



East Asian Drivers in Western Media Narratives: A Comparative Analysis of Chinese and Japanese F1 Drivers

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Abstract. The trend of diversification in F1 has underscored the significance of studying the portrayal and identity of East Asian drivers in Western media - a topic that remains relatively underexplored. This research conducts a comparative analysis of the media coverage of Zhou Guanyu and Yuki Tsunoda to understand their image and identity. Drawing on a self-constructed corpus and employing a mixed-methods approach that integrates quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study employed critical discourse analysis and Orientalism to reveal persistent bias and stereotypes in Western media, with a notable shift from individual bias to national bias. Additionally, it was found that Western media differentiates between Chinese and Japanese drivers, highlighting Zhou's commercial value while emphasising Tsunoda's individuality. Both drivers express pride in representing their respective countries, yet they hold differing views on their identities. This article provides an interdisciplinary examination of media representations, particularly focusing on how Western media constructs racial and national identities within the context of globalisation.

Keywords: Formula 1, East Asian drivers, Critical Discourse Analysis, Orientalism, Media Representation

1 Introduction

With F1's globalisation and the emergence of East Asian drivers like Zhou Guanyu and Yuki Tsunoda, it is crucial to explore how Western media portrays them in a global context involving race, nationality and identity. Media coverage plays a significant role in shaping the public perception of athletes, particularly concerning race and national identities. Lewis Hamilton, the first black driver in F1 history, encountered racist verbal attacks early in his career; however, his exceptional achievements eventually transformed media and audience attitudes towards him [1]. This underscores the critical role that strong performance by ethnic minority drivers plays in enhancing their visibility within Western media.

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Despite extensive research on popular sports such as football and basketball, few studies have focused on the media portrayal of East Asian F1 drivers. However, the rise of Zhou and Tsunoda challenges the conventional Western narrative within F1 and provides a valuable opportunity to critically assess how non-Western drivers are perceived and represented by Western media. To address this gap, this study conducts a comparative analysis of Western media's coverage of those drivers. The primary objective is to identify biases and stereotypes in the portrayal of East Asian drivers, with a particular focus on examining disparities between the representation of Chinese and Japanese drivers, as well as their self-perceptions regarding identity.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Ethnic Minority Athletes in Western Media Narratives

Western media has exhibited differential treatment of athletes based on their racial backgrounds since the 1960s. American media tended to emphasise the intelligence and talent of white athletes when reporting their victories, while black athletes were predominantly portrayed in terms of their physical abilities [2]. Over time, this stereotype expanded to include other ethnic minorities such as Asian and Latino athletes [3]. In recent years, researchers have started reflecting on and attempting to address instances of racial discrimination in media representation with the rise of the internet [4]. However, these studies have primarily focused on popular sports, leaving noble sports like F1 largely unexplored.

2.2 Asian (East Asian) Athletes in Western Media Narratives

The stereotype of East Asian athletes in Western media originated from mid-20th century reporting on ethnic Chinese, perpetuating the belief that they lack physical strength and are more suited for individual sports. This stereotype has also been extended to include all pure Asian athletes [5]. Chinese scholars have summarised Western media's portrayal of Chinese athletes as relying on a 'small and light physique' and 'excessive training' for success [6].

Additionally, western media transfer their biases to a national level when covering Wu Lei in an attempt to replicate Orientalism [7]. Hiramoto highlighted how differences in Western media coverage of Japanese tennis player Naomi Osaka and American Serena Williams reflected varying emphasis on their ethnic and cultural backgrounds [8]. These studies collectively demonstrated the trend within Western media shifting towards a 'national emphasis' when reporting on Asian athletes; however, there is limited research that directly compares the media representation of multiple Asian athletes simultaneously.

2.3 Identity of East Asian Athletes

The sports culture in their home countries influences the identity of East Asian athletes. In China, national team athletes are often referred to as ‘institutionalised’, while tennis star Li Na represents a ‘non-institutionalised’ group of athletes who prioritise self-determination [9]. In contrast, Japanese sports culture focuses on nurturing mixed-race athletes like Naomi Osaka and an analysis of her social media posts revealed that her identification with a black identity could be seen as a rebellion against the overemphasis on her Asian heritage in traditional media [10].

Overall, East Asian athletes aspire to express themselves rather than being confined by racial labels. The cases of Li and Osaka demonstrated how the group challenges stereotypes propagated by Western media through showcasing their individualism and multicultural identities. However, these studies primarily focused on female and mixed-race East Asian athletes, with limited attention given to the identities of fully East Asian male athletes.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis and Orientalism

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explores the complex relationship between language, power dynamics and ideology, revealing how language constructs and perpetuates social inequalities. Contemporary CDA research is increasingly adopting a multidisciplinary and mixed-methods approach [11]. Orientalism refers to a discourse that defines the Orient based on Euro-centrism, shaping European perceptions of the place; this mindset has led to biases and stereotypes against Eastern populations [12]. The use of CDA and Orientalism has been widely employed in analysing the media’s portrayal of non-Western athletes. For example, western media used negative associations to highlight unfavourable aspects related to the country and identity when reporting on Iranian refugee athletes at the Tokyo Olympics [13]. The study demonstrated that Western media’s depiction of non-Western athletes frequently displays political bias and reinforces an ‘other’ mentality.

