



1. Taiwanese Sports (Yundong): The Hybridization of Physical Education, Sports, and Indigenous Tradition¹

CHIH-CHIEH TANG

Introduction

This chapter investigates the development of “sports” (*yundong*, 運動) in Taiwan on the basis of a long-term view of connected histories. Sports, in the strictest sense, are modern products that form a rupture from traditional physical culture. What the Taiwanese have practiced and understood by *yundong*, a translation of “sport,” has developed in the confluence of foreign and native, modern and traditional physical cultures. This chapter provides a historical sketch, consisting of four parts, to reveal how *yundong* in contemporary Taiwan has evolved as a hybridization of physical education, sports, and the indigenous tradition “*yangsheng*” (cultivation/nourishment of life, 養生).

First, we discuss the rupture between traditional and modern physical culture and give a historical overview of the emergence and confluence of sports and physical education in the West. Then, we trace, from the perspective of entangled modernity, the process by which the Chinese and the Japanese learned from and imitated the West and take this to be the root of physical education and sports in postwar Taiwan. After explaining the relevant background, we turn to our main tasks: to clarify the similarity and difference between sport and *yundong*, disclose the influence of *yangsheng*, sketch how discipline-oriented physical education enjoyed a dominant position for so long, and explain why sports could not smoothly develop before

¹ This chapter is abbreviated and revised from my Chinese article “Between the Physical Education and Sports: Sports in Taiwan – A Country without a Tradition of the Distinction ‘State/Civil Society,’” *Thoughts and Words* 47, no. 1 (2009): 1–126.

democratization. Lastly, through describing the new development of sports after democratization and commercialization, we consider the future of sports in Taiwan.

Continuity and Rupture in Physical Culture: The Emergence and Confluence of Sports and Physical Education

One basic meaning of the Chinese term “*yundong*” that serves as a translation of sport from English and other European languages seems to be a human instinct or natural characteristic which can take place at any time and in any place. But sports, in strict sense, are modern products, never seen before. The story of the similarity and difference between *yundong* and sports can be retold in the context of global connections wherein the confluence of foreign and native, modern and traditional physical cultures can be highlighted, and their divergence examined.

Sport, like other concepts that can be taken as the coincidence between signifier and signified, escapes a determinate definition because it stands for a complex and diverse historical process (Tang 2010). While the criteria used to define sport are controversial, it is widely accepted that sports are modern products that form a rupture from traditional physical culture (see Elias & Dunning 1986; Mandell 1984). What distinguishes modern sports from earlier forms of contest involves not only playing for one’s own sake but also making a continuous comparison of performance based on the constitutive difference between the locality (e.g. presence, singularity, tension) of a certain game and the globality (e.g. complexity, contingency, or history) of sports as a generic activity. This distinction leads to the differentiation of a functionally autonomous system that makes individual games connectable and, at the same time, makes players’ performances comparable (Werron 2009).

Behind this differentiation, there occurs a cultural turn, a shift from the pessimism of zero-sum game in which the increase of bodily loading must cause loss to an optimistic view that training can strengthen the body. Repression and the evaluation of the body are simultaneously enhanced (Stichweh 1990). Body becomes an invested concept. It is productive to discipline the body because discipline “increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces in political terms of obedience” (Foucault 1977, 138).

In England, the development of sports has more to do with its weakest and shortest period of absolutism rather than with capitalism. As competing ruling groups had gradually developed a tacit agreement to take turns to govern and to replace violence with words, votes, or money, their leisure activities

evolved into sports, which required a positive conversation between social constraint and self-constraint (Elias 2000; Elias & Dunning 1986, 171–174). “Public schools” also played a decisive role in the promotion of sports, finally allowing them to become leisure activities across the class divide (Bourdieu 1978; Hargreaves 1986; Kirk 1998; Mangan 2000).

By contrast, physical education, insinuated in compulsory education, has an obvious affinity with the state. Prussia, famous for its “enlightened absolutism,” provides a significant case. The well-known German gymnastics (*Turner*) movement, founded by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn in 1811, had a nationalistic character (Greenfeld 1992; Krüger 2005; Lamberti 1989). More generally, the emergence and diffusion of physical education and sports also had a close relation with nationalism, militarism, and class-formation (Brownell 1995; Mangan 1996, 2003; Morris 2004). However, their affinity was limited which explains the victory of Jahn’s gymnastics over Johann C. F. GutsMuths’s version of gymnastics, as the latter inclined toward the promotion of military training after Napoleon’s occupation. Later, Jahn’s gymnastics was challenged by Pehr Henrick Ling’s gymnastics in the name of “science,” and then by sports imported from England in the late 19th century. Finally, gymnastics and sports came to a confluence and entered together into school courses on “physical education” (Krüger 2005; Merkel 2002). A similar process can also be found in France. Indeed, the French case is often regarded as a general example in physical education and sports for other countries to imitate (Gleyse et al. 2002; Weber 1971).

Although both sports and physical education intimate self-imposed disciplines and share the commonality of stressing freedom, fun, and voluntary compliance, their differences are noticeable. Gymnastics originated from civil society, entered soon into compulsory education, and expressed an affinity with nation, nationalism, and militarism at the beginning. What physical education serves is the nation, and what it wants to cultivate are laborers and soldiers. Sports, evolving from leisure activities of the upper classes, are more elite-oriented and late into included compulsory education. They emphasize character more than discipline, cooperation among individuals more than abstract collectivities such as states or nations.

Entangled Modernity: Chinese and the Japanese Learning from the West as the Roots of the Taiwanese Practice of Physical Education and Sports

The Chinese have their own tradition of physical culture. In addition to archery, riding, and chariot-steering, which are related to war techniques,

the Chinese also played ball games such as *cuju* (蹴鞠), *jiju* (擊鞠), and *chuiwan* (捶丸) (more or less similar to football, polo, and golf, respectively). However, after a process that paralleled the structural transformation from a stratified society dominated by the noble to a post-aristocratic one and took place in the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD), not only were earlier competitive and aggressive ball games transformed into gentle ball games or performance shows, but they had also declined steadily. In later times, most people were hardly any longer familiar with them (Tang 2018). What has still dominated the Chinese, however, is the idea of *yangsheng* (養生), nurturing life, which pervades almost any kind of physical activities, including the martial arts.

When the Chinese first encountered sports, the literati typically viewed them as barbarous, violent, and disrespectful. However, as China was defeated once again by Western powers, the Chinese changed their attitude, and they began to imitate the Western style of physical culture. Drills were introduced into the Chinese new army in the late Qing period. Later, gymnastics entered the schools at different levels in the period of “New Policies.” Simultaneously, “physical education” (*tiyu*, 體育) replaced the term “gymnastics” (*tichao*, 體操) as the representative signifier for physical culture. People also tried to reform traditional martial arts, although most of these were not included in compulsory education (Fan & Tan 2003; Morris 2000).

In the initial stage, sports in China, just as in the West, were spontaneous activities of civil (or, to be more precise, civilian) society. Schools and universities, established and managed by churches and the YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association), played a critical role in promoting sports. But sports had not been widespread until the iconoclastic and anti-traditional May Fourth Movement. Meanwhile, influenced by the West, some actors had to adapt to “indigenization.” Some appealed to “saving nation,” and others claimed that it was a Chinese tradition to include physical education into play (YM Hsu 2005; Morris 2004). This shows clearly that imitation and learning were never a simple, exclusive choice between reception and resistance. They involved compromise, negotiation, appropriation, and creation.

