8.	曾孟朴先生的学习机会 Zeng Mengpu's Studying Opportunity	毅动 1939.3.28	
9.	严肃生活 Rigid Life	1945.10.4	
10.	一群绵羊的呐喊 The Yelling of a Flock of Sheep	1946.2.15	
11.	文人改造刍议 (上) A Rustic Opinion on Literati's Reformation (1)	怀湘 1946.5.15	
12.	论民族健康与公医制度 On the Nation's Health and the Public Medical System	花新人 1946.10.17	
13.	“肉与死” "Flesh and Death"	1946.10.25	
14.	抗议美军暴行 读者来函摘录 Protest the Atrocity of the American Military Excerpts of Readers' Message	1947.1.9	
15.	我理想中的新社会 The New Society in My Dream	张綱伯 1947.04.02	疾病 Disease <u>中国号称东亚病夫昔日男子染毒，女子缠足，因先天的虚损，后天的失调。营养既不足，卫生又不讲。</u> China was claimed to be Sick Man of East Asia. The men took drugs and women with bound feet, the innate weakness plus acquired imbalances.
16.	河南体育大会揭幕 The Opening of the Hunan Sports Convention	1949.12.11	
17.	我的祖国啊！ My Country!	方向 1950.1.16	

18.	百年史话（一） On the Century History (One)	郭根 1951.1.25	
19.	搞好工作就是爱国 A Good Job at Work is to love the Country	瑞邦 1951.1.29	
20.	世界和平民主阵营中的伟大的中国人民 The Magnificent Chinese Nation in the Group of World Peace and Democracy	彭真 1951.5.1	
21.	马克思列宁主义在中国的胜利 The Victory of Marxism and Leninism in China	彭真 1951.7.1	
22.	震撼世界的一年 The Year that Shakes the World	郭根 1951.10.25	
23.	“白面书生”痛下决心 The Hard Decision by “Baimianshusheng”	林建平 1951.11.6	
24.	朝鲜停战谈判迈进一步 A Step forward on Cease Fire in the Korean War	郭根 1951.11.27	
25.	批判我办“西风”杂志替美帝国主义作宣传工具的反动买办思想（上） Critique of the Reactionary Compradors' thinking promoted by the Xifeng Magazine for the American Imperialists' Propaganda	黄佳德 1952.07.16	我受买办意识和亲美崇美思想的毒害最为严重。我从小就接触到好几个美帝国主义分子，耳濡目染，以为西洋人，尤其是英美人，是“高贵”的“ <u>优等民族</u> ”，中国人士“ <u>下贱</u> ”的“ <u>劣等民族</u> ”，“ <u>弱小民族</u> ”，“ <u>东亚病夫</u> ”，样样不如“ <u>当强</u> ”的 <u>英美</u> 。 I met a few American Imperialists when I was little. Influenced by what they hear and see, regard westerner especially from the UK and U.S. is “high class” “Superior nation”; Chinese as “degrading inferior nation”, “weak nation”, “Sick Man of East Asia”, everything cannot compare to the “dominating” UK and U.S.
26.	翻天覆地的转变 Earthshaking Turnover	朱青 1952.8.10	
27.	会有“卷土重来”的一天，对于中国共产党和各革命团体则采取 There Will Be a Day for a Comeback	梅公度 1952.8.24	
28.	为亚洲、太平洋区域和全世界的和平而奋斗 Fight for the Peace in Asia, Pacific Region and All the World	宋庆龄 1952.8.30	
29.	兴奋愉快地响应祖国的号召 Answering the Call Of the Nation	林志明 1953.9.25	
30.	中苏友谊--和平与人类进步的灯塔	宋庆龄 1954.12.30	