In summary, while previous studies have discussed the challenges faced by minority ethnic and East Asian athletes in Western media narratives, there remains a gap in research addressing the media portrayal of East Asian athletes in F1. Moreover, influenced by Orientalist perspectives, Western media often introduces racist undertones, ideological biases, stereotypes and other discriminatory perspectives.

3 Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyse how Chinese driver Zhou Guanyu and Japanese driver Yuki Tsunoda are portrayed in Western media. English-language reports were selected as research materials since the language is officially used in F1. The data was collected from Google News by searching for the names of the two drivers. The time period extends from their entry into F1 (November 16, 2021; December 16, 2020) until the end of the first half of the 2024 season (July 31, 2024), resulting in a total initial collection of 5,505 articles (Figures 1 and 2).

Firstly, the research analysed Zhou and Tsunoda's number of different topics by adjusting the parameters of the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) model. When the number of topics was set to 5 (perplexity $K=5$), the model effectively covered the research content (Table 1). After screening, three topics (marked with ‘*’) were identified for each driver, aligning with the research objective and constituting the core content in Western media regarding their image and identity. Secondly, a corpus comprising 149 valid texts was established after eliminating irrelevant results; then, the text analyser ‘Weiciyun’ was employed to investigate the semantic preferences and emotional characteristics of the data. Finally, the study examined how Western media constructs the image and identity of both drivers using CDA and Orientalism.

Table 1. Zhou and Tsunoda's Topics and Keywords

Topics (Zhou)	Keywords (Top 7)	Topics (Tsunoda)	Keywords (Top 7)
Race Results	Finish, race, point, score, position, time, fight	Race Results	Team, up, race, driver, win, point, podium
Entry into F1*	Driver, F1, first, Chinese, season, team, sport	Entry into F1*	Race, driver, F1, Japanese, season, team, test
Home Race*	Race, F1, driver, home, first, weekend, point	Transfer (Renewal)	Year, season, progress, up, stay, option, future
Transfer (Renewal)	Team, F1, work, season, lot, year, race	Home Race*	Team, F1, driver, race, first, finish, point
“Chinaman”*	Chinaman, world, word, fan, commentator, broadcast, comment	“Potty-mouthed”*	Swear, Japanese, radio, word, team, fan, language

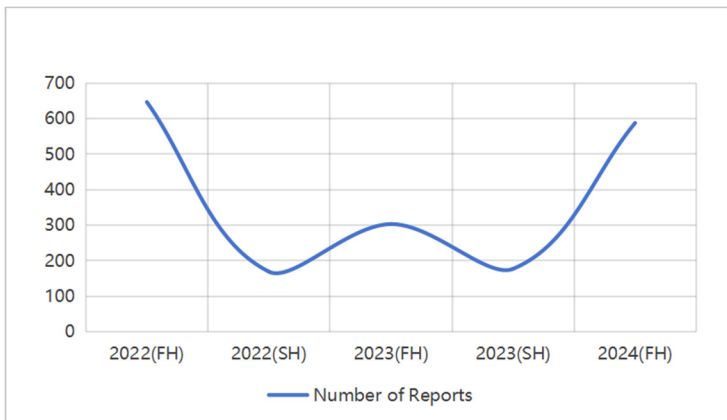


Fig. 1. Trend of Zhou's 2022-2024 (FH) Season Report

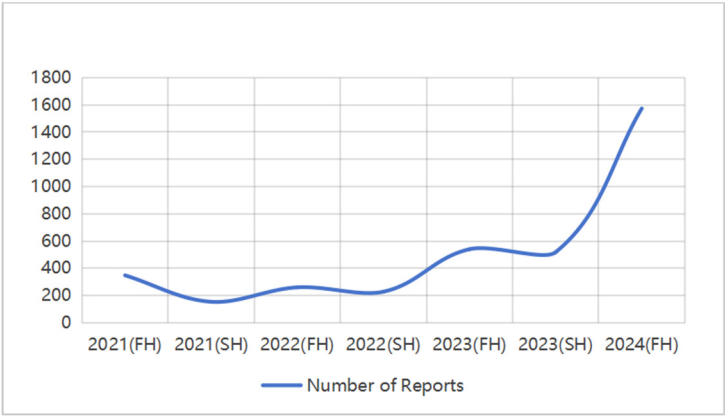


Fig. 2. Trend of Tsunoda’s 2021-2024 (FH) Season Report

4 Result Discussion

4.1 Two Drivers’ Entry into F1

The Alfa Romeo F1 team announced Zhou Guanyu as a driver for the 2022 season on November 16, 2021. This gained significant attention from Western media as Zhou was the first - and currently only - Chinese driver in F1. Recognising the immense significance of his participation in the top motorsport championship, the Daily Mail covered Zhou’s remarkable journey, highlighting his perseverance in overcoming challenges and drawing inspiration from his idol Kobe Bryant’s ‘Mamba Spirit ’ [14]. CNN emphasised that being a pioneer representing one’s nation in world-class sports inevitably attracts substantial attention [15].