This history suggests that society’s pace in promoting sports was faster than that of the state. A Chinese republic was established in 1912, but the “state” was to some degree absent. Lacking a binding agent to unite the massive territory and large population after the downfall of the Qing empire, China was soon trapped in division and civil war amongst warlords. But the “absent” state had many ideological agents to actively disseminate the discourses on the soldier-national (軍國民), new people (新民), and citizen (公民) (He & Hu 1989; Hwang 2000; Lue 2005). Agitated by nationalism, and also enchanted with fascism, military nationalism became the dominant

ethos. Although China's militaristic fever was temporarily undermined by Nazism's defeat, elements such as nationalism and statism never really ebbed away. Physical education with a military flavor occupied the main current due to the reality of authoritarian rule, the successive civil wars, and the war against Japan. National defense was determined to take precedence over education.

A similar but not totally identical situation was visible in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. Nobles and warriors in Japan were provided with a better chance to engage with Western sports than the elites in China (Kiku 2004). Both Meiji Reform and Japanese Fascism involved top-down mobilization in search of a strong and wealthy nation. Physical education with drills and gymnastics as its main content therefore became dominant in Japan, and later in Taiwan. The first enacted program for physical education in 1913 consisted of gymnastics, training exercise, and games. "Modernized" martial arts such as *judo* and *kendo* only changed from being elective courses to compulsory ones in the late 1920s. After fascism gained ascendancy in the 1930s, it could be said that all sports were under bushido's shadow (Guttmann & Thompson 2001; Hsieh 2002).

As Japanese colonial rule finally decided to assimilate the Taiwanese, its short-term objective was to train the Taiwanese to be strong but docile subjects. Sports, especially baseball and soft tennis, were introduced into Taiwan and became popular to some degree, but Taiwanese participation was limited, if not highly restricted. Indeed, whether the Taiwanese should be trained by way of military exercises posed a puzzling question for the Japanese authority. It appeared ambivalent because military exercise could increase the physical and spiritual force of the colonized, and perhaps weaken their will to resist, but it could also increase the risk of bequeathing to them knowledge of rebellion and raised the sensitive problem of whether to give the Taiwanese the status of nationals. Therefore, one investigation reported in 1916 that the objective of physical education was to cultivate sobriety, fortitude, and courage among the inlanders (namely the Japanese), and discipline, silence, obedience, and order among the Taiwanese (Hsieh 2002; Hsu 2001; Tsai 1995).

It is remarkable, as frequently happens in the context of connected histories, that the course of physical education in Taiwan was both applied to schoolboys and schoolgirls and had a close association with hygiene. This happened far earlier than in the West, and its applicability was more widespread than in Japan. This validates a two-way analytical framework of entangled modernity over a one-way framework of translated modernity. A similar example was that teachers and the media had introduced new ideas and

practices of physical education in private before their adoption by the Taiwan Governor-General's office. But in general, especially in the school system, Japanese pupils could participate in more aggressive contest games, while the Taiwanese pupils mainly participated in cooperative ones.

While separation and discrimination persisted, ball games between the Japanese and Taiwanese were often not only games but also represented symbolic rivalry and confrontation. It was said that there was almost an appointed routine to fight without weapons between Japanese and Taiwanese high school students after the official, formal ball games (Chang 2000; Chen 2005). But, as Japanese colonial rule accelerated the pace of assimilation during wartime, space for resistance simply disappeared.

Postwar Development: Hybridity between Physical Education, Sports, and Yangsheng

Postwar Taiwan inherited the legacy of prewar China and Japanese colonial rule and was inevitably influenced by both. Promoted by church schools, civil associations and student associations rather than the state, sports experienced a brief boom in both Republican China and Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule in the first half of 20th century. Physical education always played a stronger role than sports in both places and was enforced as militarism became energized. Statism was the dominant ideological current in China, despite the absence of the state. This deeply influenced the development of physical education and sports in postwar Taiwan. Sports, originating from and prospering in civil society, lacked the soil to develop under the KMT's authoritarian rule in postwar Taiwan.

One significant factor for this stunting process may be the lack of a link between sports and social classes in Chinese society. Sports were not obvious carriers for upward social mobility because ball games, with the exception of *jiju*, never became a typical means for the upper classes to distinguish themselves from other classes. This was related not only to the turn mentioned above but also to the class structure which was more similar to today's class society than that of a typical pre-modern noble society. Although the military rose in the process of China's modernization, they could not change the long-standing cultural mentality which preferred the pen to the sword. New wealth did not cultivate a habit of sports, and build a link between status and sports-encountered predicaments. The private universities could never compete with the public ones. There did exist so-called noble schools, but only for elementary and secondary education. The fame that these noble schools could gain came from students' family background and their performance in

the joint entrance examination for high school or college. Among the school students, it was exceptional rather than normal to love sports. Some schools were famous for their sport performance simply because they recruited students who specialized in specific sports or athletics rather than establishing a sport habit for every student. Moreover, the tradition of voluntary association was weak among the Chinese, and especially so under the KMT's authoritarian rule. This hampered the development of civil society such that sports lacked any propulsion in postwar Taiwan.

According to the Taiwan Social Change Survey conducted from July to September in 2007 with 2,147 respondents (Chang & Liao 2009), the most popular *yundong* that people do is walking (32.1 %). When walking and other health-oriented *yundong* (e.g. jogging, hiking, swimming, biking, exercise, fitness, *taiji*, sit-ups) are combined, the count reaches 61.8 % (see Table 1.1). Considering that 79.5 % respondents take *qigong* as *yundong* (see Table 1.3), there is good reason to suggest that the Taiwanese adult usually follows the native tradition of *yangsheng* when they engage with *yundong* in daily life. Most of them neither have a clear cognition of the concept of sports nor orient themselves toward contest games. *Yangsheng* doubtlessly has a greater affinity with the tradition of physical education that aims to achieve health through bodily exercise than does sport, while the latter often cultivates a competitive spirit and needs partners to play together.

In answering what are the criteria for *yundong*, 91.3 % and 84.9 % respondents mentioned bodily health and life nourishment respectively, significantly higher than rules (64.3 %) and intensity of activity (55.2 %) (see Table 1.2). More decisively, only 35.1 % took competition to be important, whereas it is the most widely accepted characteristic to define sport in Western textbooks.

People who play ball games, thereby taking part in sports in a narrow sense, account for only 11.7 %. There is a statistically significant difference between these people and those who do not play ball games with regard to gender, education level, income, and residence. People who play ball games are primarily from the middle classes, but no higher and a clear profile can be identified. They are most likely to be males who have been college-educated, receive a monthly income above 30,000 NT Dollar, are aged between 20 and 30, and live in cities. An earlier presumption that only the wealthy play golf is not verified in this survey, and we could not find any other sport as alternative candidate for their preference.