	Sino-Soviet Friendship -The Lighthouse of Peace and Human Progress	
31.	“科学纲领”彻底破产 The Collapse of “Scientific Principle”	1957.7.17
32.	全民总动员开展爱国卫生运动 Mobilize the Whole Nation to the Hygienic Movement	1958.1.25
33.	一定要在全中国除尽“四害” Must Eliminate the Four Pests	1958.2.14
34.	要做促进派 Be a Promoter	陆定一 1958.3.15
35.	和平、进步、正义 Peace, Progress, Righteousness	宋庆龄 1959.4.17
36.	印度扩张主义者应该放清醒些 要继续继承英国侵略遗产是不行的 The Indian Expansionists Should be Clear-headed It is Not Possible to Inherit the Legacy of British Invasion	1959.4.23
37.	万岁中国的工人！ Long Live Chinese Workers!	田林 1959.9.28
38.	科学预见的威力 The Power of Scientific Prediction	朱悦 1960.1.5
39.	美日反动派新的侵略和战争阴谋 注定要遭到最惨重的失败 The Invasion and War Conspiracy of U.S. and Japan Will Be Doomed with Most Miserable Defeat	1960.1.24
40.	批判马寅初的反动人口理论 Criticize the Reactionary Population Theory by Ma Yinchu	周荣坤；程家彬；张如海 1960.03.20
		马寅初认为中国人的质量差，完全是胡说。他的这个论调完全是为帝国主义效劳的。帝国主义曾经污蔑中国人民，说中国是“东亚病夫”，是“劣等民族”，为他们的侵略招借口。 Ma Yinchu considers the quality of Chinese has been bad. This is complete bullshit. His accusation is completely works for the imperialists' favor. The Imperialists used to slander us, call us the “Sick Man of East Asia”, and the “inferior nation” and use them as an excuse for their invasion.
41.	陆定一代表中共中央和国务院 向全国文教群英会祝贺词 Lu Dingyi Gave Facilitation at the National Gathering of Elites in the Fields of Culture and Education	1960.6.2
42.	工农群众在知识化的道路上前进 Works and the Farmers Moving Forward in Learning	1960.6.7

Knowledge	
43.	更大喜悦的预兆 The Sign of a Bigger Joy 成谷 1960.10.4
44.	发愤图强，向科学技术堡垒进攻 Pacing Up in the Scientific Research 陈毅 1962.1.17
45.	观空军文工团演出“革命历史歌曲”有感 Reflect on the “Revolutionary Historic Songs” Performed by Air force Army Naval Song and Dance Troupe 老卒 1962.2.9
	<p>饥寒交迫奴隶身， Hungry and Cold as a Slave; 打破枷锁自由人， Broke the Chain and Became a Free Man 胜利妙诀传一语， The Tip of Success Comes in One Line “枪是胆来地是根”。① “Gun is the Courage and People is the Root” “东亚病夫”② “似散沙”③ “Sick Man of East Asia” “Like Un-united Sand” “睡狮”④久羁铁蹄下。 “Sleeping Lion” under the Cruel Oppression for Long 三湘五岭星火炽， Mountains and roads lightening up with Flames, 十年游击建新华。 Ten Years of Guerrilla Fight Built the New Territory 创业艰难百战多， Over a Hundred Fights Paved Out the Road, 众志成城帅可夺， The Hearts United and Conquers All, 成戎矜夸挫戒妥， Satisfied with Success Settled when Defeated 浮云扫尽耀明河。 Clear Out the Dark Clouds and let the Sky shine.</p> <p>① 见革命歌曲②③为大革命前帝国主义国家的御用文人对中国的轻称。④“睡狮”，为一九二七年前，许多人说中国是睡着了狮子，如果觉醒起来，便大有作为。</p> <p>① See revolutionary songs ②③ are the disgraceful titles from imperialists’ literati before the revolution ④ “Sleeping lion” means before 1927 a lot of people commented China as the sleeping lion, once awake, it will be able to matter.</p>
46.	为祖国争荣誉 Fight for the Glory of the 周士彬 1962.2.21