The absence of an obvious link between sports and social classes might be traced back to the different modes of class differentiation in China and in the West. In the post-aristocratic Chinese society, the upper-class gentry had to endeavor to increase or at least maintain their political, economic,

Table 1.1. Most Frequently Performed *Yundong*

Items of <i>Yundong</i>	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Baseball, Softball	16	0.7	0.7
Basketball	121	5.6	6.4
Football, Soccer	1	.0	6.4
Volleyball	4	0.2	6.7
Badminton	47	2.2	8.8
Table Tennis	21	1.0	9.8
Tennis	9	0.4	10.2
Other Racket or Bat Sport	3	0.1	10.4
Athletics (e.g. 100m-running, long-jumping, high-jumping), marathon	1	.0	10.4
(Competitive) Body Training (e.g. Weight-Training, Body-Building, Artistic Gymnastics)	3	0.1	10.6
Fitness (Aerobics, Exercise Machine-Training, Work-Out Noncompetitive Gymnastics)	76	<u>3.5</u>	14.1
Jogging, (Noncompetitive) Running	150	<u>7.0</u>	21.1
Walking	689	<u>32.1</u>	53.2
Hiking	138	<u>6.4</u>	59.6
Other Types of Walking or Climbing (Nordic-Walking, Trekking, Climbing)	27	<u>1.3</u>	60.9
Other Fitness Sport (Skipping Rope, Hula Hoop, Horizontal Bar, Yoga, Push-Up, Sit-Up)	64	<u>3.0</u>	63.9
Billiards, Pool, Snooker	10	0.5	64.3
Biathlon, Triathlon	1	.0	64.4
Bowling, Curling, Bocce	18	0.8	65.2
Cycling, Mountain-Biking	64	<u>3.0</u>	68.2
Dancing (e.g. Ballroom Dancing, Latin Dances, Hip Hop, Jazz-Dance, Ballet)	34	1.6	69.8
Fishing, Hunting	11	0.5	70.3
Golf, Minigolf	12	0.6	70.8
Ice Skating	1	.0	70.9
Martial Arts (e.g. Boxing, Wrestling, Judo, Karate)	3	0.1	71.0
Swimming, Diving, Snorkeling	81	<u>3.8</u>	74.8
Static Martial Arts (Taiji, Waidangong, Qigong, Yuan-Chih Dance)	36	<u>1.7</u>	76.5

Table 1.1. Continued

Items of <i>Yundong</i>	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Other	50	2.3	78.8
Inapplicable	455	21.2	100.0
Total	2147	100.0	

The underlined items are health-oriented *yundong* with a total sum of 61.8 %

Source: 2007 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Round 5, Year 3 (Chang & Liao 2009)

Table 1.2. The Order of Importance of Criteria for *Yundong* (%) Samples ≥ 1998

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	Not Important at All	No Comment	Don't Know	Mean	Standard Deviation
Bodily Health	50.2	41.1	5.2	1.8	0.7	1.0	3.42	.679
Life-Nourishing	41.0	43.9	9.7	2.8	0.9	1.7	3.26	.753
Rule	31.3	33.0	16.1	12.7	3.2	3.7	2.89	1.021
Intensity	16.7	38.5	27.2	12.3	3.1	2.2	2.63	.919
Contest	9.8	25.3	28.9	29.1	3.5	3.4	2.17	.988

Source: 2007 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Round 5, Year 3 (Chang & Liao 2009)

social, and cultural capital, to make exchanges between these different kinds of capital, and to perpetuate the social status of their families. As a result, there were powerful local families across multiple generations, but in principle they possessed no hereditary social power. For now, the consequence of this is still embodied in the pattern of elite housing in Taiwan. There are hardly any exclusive residential districts which consist of mansions possessed by the political or economic elite. The luxurious apartments inhabited by billionaires and celebrities are scattered around diverse housing areas. The sense of geographical community is not as clearly defined as the Western societies.

Shenji—The Great Divide

The main social cleavage as well as the main principle of social organization in postwar Taiwan were *shengji* (省籍, provincial identification) rather than classes (Chang 1994; Tang 2004). As the KMT maintained the character of foreign domination and exercised authoritarian rule over the society based on state corporatism and clientelism, the *shengji* developed gradually to something analogous to ethnicity. This was a poly-contextual construction which

promoted and acquired coordination among political, economic, and cultural sectors. There was no exception in the field of sports. The most obvious and noticeable dichotomy, which reflected the *shengji*, was that the Mainlanders loved basketball, while the Taiwanese preferred baseball (Chang 2000; Hsieh & Hsieh 2003).

In August 1946, the Association of Physical Education in Taiwan Province was founded under the command of the Chief Executive of the Taiwan Province. It was responsible for organizing the first provincial athletic meeting in December of the same year. This hasty decision to organize the meeting and enact the relevant policies lacked both financial and human support, which suggested that the ruling authority took games as efficient instrument to de-Japanize and to re-Sinicize the Taiwanese (Lin & Hu 2007). It also indicates that various associations for sports and athletics would be organized later under the state's directive according to the principle of state corporatism (Tsai 1992). They were supervised and controlled by the KMT party-state and were no longer simple associations of civil society. As the administration of physical education and "civil" associations of sports were successively established, the KMT's authoritarian rule had built step-by-step media and social networks to keep the field of sports under supervision. Sports, like physical education, stood under the state's shadow and were not a spontaneous development of civil society. The leaders of these associations were almost all Mainlanders trusted by the KMT. This made the sport field homologous to the political field. The division made by the *shengji* extended into the sport field, and finally it strengthened and deepened ethnic separation in political field.

Furthermore, most events of sports and athletics in the early postwar period were held on specific national holidays. Although the KMT regime attempted to incorporate sport and athletic events, it did not possess sufficient time and energy to intervene. Its urgent task then was to fight back against mainland China, or at least to survive in Taiwan. National defense accounted for more than 85 % of the national budget in the 1950s. There was simply no specialty to handle and organize sport affairs in the central government. The National Physical Education Council was rebuilt under the Ministry of Education in 1954 but cancelled again in 1958 for financial reasons. It was not restored until 1961.

Nevertheless, the military sector promoted basketball to provide soldiers with "good" leisure, to pacify their unrest, and to improve their morale. Some basketball courts were built in the capital city Taipei in 1949. The military sector even hosted a tournament, the "Kai Shou Cup" (介壽杯), meaning "long live Kai-shek," to celebrate Chiang Kai-shek's birthday from

1952. The games promoted and diffused by the military sector constituted the backbone of basketball in Taiwan until 1962. The players were all soldiers, but their competitions were accessible to ordinary people. This eventually led to opposition between different military branches and even violent behavior among the public. The basketball teams were therefore dismissed by the Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek and head of General Political Warfare Bureau at that time. Later, they were reorganized as a new team consisting of excellent players from former teams, and the new team was named “Ke-nan” or “conquering the difficulties” (YH Hsu 2005; Wen 2007). The KMT regime was clearly suspicious about the entertainment element of basketball in the military sector and also recognized sport’s potential appeal to mass disorder. This was because sports were “serious fun” in the authoritarian society (Edelman 1993).

With the building of basketball courts and the taking place of competitions, the Taiwanese had more opportunities to experience and to learn to play basketball which had been unfamiliar to them under Japanese colonial rule. Once basketball was introduced into compulsory education in 1962, it soon crossed the ethnic boundary between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders and became the ball game that the highest percentage of population played. Furthermore, it has maintained this status until today, even though baseball has been called “national game” (*guoqiu*, 國球) and is seen as the most popular ball game in Taiwan because it attracts a larger audience than other sports.