Nation		
47.	两代运动员 Two Generations of Athletes	陈翼华 1964.9.18
48.	欢呼我们的伟大胜利 Cheer for our Grand Success	陈念贻 1965.2.8
49.	革命的脊梁 The Backbone of Revolution	林萧 1965.3.14
50.	高举毛泽东思想红旗 力争政治 技术双丰收 Honor the Mao Zengdong Ideology Harvests both in Politics and Technology	1965.9.11
51.	祖国建设事业突飞猛进史无前 例 The Nation Develops in a Unprecedented Speed	1965.9.23
52.	爱国必须反对美帝 反帝必须返 修 Patriotism Must be Against U.S. Imperialist Anti-Imperialists Must be against Revisionism	1965.9.27
53.	李宗汇先生在记者招待会上的 谈话全文 The Complete Text of Li Zonghui's Speech at the Press Conference	1965.9.27
54.	为革命而跳高 High Jump for the Revolution	1966.2.15
55.	谢胡同志的讲话 The Speech of Comrade Xie Hu	1966.5.1
56.	除害灭病、移风易俗的一面红旗 A Red Flag of Social Transformation and Getting Rid of Sickness	1969.8.5
57.	台湾同胞不畏强暴持续开展反 美斗争 Taiwan Compatriots Not Afraid of Violence Keep the Anti-US Movement	1970.6.30
58.	清道工之歌（报告文学） Song of the Street Cleaner	罗武 1972.10.15
59.	银球礼赞（散文诗） Accolades on the Silver Globe	吕名城 1972.11.6
60.	帝国主义是如何向旧中国转嫁 经济危机的？ How did the Imperialist Shift Economic Crisis to the Old China?	1975.1.11
61.	中国套“实业”梦幻灭 China's Dream on "Industry" Broke	1976.7.17

62.	我国社会主义体育事业获巨大成就 Our Socialist Sports Industry Achieved Grand Success	1977.6.10
63.	鼓足干劲 把卫生工作搞上去 Exert the Utmost Effort to Improve the Health and Hygienic Level	1977.8.20
64.	一九七七年全国乒乓球比赛在本市举行 1977 National Table-tennis Competition will be hosted in Shanghai	1977.9.13
65.	迎接万紫千红的春天 (散文) Welcome the Beautiful Spring (Essay)	杜静安 1978.2.7
66.	向科学家们敬礼 Salute to the Scientists	邹获帆 1978.4.2
67.	为医学现代化出力 Contribute to Modern Medicine	董承琅 1979.1.1
68.	灯的海 The Sea of Lanterns	袁金康 ; 毛裕俭 1979.5.1
69.	英雄业绩与世长存 The Everlasting Achievements of the Hero	余秋里 1979.6.11
70.	搞好体育工作 提高民族健康水平 Manage Well the Sports Improve the Nation's Health Level	1979.9.12
71.	体坛的明星祖国的骄傲 Sports Stars The Nation's Pride	1979.9.16
72.	国庆的礼花 The Fireworks on the National Day	王萌 1979.10.1
73.	献给祖国的青年朋友们 Dedicated to the Young Generation of the Country	王昌煦 1980.1.21
74.	学习·思考·实践 Study·Thinking·Practice	马鸣 1980.2.22
75.	目标正前方 Aim Right Ahead	戴煌 1980.5.26
76.	潘德明文物史料今起展出 The Pan Deming Cultural Historic Materials will be Displayed Today	季一德 1981.1.1
77.	团结起来振兴中华 United to Build the Nation	蒋元明 1981.4.29
78.	中国人的“魅力” The “Charm” of Chinese	亦加 1981.7.21