It is no surprise that basketball played in the military sector was imbued with political meaning and ambition. The international background of the Cold War and the authoritarian rule embedded in this structure became normal rather than exceptional in Taiwan. The KMT’s decision to host the “William Jones Cup” from 1977, named after the secretary-general of International Basketball Federation (FIBA) who was dedicated to the global diffusion of basketball, was truly a political decision. The Cold War between the liberal camp and the communist camp allowed the KMT to represent China in the United Nations, even after it had lost the territory of Mainland China. However, the changing structure of the Cold War put the KMT fall in a predicament. To some degree, the situation became even worse due to the KMT’s stubborn insistence on the one-China principle. The KMT finally exited the United Nations in 1971, replaced by the PRC, which became the one and only legitimate representative of China. This had an overwhelming impact on Taiwan’s sport diplomacy. For example, the ROC lost its position in FIBA. Then, the KMT used the “William Jones Cup” as instrument to carry on its unofficial diplomatic affairs, to maintain access to international communications, and to win some exposure in international media.

Baseball was the most representative sport in the 1970s. It could win international honor, encourage people's morale, and attract public attention. As Taiwan's student teams won again and again "world championships" in Little League, Senior League, and Big League Baseball, to play baseball was no longer a boys' game only, but an important means by which to influence the regime's survival (Hsieh & Hsieh 2003; Morris 2011; Sundeen 2001; Yu 2007). After baseball took on the task of "physical education diplomacy" and became an efficient instrument to unite the nation and to legitimize the KMT's rule, it was no longer overlooked by the state and media. Soon, baseball attracted the Mainlanders' attention and also became more and more popular among them.

The dichotomy that the Mainlanders played basketball and the Taiwanese played baseball was a historical, contingent product instead of an intended consequence. As basketball was the most popular ball games in mainland China under the KMT's rule, baseball's popularity did not meet its match in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. It was no accident that these two groups of people, the Mainlanders and Taiwanese, possessing different historical memories and sport tastes, kept on their own track. The separation between them would be deepened rather than loosened when they played different games and had no further intersection. As the Mainlanders dominated politics and sports, baseball—communicating in Japanese terminology only—was inevitably discriminated against by the state. For the Mainlanders, to play baseball was totally strange as it seemed so much like the former enemy's game (i.e. the game played by the Japanese). Without the state's financial support, baseball could not compete with basketball and football. Before the 1970s, it could only depend on the staff's personal deliberations and fund-raising in the absence of institutional subsidies.

When all the equipment was imported and duty rates were high, baseball was an expensive sport, and not everyone could afford it. A tradition of watching baseball competition had been already formed during the time of Japanese colonial rule. Although this posed some difficulties to baseball's promotion without state financial support, it brought about advantages for baseball to take a "normal" path of development without the state's intervention. The period from the end of the war to the rise of "Hongye" (紅葉, red leaf) legend could be seen as an "old golden age" of baseball in Taiwan. There were so many baseball teams in civil society. The various competitions between them often attracted hundreds and thousands of audiences.

The popularity of baseball in Taiwan was to some degree attributed to soft baseball. It was not so expensive, and no serious harm was caused to people who were hit. There were limited leisure options for people at the time.

Playing or watching baseball was therefore an important leisure activity for those Taiwanese who had already known how to enjoy watching it. However, there was not much coverage of the sport in the mass media which were strictly controlled by the state and most reporters were Mainlanders who had no idea about baseball. Hence, the popularity of baseball was a fact, but not so impressive to be reported.

That is why the baseball team “Hongye” (see more in Chapter 2) and its popularity came like something emerging out of nothing in the media and amongst the public, when in 1968 it defeated the visiting Japanese team, which was mythically and falsely dubbed as the “world champion.” While the rise of the “Hongye” legend is often presented as the origin of Taiwanese baseball, to overemphasize its legendary status would be to underestimate or even erase baseball’s development during Japanese colonial rule. Massive media coverage on Hongye’s victory drew the state’s attention and, thereafter, its support. One important, related background was that the vote about whether ROC’s seat in the United Nations should be given instead to the PRC was rejected at the end of the same year, but only by six votes. The baseball team “Golden Dragon” (金龍) won Taiwan’s first world championship in Little League Baseball the next year. This timely glory had the important political effect of improving morale as Taiwan’s international situation was getting worse. The social and political status of other sports also improved.

State Intervention: Hybridity of Sport and Physical Education

State intervention brought resources and distortion at the same time. For example, the national budget for physical education, which included the budget for sports, was only 2 million NT dollars in 1972. The expenditure for baseball competitions abroad, including live broadcasts, was more than 4 million NT dollars. The state’s input was aimed obviously at public propaganda rather than the improvement of baseball’s constitution. International tournaments with highly political implications could easily win the state’s financial support, while training and competition at the grassroots, despite being decisive for strengthening and promotion of baseball, could not acquire such aid. Although baseball had a deep popular tradition, it was inevitably distorted by different interests after the state’s intervention. Titles and prizes, especially international ones, dominated. Why people played baseball was no longer for the sake of sport itself, but more for fame, the state, the nation, the permission to enter school or colleges, and so on. The political considerations of the state not only connived in the emergence of cheating in games but also created myths. These factors ran against the “disinterestedness” and

“for its own sake” principles which made the paradox of the sport system’s operations invisible. In the end, to undermine or handicap the sport system was the cost to be paid. The healthy pyramid structure of baseball dissolved gradually due to poaching of players and cheating. The number of baseball teams consisting of children under 12 years old dropped dramatically from 500 to 600 in 1968 to 39 in 1984, among which were 22 schools appointed and supported by the Ministry of Education. The myth of world champions suffocated baseball’s vitality and changed it from everybody’s game to an elite performance sport.

By contrast, even without state intervention at the grassroots level, the situation of basketball was not so bad. Civilian basketball activities were relatively prosperous after 1963, and the state still left its mark too. There was only one team sponsored by a “private” company in this semi-professional period, and the others all came from the public sector. The company which sponsored the basketball team was even fostered by the state for developing the national automobile industry. Just as happened in the automobile industry, “the pick-up the winner policy” was intentionally used to select talent and make investment in it in order to elevate performance. However, the policy quickly proved unsuccessful, especially when we compare its limited effect with the longtime cultivation of the wider basketball population.

The state was reluctantly aware that the problem was “haste making waste” or “killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.” The PRC’s gradual appearance in the international sport field after its “reform and opening” policy in 1978 also forced the KMT to change its sport policy. The political task imposed by the state shifted then from inward identity mobilization to outward diplomatic affairs. The state’s focus shifted from youth baseball to adult baseball. To solve the problems resulting from “championism,” such as poaching, overtraining, and the low commitment of the general public as spectators, the Minister of Education Mao Kao-Wen, who personally loved playing basketball, decided to imitate the institution of “The University Athletic Association,” and founded High School Basketball League whose tournaments began in 1988. Every school team, irrespective of its performance records, could be subsidized if it was willing to participate in tournaments. This policy efficiently increased the population of basketball players and spectators. A similar system was later applied to baseball. One private company which had the ambition to establish a professional baseball league had already taken on a similar subsidizing project before the state’s promotion policy. But such cases were very rare because Taiwan’s civil society was not sufficiently mature before democratization.

As regards the system of compulsory education, the KMT, like the Japanese, put the emphasis first on popularizing the “national language,” but had only a few principles related to the objectives, curricula, and methods for physical education. In practice, the latter continued to use the Japanese language and method due to a shortage of teachers, teaching materials, and instruments. In the course standards issued in 1948, the Ministry of Education deleted the objective of “training skills for national defense” and the related curricula, such as drill in lower grades and martial arts in the higher grades. But physical education was soon combined with national defense again and restored its rigid disciplinary form when the KMT was defeated in the civil war and retreated to Taiwan (Fan 1998; YM Hsu 2005). It was only later to acknowledge that sports as soft disciplines were in many respects more efficient than gymnastics and military training because they were intrinsically games.

It was in the “Executive Program for National Mobilization to Suppress Communist Rebellion and to Build the State” by the Ministry of Education issued in 1950 that all of teaching activities were deemed to bear upon the task to strengthen national spirit, to improve labor and production, and to combine civil and military education. Students from high schools and colleges had to take military training from 1952. The Ministry of Education had had no time or energy to revise the course standards for preliminary schools and junior high schools until 1962. Ball games were therefore introduced into the physical education course for students higher than third grade. Dodgeball, popular during Japanese colonial rule, was included in the official curricula, and it became very welcome amongst pupils. Pupils higher than the fourth grade could choose from boy basketball, mini-soccer, and softball. Pupils in fifth and sixth grades were allowed to playboy baseball. This shows that basketball, football, and baseball were major ball games among the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese and had entered into the system of compulsory education, at least according to the official records. However, their implementation was still indeterminate due to the dominance of securing credits, the common practice of intensive tuition, and the relaxed criteria of physical capability in schooling. During Japanese colonial rule, physical capability had been taken as a criterion for school entrance and schooling performance and was strictly followed. The situation turned better only after the beginning of nine-year compulsory education in 1968.

In the same year, the Ministry of Education introduced a project to develop “physical education for all” (for all citizens, not for students only)² and to cultivate talented athletes. This policy bid farewell officially to the phase of militarized physical education and paid equivalent attention to competitive athletics and physical education for the general public. The Ministry

² I intentionally translate the term, which is Chinese translation of “sport for all,” to highlight the local context and the constituting hybridity.

of Education had promoted “sports in the community level” since 1976 and saw it as the “mother” of “physical education for all.” However, “physical education for all” was merely a slogan, which imitated the advanced Western countries. In reality, as mentioned above, the state put emphasis only on competitive athletes, especially those capable of gaining international honor. When the Ministry of Education actively promoted the plan “physical education for all” in 1979, it at first clearly separated the two objectives of cultivating athletes and national health and set two separate tracks to meet two different objectives. This mentality was maintained in the “project for winning medals in the Olympics and Asian Games” and the “project for sunny fitness” in 1997 (YM Hsu 2005). Nevertheless, physical education in preliminary school shifted in the direction which emphasized fun, fitness, and health in students’ participation.

Another noticeable development was that games, gymnastics, athletics, ball games, dances, and national martial arts were all identified and enlisted as required subjects by the Ministry of Education in 1970, while swimming, self-defense, and “folk physical education” (such as *jianzi*, skipping rope, diabolo, spinning top) were elective subjects. The “Directions for Enhancing and Promoting Sports for All in Community,” jointly issued by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior in 1979, included national martial arts and *Songjiang* battle array as items in folk physical education.

These changes reflected not only the KMT’s ambition to confront the PRC’s Cultural Revolution with the “Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement” but also draw a parallel between Chinese nationalism and the “native soil movement” with strong local identity. A hidden tension between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders was well acknowledged by the authoritarian leadership. The distinction between national martial arts as a required subject and folk physical education as an elective subject illustrated the KMT’s consistent logic to improve the status of earlier belittled local traditions by recognizing them as folk customs. It also embedded them in the framework of China, thus, and co-opted them into the national tradition. As the *shengji* distinction between basketball and baseball had slowly disappeared, the distinction between national martial arts and folk physical education emerged and kept a neither close nor irrelevant relationship with the distinction between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders. Against the background of broad social change, the native soil movement transformed into a Taiwanization movement. Folk physical education later also got rid of the Pan-Chinese framework and was renamed “native physical education” according to Taiwanese native consciousness (Chang 2005; Dai 2006). The 1996 standard for preliminary school courses also reflected this change. It

Table 1.3. Whether Taking Traditional Physical Activity Is *Yundong*(%) Samples \geq 2018

	Certainly	Probably	Probably	Certainly	No	Don't
	Certainly	Probably	Not	Not	Comment	Know
Taiji	52.6	35.2	4.6	2.0	1.8	3.8
Qigong	44.4	35.1	10.3	2.8	2.0	5.4
Songjiang Battle Array	12.8	22.0	27.5	28.3	3.9	5.4
Yoga	59.2	28.1	3.1	1.6	1.8	6.1

Source: 2007 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Round 5, Year 3 (Chang & Liao 2009)

attributed both *Songjiang* battle array and national martial arts to traditional acrobatics, and enlisted *Songjiang* battle array before national martial arts.

What the folk physical education subsumed was very broad (see Table 1.3). Neither did it necessarily involve seeing Taiwan as the homeland nor were routine activities exercised by people in the countryside and local communities. *Jianzi*, skipping rope and diabolo, having a strong flavor of Chinese tradition, were also introduced into compulsory education under the category of folk physical education. The Ministry of Education even promoted international touring performances from 1981.

Sport and physical education in Taiwan is a hybrid, contributed to by many different traditions. The main current is an orientation toward *yangsheng* and health, lying between sport and physical education (Tang 2010).

Earlier academic research and discussions foster rather than clarify the confusion of physical education and sports. Essentially, it is a consequence of the long domination of physical education. It also mirrors physical education's superiority over sports. It has a closer affinity with the state than sports which have mostly been associated with civil society. For example, Chiang Liang Gui (江良規), a pioneer of physical education in the Chinese world who had studied in Germany, said that the Chinese only knew game and *yundong*,³ but not physical education (Chiang 1968). It is not surprising that another researcher on physical education, who was presumed to overemphasize education, claimed that *yundong* was only the means, while physical education was the objective or the end (Fan 2004). *Yundong* referred to here is definitely not sports but movement or exercise. The popularity of this thinking might be attributed to its easy articulation alongside the Chinese tradition of *yangsheng*. Hsu (1990: 3) once argued that Western physical education went astray because it did not know the difference between *yun* (運)

³ What *yundong* means here is obviously bodily movement rather than sports.

and *dong* (動), with *Yun* involving the operation of internal organs and *dong* referring to the movement of external limbs and trunk.

It is admittedly possible to take the idea of *yangsheng* as the basis for developing a new theory of sport. Alter (2004) argues that yoga is a traditional Indian physical practice, and its global popularity can deconstruct (or perhaps reconceptualize) the concept of sport as constructed in European history, and point to an alternative way of metaphysical fitness to replace the body-mind dichotomy as a starting point for seeking the soundness of the whole being. This is a promising ideal for further research, but requires more effort to substantiate it, including clarifying in detail rather than confusing different traditions of physical culture.

Toward a Healthy Civil Society: New Developments after Democratization and Commercialization

The inaugural tournament of the Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL, see more in Chapter 12) and the Chinese Basketball Alliance (CBA, not to be confused with the China-based Chinese Basketball Association) began, respectively, in 1990 and 1994. This symbolized a new phase in sport development in Taiwan. The commercializing development was already consented to by many people in the 1980s. It was also invested with many expectations. However, it soon encountered many new problems. The CBA was closed after five years of tournaments. The second professional baseball league, the Taiwan Major League Professional Baseball, met the same fate. It was founded in 1996 with four teams and closed in 2003. The Super Basketball League, founded in 2003, was only a semi-professional men's basketball league. The short life of the CBA reflected the unhealthiness of professional sports in particular and sports in general in Taiwan. The old problems (such as the mentality of victory first, gambling and cheating) were still rampant. New challenges, such as box office performance and premiums, also emerged as sports entered a new phase of professionalization, commercialization, and globalization (Chang 2000; Morris 2011).