79.	宁可笨拙不使油滑 Rather be Clumsy than Sly	徐春发 1981.9.13
80.	辛亥革命礼赞（组诗） Accolades on Xinhai Revolution	柯原；野曼； 陈忠干 1981.10.8
81.	决心为台湾回归祖国贡献力量 Determined to Contribute to Taiwan Returns China	1981.10.11
82.	政协老人盛赞女排“出生虎” CPPCC Senior Praise the Chinese Women's Volleyball Players as "New Born Tigers"	1981.11.23
83.	归侨与宗教界人士深受鼓舞 Returnees and Religious People are Deeply Encouraged	刘良模 1982.6.2
84.	在缅怀廖仲恺先生、纪念何香凝 先生逝世十周年大会上的讲话 （全文） Memorial for Liao Zhongkai and He Xianglin	邓颖超 1982.8.39
85.	高标准严要求勤学苦练 High Standards Strict Restrictions and Industrious Practice	1982.11.18
86.	可喜的突破 崭新的局面 Great Breakthrough Brand-new Situation	1982.12.4
87.	赵紫阳、万里等会见体育健儿 Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li Greet the Sports Athletes	1982.12.10
88.	期望 Expectation	夏衍 1983.1.6
89.	红领巾更觉祖国伟大可爱 The Chinese Teenagers Find The Country More Adorable	戎思平 1983.1.10
90.	一步颇具特色的现代作家论 A Unique Statement on Modern Writers	华然 1983.2.1
91.	陈逢济十年心血不枉然 Chen Fengji Decade Struggle didn't End up in Vain	胡志民；邵 家全 1983.2.17
92.	科坛的金牌 The Gold Medal in Science Field	黄矛彤 1983.2.22
93.	国家体委颁发体育运动荣誉奖 章 State General of Administration of Sport Issues Honorary Awards	李贺普 1983.3.3
94.	沙滩上的脚印（连载） Footprints on the Beach	张凤雏，游 斌

	(Series)	1983.3.13
95.	暮年逢盛世 老骥迈新程 Situated in the Prime Time of the Country in the Declining Years	张冠华 1983.7.13
96.	《武林志》何以受欢迎 Why Wu Linzhi is Popular	孙渝烽 1983.9.11
97.	期望体育健儿勇攀新高峰 Expect the Sports Athletes to Achieve a New Height	1983.9.16
98.	赛出风格 勇攀高峰 Compete for the Best	1983.9.16
99.	飞吧, 中华健儿! Fly, Chinese Athletes!	鲁晟 1983.9.16
100.	旅意老华侨胡锡珍 Hu Xizhen the Overseas Chinese in Italy	1983.10.17
101.	难忘的教诲 Unforgettable Instruction	袁雪芬 1983.12.16
102.	南洋漂流记 (连载) Trip in the Southeast Asia (Series)	白刃 1983.12.28
103.	为攻克癌症拓荒前进 Explore the Cure for the Cancer	易子明; 刘 笑春 1984.3.8
104.	炎黄子孙心相通 The Hearts of the Nation Connect	郦国义; 罗 军 1984.4.20
105.	从一米八七一到二米三八 From 1.87m to 2.38m	宋丽珍 1984.5.25
106.	从“零”到“零” From “Zero” to “Zero”	陈光忠 1984.7.12
107.	望眼欲穿盼亲人 Eagerly Expecting the Family Members	张治平; 练 性乾 1984.7.22
108.	难忘的时刻 The Memorable Moment	张治平; 练 性乾 1984.7.31
109.	光荣, 中华民族! Proud, the Chinese Nation!	张治平; 练 性乾 1984.8.5
110.	你们的胜利鼓舞了全国人民 Your Victory Inspired the Whole Nation	1984.8.19
111.	炎黄子孙的骄傲 The Honor of Chinese Nation	刘仕诚 1984.8.30
112.	感受: 甜酸苦辣味尝尽 打算: 有生之年搏不已 Gone Through Joys and Sorrows of Life Plans to Fight to the End of Life	胡鸿飞 1984.9.22
113.	从调查资料看上海市民的营养	1985.3.10