In the 1980s, the Chinese Taipei Baseball Association expected that the professionalization could be the solution to problems, such as a shortage of resources, the lack of the state subsidies, and an inability to maintain people's participation. After the dream of professionalization was realized, the Baseball Association discovered that it was wholly incapable of controlling the professional baseball teams. Professionalization meant that interest and entertainment orientation would dominate. The weakness of a tradition of civil society in Taiwan made this problem even worse so that the basis of sport

was weak. To achieve a new balance between civil society and the economic system still has a long way to go.

The fact that political democratization did not automatically bring about democratization in the sport field made the problem even more complicated. It was a great challenge for sports to maintain autonomy when they had to serve the state and capitalism as two masters at the same time. The emergence of professional sports in Taiwan was a compressed, erratic development because it had to skip an important phase of civil society. This sounded like an echo of Taiwan's democratization that entered directly into the phase of performance politics and visual consumption long before the establishment of a healthy public sphere and a tradition of reasoned debates.

Just as what happened with Taiwan's political democratization, democracy could be consolidated, but only after many instances of party alternation. Professional baseball and basketball have also gradually stood firm with the assistance of the force of the market in the 21st century. Facing the challenge of global Covid-19 pandemic, the CPBL was the first professional sports league in the world which returned to routine competition in 2020. Although most people seldom play ball games after their graduation from schools or colleges, the audience for sport grows steadily with the popularization of live game broadcasting. The only regret is that the field of sport is not yet fully democratized and the legacy of state corporatism still exerts influence. Many individual athletes have had excellent international performances in the field of professional sports (e.g. golf, tennis, table tennis, badminton, billiards, cycling, and bowling), but they have not always received enough support. They are often held back by the sport associations. In addition to baseball and basketball, other team sports such as football and volleyball have organized competitions, but only in semi-professionalized forms.

Parallel to the commercialization of sports, there is also the commercialization of exercise which is formally classified under "physical education." In the 1980s there was already a fashionable wave of "fitness," labelled as "*jianmei*" (健美), health and beauty, that came to prize "body shape" and "leisure." It often resided in the leisure clubs with saunas and appealed to the middle and upper classes. The high demands of bodybuilding and the considerable amount of money it took made this tide soon ebb. Fitness really attracted people's attention only after 2000 and its name has changed to "*jiansheng*" (健身, making the body healthy) or "*tishineng*" (體適能, physical capability) depending on whether it happens in commercial or educational contexts. It slowly becomes an ethos associated with the popularization of the gym in the 21st century. Its success has partly to do with an affinity with

Table 1.4. The Embeddedness of *Yundong* Associations in the Civil Society

Types of Association	Percentage in the Total Sample	Embeddedness in the Civil Society		
		Average Number of Participating Associations for Specific Type	Mutual Participation for <i>Yundong</i> → Other*	Mutual Participation for Other Associations → <i>Yundong</i> **
<i>Yundong</i>	0.08	2.55	—	—
Cultural	0.11	2.81	0.43	0.33
Religious	0.29	1.89	0.42	0.12
Communal Service / General Civil	0.26	2.08	0.56	0.18
Party / Political	0.05	2.98	0.14	0.24
None	0.53	—	—	—

* Percentage of Members of *Yundong* Associations Participating in Associations of Other Types

** Percentage of Members of Associations of Other Types Participating in *Yundong* Associations

Source: 2007 Taiwan Social Change Survey, Round 5, Year 3 (Chang & Liao 2009)

the idea of *yangsheng* that has health as its first priority. In fact, the habit of taking exercise has a spin-off effect on sports.

Although the Taiwanese have a hybrid understanding and practice of *yundong* that consists of sports, exercise, and *yangsheng*, this result of connected histories brings something meaningful. A statistical analysis of the above-mentioned survey results shows a remarkable embeddedness of *yundong* in civil society. Members of the *yundong* association⁴ are most likely to participate in different forms at the same time, although the percentage of participating *yundong* associations is low, only 8.3 % (see Table 1.4). The only exception is that the probability of members of *yundong* associations to participating in political associations is lower than the probability of members of political associations participating in *yundong* associations.

⁴ The category in the survey is a “group of physical education” that subsumes different orientations toward sports, exercise, and *yangsheng*. This again reveals the hybrid character of *yundong*.

This result is not sufficient to confirm the saying that “sport is helpful for cultivating leaders,” but it definitely shows that people who have the habit of *yundong* are active participants and therefore the mainstay of civil society. In addition, the same survey shows that people who have the habit of playing ball games are mostly from the upper and middle classes. It is reasonable to suggest that increasing the number of those participating in *yundong* groups might contribute both to enhancing sports and to strengthening social self-organization. *Yundong* is regarded not only as a source of cultural capital capable of distinguishing status (Stempel 2005) but also as a conducive way of forming and increasing social capital, both of which are capable of improving the operation of democracy and civil society (Seippel 2008).

Moreover, the best way to solve the current problems of sports is an overall enhancement of the sport habit and different levels of sports. The most legitimate and normal way to achieve this goal is through association. The professionalization of sports is welcome but it will not be healthy if it cannot contribute to a synchronized growth of “amateur” sports. The field of sports can consolidate itself and maintain its autonomy only if political or economic interests can obey the logic of sports during their intervention into the field. Victory is important in sports, especially because of rivalry, but it must be transformed so that it is ignored and invisible. Excellent performances will come automatically when most people take sport as end in itself and appreciate the process more than the result.

Conclusion

In Taiwan, *yundong* includes sports as well as exercise and various activities of *yangsheng*. It also includes singing, gardening, sauna, and spa because they all involve either external movement or the internal operation of body. This chapter clarifies why and how such a hybridization takes shape in interconnected European, American, Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese histories. Today, the Taiwanese understanding of the body is dominated by modern physical culture, medicine, and science that originated from the West, but the indigenous tradition of *yangsheng* has proved to be so strong and resilient as to influence people’s thought and behavior. Sometimes, this tradition of *yangsheng* can hinder the development of sports, but it is not necessarily antithetical to sports. Rather, it can enrich our physical cultures in modern global society. The history of *yundong* in Taiwan described above also highlights that *yundong* is not only a product of “translated” modernity but also embodies the development of entangled, multiple modernities. The real obstacle for sport comes from the legacy of authoritarianism that overemphasized obedience

and discipline-oriented physical education, and distorted the sportive ethos of cooperation, competition, and fair play. It also shaped the alienated habitus of winning medals first regardless of the price that should be paid. There is no better way to overcome such an obstacle than to return to sports and sportsmanship which originated from play-oriented physical contests in civil society. What we no longer need is state guidance, but a self-organization of civil society.

References

- Alter, J. S. 2004. Foreword. In *Marrow of the Nation*, edited by A. D. Morris, xv–xx. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1978. “Sport and Social Class.” *Social Science Information* 17, no. 6: 819–940.
- Brownell, S. 1995. *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People’s Republic*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Chang, L. K. 2000. “Baseball and Identity in Taiwan: An Analysis from the View of Sociology of Sport.” Master Thesis, National Tsinghua University, Hsinchu.
- Chang, L. Y., and Liao, P. S. 2009. 2007 Taiwan Social Change Survey (Round 5, Year 3): Leisure (C00155_2) [Data file]. Available from Survey Research Data Archive, Academia Sinica. DOI:10.6141/TW-SRDA-C00155_2-1.
- Chang, M. K. 1994. “Toward an Understanding of the Sheng-chi Wen-ti in Taiwan: Focusing on Changes after Political Liberalization”. In *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical, and Cultural Perspectives*, edited by C. M. Chen, Y. C. Chuang & S. M. Huang, 93–150. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
- Chang, Y. L. 2005. “The Cultural Change from Folk Physical Education to Native Physical Education”. Master Thesis, National College of Physical Education and Sports, Taoyuan.
- Chen, R. J. 2005. *Taiwanese Early Experiences of Western Civilization*. Taipei: RyeField.
- Chiang, L. G. 1968. *New Treatises on the Principle of Physical Education*. Taipei: The Commercial Press, Ltd.
- Dai, P. C. 2006. “A Study of the Development of Folk Physical Education in Taiwan’s Primary School, 1971–2000”. Master thesis, National Central University, Taoyuan.
- Elias, N. 2000. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N., and Dunnig, E. 1986. *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fan, C. C. 2004. *New Treatises on the General History of Physical Education*. Taipei: ChengChung.

- Fan, C. Y. 1998. "A Study of the Evolution of the Course 'Physical Education' in Postwar Taiwanese Primary School, 1945–1994". PhD thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.
- Fan, H., and Tan, H. 2003. "Sport in China: Conflict between Tradition and Modernity, 1840s–1930s". In *Sport in Asian Society: Past and Present*, edited by J. A. Mangan & H. Fan, 189–212. London: Frank Cass.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gleyse, J. C. et al. 2002. "Physical Education as a Subject in France (School Curriculum, Policies and Discourse)". *Sport, Education and Society* 7, no. 1: 5–23.
- Greenfield, L. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Guttmann, A., and Thompson, L. 2001. *Japanese Sports: A History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hargreaves, J. 1986. *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity.
- He, Q. J., and Hu, X. F. 1989. *The Modern History of Physical Education in China*. Beijing: Press of Beijing College of Physical Education.
- Hsieh, S. Y. 2002. "Colonialism and Physical Education: A Study of the Course of Gymnastics in Taiwan's Public School under the Japanese Early Rule (1895–1922)." Master Thesis, National Central University.
- Hsieh, S. Y., and Hsieh, C. F. 2003. *One Hundred Years of Taiwan's Baseball*. Taipei: Guoshi.
- Hsu, J. B. 1990. "Preface to the History of Chinese Physical Education by Mr. Lin." In *The Ancient History of Chinese Physical Education*, edited by Bo-Yuan Lin, 1–5. Taipei: Hualian.
- Hsu, P. X. 2001. "The Birth of Modern School in Taiwan: The Building of Primary Education System in Japanese Time, 1895–1911." PhD thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei.
- Hsu, Y. H. 2005. "A Study about the Process of Basketball Development and Social Change in Taiwan." PhD thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.
- Hsu, Y. M. 2005. *History of Physical Education*. Taipei: Creative & More Inc.
- Hwang, J. L. 2000. *History, Body, Nation/State: The Formation of Body in Modern China, 1895–1937*. Taipei: Linking.
- Kiku, K. 2004. "The Development of Sport in Japan: Martial Arts and Baseball". In *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports*, edited by E. Dunning, D. Malcolm & I. Waddington, 153–171. London: Routledge.
- Kirk, D. 1998. *Schooling Bodies: School Practice and Public Discourse 1880–1950*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Krüger, M. 2005. *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung un des Sports. Teil 2: Leibeserziehung im 19. Jahrhundert. Turnen fürs Vaterland*. Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Lamberti, M. 1989. *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Lin, M. C., and Hu, W. H. 2007. "Wandering in "Sinicization": The Founding and Operation of the First Athletic Meeting of Taiwan Province." *Sport Studies* 3: 41–83.
- Lue, F. Y. 2005. "The Evolution of the Thought 'Soldier-National' in Rebuilding Pupils' Body in Modern China, 1902–1949, Master thesis." National College of Physical Education and Sports, Taoyuan.
- Mandell, R. D. 1984. *Sport: A Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mangan, J. A. 1996. *Tribal Identity: Nationalism*. London: Europe, Yang, T. W. 2010. *The Study of Developmental Context of Sport Policy in Taiwan* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Taoyuan: National Taiwan Sport University.
- Merkel, U. 2002. "Sport, Power and the State in Weimar Germany". In *Power Game: A Critical Sociology of Sport*, edited by J. Sugden & A. Tomlinson, 141–160. London: Routledge.
- Morris, A. 2000. "'To Make the Four Hundred Million Move": The Late Qing Dynasty Origins of Modern Chinese Sport and Physical Culture." *Comparative Studies in History* 42, no. 4: 876–906.
- 2004. *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2011. *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Seippel, O. 2008. "Sports in Civil Society: Networks, Social Capital and Influence." *European Sociological Review* 24, no. 1: 69–80.
- Stempel, C. 2005. "Adult Participation Sports as Cultural Capital." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40, no. 4: 411–432.
- Stichweh, R. 1990. "Sport: Ausdifferenzierung, Funktion, Code." *Sportwissenschaft* 20, no. 4: 373–389.
- Sundeen, J. T. 2001. "A "Kid's Game"? Little League Baseball and National Identity in Taiwan." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 25, no. 3: 251–265.
- Tang, C. C. 2004. *Vom traditionellen China zum modern Taiwan: Die Entwicklung funktionaler Differenzierung am Beispiel des politischen Systems und des Religionssystems*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag.
- 2010. "Yundong: One Term for Two Different Body Cultures." *East Asian Sport Thoughts* 1, no. 1: 73–104.
- 2018. "Literatization vs. Civilization: A Preliminary Comparison of the Development of Sport in China and in the West with a Focus on Violence." *Soziale Systeme: Zeitschrift für soziologische Theorie* 23, no. 1+2: 172–188.
- Tsai, J. S. 1992. "A History of the Development of Administration about Physical Education in Our Country." *National Sports Quarterly* 21, no. 2: 18–42.
- 1995. *The Developmental History of Physical Education in Primary School in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule*. Taipei: Shtabook.
- Weber, E. 1971. "Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?" *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 1: 70–98.

- Wen, D. B. 2007. "Historical and Political Aspects of Jie-Shou Cup Basketball Tournament in Taiwan (1952–1957)." *Physical Education Journal* 40, no. 2: 135–150.
- Werron, T. 2009. *Der Weltsport und sein Publikum: Zur Autonomie und Entstehung des modernen Sports*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft.
- Yang, T. W. 2010. *The Study of Developmental Context of Sport Policy in Taiwan* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Taoyuan: National Taiwan Sport University.
- 2000. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*. London: Frank Cass.
- 2003. *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War without Weapons*. London: Frank Cass.
- Yu, J. 2007. *Play in Isolation: A History of Baseball in Taiwan*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.