	状况 The Health Condition of Shanghai Citizen from the Investigation Material	
114.	美籍华人赵浩生在上海体院演 讲 Chinese American Zhao Haosheng Gave a Speech in Shanghai University of Sport	1985.7.12
115.	现代散文放谈 Open Discussion on the Proses in Modern Times	柯灵 1986.10.13
116.	强国梦 Dream of a Strong Nation	赵瑜；刘茵 1988.5.15
117.	开太极拳一代风气 Starting the Ethos of Tachi	董纪信 1988.7.17
118.	《曹操与杨修》的导演思索 The Thought of the Director of <i>Caocao and Yangxiu</i>	马科 1988.11.29
119.	治“懒” Cure “Laziness”	方 诗 1989.1.3
120.	职权经济与“懒”字结缘 Authoritative Economy’s Connection with “Laziness”	景 蔚 1989.2.25
121.	只有社会主义才能发展中国 Only Socialism can Develop China	1989.7.23
122.	沿着社会主义大道奋勇前进 Move Forward In the Road of Socialism	1989.10.1
123.	武林一代雄 爱国百年魂 A Generation of Martial Artists The Century old Soul of Patriotism	汪诚彪 1989.11.4
124.	“布袋僧”和热心人 “Budai” and Warm-hearted Person	朱国秋 1989.11.10
125.	怎样看待中国的“穷” How to Regard the “Poor” of China?	高狄 1990.1.6
126.	《体坛先锋》出版 <i>Titan Xiangfeng</i> Published	薛建农 1990.7.12
127.	球迷趣闻 Anecdotes of the Football Fans	张仁斌 1990.8.7
128.	十一届亚运会业已筹备就绪 All Preparations Ready for the 11 th Asian Games	1990.9.5
129.	展示中国的崭新形象 Representing the Brand-new Image of China	陆正明 1990.9.5
130.	上好“亚运课” Learn the “Asian Games Lesson” Well	草萌 1990.9.7
131.	心和火炬一起燃烧	闻平

	Heart Sets on Fire with the Torch Together	1990.9.21	
132.	伟大的丰碑 The Grand Monument	1990.9.22	
133.	迎着灿烂的阳光奋进 Facing the Bright Sunlight Moving Forward	1990.9.23	马申
134.	连夺金牌显示了民族尊严 Claiming Gold Medals Consecutively Honors National Dignity	1990.9.25	
135.	“遗憾”与“满足” “Regret” and “Satisfaction”	1990.9.27	
136.	亚运之火 The Flame of Asian Games	1990.9.28	哈蕾
137.	海外华裔政治家黄锦波博士谈中国 Overseas Chinese Politician Dr. Huang Jinbo Talks about China	1990.10.3	刘曼莉
138.	北京亚运精神光耀神州 Beijing Asian Games Glorifies the Whole Nation	1990.10.10	
139.	贵在有恒 Perseverance is the Key	1990.10.17	周斯
140.	陈云、彭真、聂荣臻分别致信纪念陈毅同志九十诞辰 Chen Yun, Pengzhen and Nie Rongzhen Send Letters to Honor the 90 th Birthday of Chen Yi	1991.8.27	
141.	中国的人权状况 The Human Rights Condition of China	1991.11.2	
142.	经济搞上去 主办有希望 Level up the Economy Hopeful to be a Host	1992.2.13	郑若麟
143.	邵洵美与曾朴 Shao Xunmei and Zengpu	1992.12.15	林淇
144.	乱世才女张爱玲 The Talented Writer Zhang Ailing in the Turbulent Times	1993.1.12	阿川
145.	廿一世纪是中国人的世纪 中国科技将再度领先世界 The 21 st Century is the Century of China Chinese Technology will Lead the World Once again	1993.2.4	赵仁方
146.	泉州处处少林风 Shaolin Style Everywhere in Quanzhou	1993.3.7	施宣圆;蔡瑜明
147.	要更快更好发展现代化事业必须进一步改革开放		孙本尧;徐仁杰