Sport in Taiwan

HISTORY, CULTURE, POLICY

Edited by **Alan Bairner,**
Tzu-hsuan Chen, and **Ying Chiang**


PETER LANG

This is the first comprehensive study of sport in Taiwan to be published in English. It appears at a time when Taiwan has the attention of the global community to the greatest extent since the years following the creation of the People's Republic of China and the formation by the Chinese Nationalist Party of an alternative seat of government for the Republic of China in Taiwan's capital, Taipei. The story of sport in Taiwan is one of athletic achievements and political machinations with this island's athletes allowed to compete in international sport only in the name of Chinese Taipei. The book offers insights into the development, political uses, and current situation of sport in Taiwan, the contribution made by the island's indigenous peoples, the significance of physical activity initiatives, relations between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China, sports fandom, the role of the sports media, and gender, exercise, and health. As is so often the case with other parts of the world, sport in Taiwan provides a lens through which the authors examine a range of political and social issues and thereby help readers to gain a better understanding of this interesting, vibrant, and politically sensitive island.

"This book is a comprehensive, critical, and timely piece of scholarship that makes a valuable and unique contribution to both the field and our understanding of the distinct and precarious status of Taiwan as a culture and society. Drawing on a range of academic disciplines, theories and methods, the fascinating assembly of essays cover topics spanning indigenous sport, racialised sporting bodies, sport policy, and sport and international relations. The editors, Bairner, Chen, and Chiang, have skilfully blended a collection that uses sport as a strategic lens to provide insights into the complex cultural, economic, political, and diplomatic spheres within which Taiwan carefully negotiates its sovereignty and identity amidst an international community that largely spectates from the geo-political side-lines. This is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand not only the significance of sport in Taiwan but also the significance of Taiwan in the world."

—**STEVE JACKSON**, Otago University, New Zealand

ALAN BAIRNER received an M.A. in politics from the University of Edinburgh, a postgraduate certificate in secondary education from Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh, and a Ph.D. from the University of Hull. His recent publications include *The Politics of the Olympics—a Survey* (co-edited with G. Molnar, 2010); *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics* (co-edited with J. Kelly and J. W. Lee, 2017); *Sport and Body Cultures in East and South East Asia* (co-edited F. Trotier, 2018); and *Sport and Secessionism* (co-edited with M. Vaczi, 2021).

TZU-HSUAN CHEN is a professor at the Graduate Institute of Physical Education, National Taiwan Sport University. He holds a Ph.D. in journalism and mass communication from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His research interests currently focus on sport and mass media, globalization, fan culture, and nationalism.

YING CHIANG is a professor at the Chihlee University of Technology. She holds a Ph.D. in sport sociology from National Taiwan Sport University, an M.A. in journalism from Shih Hsin University, and a B.A. in sociology from National Taipei University. She has written on media representation of female athletes and sports fans in Taiwan and on the nationalism and sport in Taiwan society.

Sport in East and Southeast Asian Societies

www.peterlang.com

Cover image: ©iStock.com/Katerina_Andronchik

Sport in Taiwan

Complimentary copy – Not for resale

Sport in East and Southeast Asian Societies

Geopolitical, Political, Cultural and Social Perspectives

J.A. Mangan
Series Editor

Vol. 2

The Sport in East and Southeast Asian Societies series
is part of the Peter Lang Regional Studies list.
Every volume is peer reviewed and meets
the highest quality standards for content and production.



PETER LANG

New York • Bern • Brussels • Lausanne • Oxford

Complimentary copy – Not for resale

Sport in Taiwan

History, Culture, Policy

Edited by Alan Bairner,
Tzu-hsuan Chen, and Ying Chiang



PETER LANG

New York • Bern • Brussels • Lausanne • Oxford

Complimentary copy – Not for resale

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bairner, Alan, editor. | Chen, Tzu-hsuan, editor. | Chiang, Ying, editor.

Title: Sport in Taiwan: history, culture, policy / edited by Alan Bairner,
Tzu-hsuan Chen, and Ying Chiang.

Description: New York: Peter Lang, 2023.

Series: Sport in East and Southeast Asian societies: geopolitical, political, cultural and
social perspectives; vol. 2

ISSN 2689-3460 (print) | ISSN 2689-3479 (online)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022028002 (print) | LCCN 2022028003 (ebook) |

ISBN 978-1-4331-8288-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-1-4331-8289-1 (ebook pdf) | ISBN 978-1-4331-8290-7 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Sports—Taiwan—History. | Sports—Social aspects—Taiwan. |
Sports—Political aspects—Taiwan.

Classification: LCC GV663.T3 S66 2023 (print) | LCC GV663.T3 (ebook) |

DDC 796.0951249—dc23/eng/20220720

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022028002>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022028003>

DOI 10.3726/b17398

Bibliographic information published by **Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**.

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the “Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie”; detailed bibliographic data are available
on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de/>.

© 2023 Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York
80 Broad Street, 5th floor, New York, NY 10004
www.peterlang.com

All rights reserved.

Reprint or reproduction, even partially, in all forms such as microfilm,
xerography, microfiche, microcard, and offset strictly prohibited.

Complimentary copy – Not for resale



Table of Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xi
<i>Prologue</i>	xvii
<i>1. Taiwanese Sports (Yundong): The Hybridization of Physical Education, Sports, and Indigenous Tradition</i>	1
CHIH-CHIEH TANG	
<i>2. Taiwanese National Identity: Baseball—Changing Constructions</i>	27
SHIH-YUAN HSIEH	
<i>3. Taiwanese National Identity: The International Olympic Committee-- Supportive or Restrictive?</i>	41
SUSAN BROWNELL	
<i>4. Taiwan: From Cultural Diplomacy to Cultural Tourism—Postwar Taiwanese Folk Sports (1949–2018)</i>	59
HSIEN-WEI KUO AND CHIN-FANG KUO	
<i>5. Taiwan: The Formosan Austronesian Indigenous Games and Identity Construction and Retention</i>	81
JÉRÔME SOLDANI	
<i>6. Taiwan: Radicalized Bodies: Sports and the Articulation of Contemporary Asian Physical Inferiority</i>	101
DANIEL YU-KUEI SUN	

<i>7. Taiwan: Healthy and Beautiful: The Taiwanese Municipal Sports Centers and Modern Privilege and Responsibility</i>	115
YING CHIANG	
<i>8. Taiwan: The Media-Sports Complex: Long-Term Developments—Innovations and Challenges</i>	135
CHANG-DE LIU	
<i>9. Taiwanese Fandom Unleashed: Major Agent of Sports Reform</i>	157
TZU-HSUAN CHEN	
<i>10. Taiwan: The Evolution of National Sports Policy—Significant Political and Economic Changes</i>	173
REN-SHIANG JIANG AND JUI-SUNG HUANG	
<i>11. Taiwan: Professional Baseball Clubs: The Macro and Micro Franchise Management Culture</i>	197
PO-HSIU LIN AND HAO FAN-CHIANG	
<i>12. Taiwan: Sea-Change: Physical Education and Sport for the Disabled</i>	213
CHENG-HAO HUANG	
<i>13. Taiwan and China: Face-Off Sports Bids: Unanswered Questions—the Geopolitics of East Asian Sport</i>	229
MARCUS P. CHU	
<i>Epilogue: Taiwan Matters—Taiwanese Challenges and Issues</i>	247
ALAN BAIRNER AND ZHUYUAN WU	
<i>Index</i>	259