	To Pace up and Improve the Modernization Progress Need to Further Operate the Reform and Opening Up Policy	1993.3.17
148.	添上一把火 Adds Up the Fire	孙步青 1993.5.5
149.	拍卖金牌兴办培训中心 Auction the Gold Medal for a Training Center	万润龙 1993.9.23
150	坚定不移地走向世界	1993.9.24
151.	为十里洋场绣像 Create an embroidery for the Foreign Concession in Shanghai	柯灵 1994.2.6
152.	莫天成: 中国令世界刮目相看 Mo Tiancheng: China Provides a Bread-new Image to the World	路鹭 1994.2.9
153.	救救古树名木 Save the Ancient and Famous Trees	王大勇 1995.1.10
154.	血证 Blood Proof	张盛生; 林春忠 1995.7.7
155.	首都隆重举行座谈会 纪念贺龙百岁诞辰 Conversazione Held in Beijing In Remembrance of the 100 th Birthday of Marshal He Long	高艾苏; 罗玉文 1996.3.22
156.	放眼新世纪 Broad View of the New Century	马申 1996.8.5
157.	不期而遇 Meet By Chance	吴欢章 1996.9.20
158.	采取措施切实解决“顽症” 减轻负担保证学生“乐学” Measures Should be Taken to Lighten Students Burden to Make Sure of Happy Learning	1996.9.25
159.	全国卫生工作会议在京举行 The National Health and Hygiene Congress was Hosted in Beijing	胡晓梦 1996.12.10
160.	江泽民主席的讲话 The Speech of Chairman Jiang Zeming	1996.12.10
161.	鸟瞰上海 Shanghai Bird's-eye View	史中兴 1997.1.26
162.	中国近代毒品的泛滥和禁毒斗争 The Battle of Drug in Modern Time China	苏智良; 施宣圆 1997.6.24
163.	《祖国万岁》气概豪迈气势磅礴 The Grand and Magnificent	叶志明 1997.7.22

<i>Long Live the Nation</i>		
164.	健康老人的八运情 A Healthy Senior's Connection to the 8 th National Games	叶志明 1997.9.30
165.	创造新的辉煌 Creating the New Glory	1997.10.12
166.	发扬光大八运精神 Carry Forward the Spirit of the 8 th National Games	1997.10.25
167.	燃烧吧，八运圣火！ Let It Burn, the Scared Flame of the 8 th National Games!	张蕊 1997.10.27
168.	如何拒绝捷径 How to Avoid Shortcut	徐旺生 1998.5.5
169.	潘德明环球足迹考察团启程 The Set Out of Pan Deming Global Exploratory Delegation	东驰 1998.9.2
170.	再接再厉抓整顿抓业务 为推进 依法治国作贡献 Make Persistent Efforts to Improve Business Operation Contributing to Rule the Country by Law	钱咏虹；张 宿堂；傅旭 1998.9.28
171.	延年益寿不再是梦想 人口预期 寿命翻一番 Longevity is Not a Dream Population's Expected Life Span Doubles	1998.9.30
172.	世界杯上的马弁服 The Outfit of the Bodyguard of An Officer in World Cup	王晓玉 1998.11.4
173.	一个教授“春天的故事” A Professor's "Spring Story"	1999.3.31
174.	人民的忠诚卫士一方红霄 People's Loyal Servant - Fang Honglei	李成华；贾 永；黄秋 生..... 1999.8.2
175.	“五代”名医的故事演绎五十年 辉煌 The Story of Five Generation of Well-known Doctors Illustrate 50 Years of Glory	秦恒骥；叶 又红 1999.9.13
176.	新中国五十年的历史巨变 The Phenomenal Transition of the First 50 Years of PRC	石仲泉 1999.9.20
177.	体育事业实现大崛起大跨越大 发展 The Big Rise Big Step Big Development in Sports Industry	叶志明；宋 丽珍 1999.10.1
178.	体育大跨越 中华更辉煌	1999.12.19

Sports' Big Leap Forward to A
More Glorious China

179. 百年体育兴衰史 一幅沧桑巨变 1999.12.30
图

Century Sports History A
Frame of Drastic Transition

Source: Compiled by the author

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