UK and US media employed different narrative styles. The Daily Mail frequently used a ‘frustration narrative ’ approach with negative words like ‘pressure’, ‘severe’, and ‘challenge ’ to highlight his perseverance. However, this strategy of initially suppressing and subsequently promoting subtly reinforces the stereotype of Chinese athletes: (1) Zhou entered F1 with financial support from Chinese sponsors, leading to him being labelled a ‘paid driver’; (2) he relentlessly pursued victory due to China’s consistent pursuit of success in motor racing; and (3) his F1 journey was considered ‘blind ’ as China’s motorsport lagged behind.

While CNN has praised Zhou for his entry into F1, certain US financial magazines [16] have presented ‘other ’ descriptions similar to those in British media: Zhou’s entry filled him with national pride (Chinese nationalism), but raised questions about whether China could accept an underperforming racer given its emphasis on competitive performance in sports. In contrast, the British press subtly implied that Zhou represented blind adherence to China’s authoritative government and its high-spending policies, while the American media expressed this notion more explicitly. These reports align with the long-standing stereotype perpetuated by Western media of Chinese athletes, which is further magnified by Zhou’s role as a trailblazer.

Yuki Tsunoda joined Alpha Tauri in the 2021 season, making his F1 debut after a seven-year absence of Japanese drivers in the sport. Team executives praised Tsunoda's assertive racing approach and aptitude for learning [17], while highlighting his impressive performance at lower levels and ability to quickly adapt as key factors contributing to his transition to F1. Western media generally emphasised Tsunoda's personality traits and aggressive driving style in lower-level races. Moreover, they also stressed the crucial support from Honda, which serves as both an engine supplier for F1 and the operator of a youth training project - where Tsunoda was their first F1 driver [18]. Consequently, Tsunoda's entry into F1 was portrayed more as a routine business operation rather than as carrying the weight of national expectations, as Zhou's entry did.

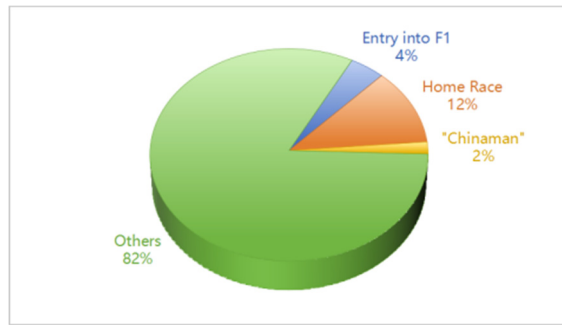


Fig. 3. Proportion of Zhou's Reports of 3 Topics

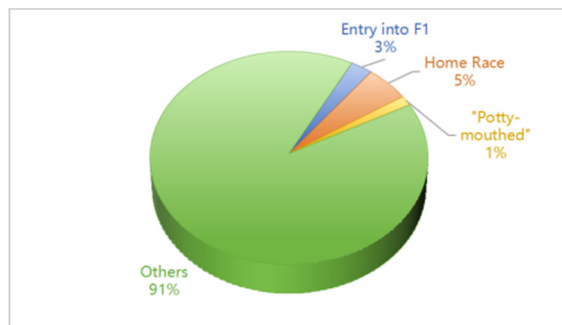


Fig. 4. Proportion of Tsunoda's Reports of 3 Topics

By comparing Figures 3 and 4, it is evident that Tsunoda receives less coverage in the 'Entry into F1' category as compared to Zhou, indicating his less prominent presence. In contrast, an analysis of the emotional tone depicted in Figures 5 and 6 reveals that Tsunoda's reports exhibit about a 10% higher positive proportion than Zhou's, primarily due to his exceptional performance in lower-level races. Therefore, Tsunoda appears more like a driver than Zhou. Western media downplayed his Asian attributes while emphasising his identity as a driver, drawing a parallel to Osaka.

Unfortunately, Western media have not fully embraced Tsunoda. For example, AFP not only mentioned Tsunoda being under 1.6 meters tall but also emphasised his alleged inability to adapt to the strong centrifugal forces required in F1 driving [19]. Ironically, taller drivers in F1 can actually reduce aerodynamic efficiency and impede speed, yet Western media remained oblivious to this fact and perpetuated stereotypes about Asian athletes being small and incapable of coping with high- intensity physical competition [20].

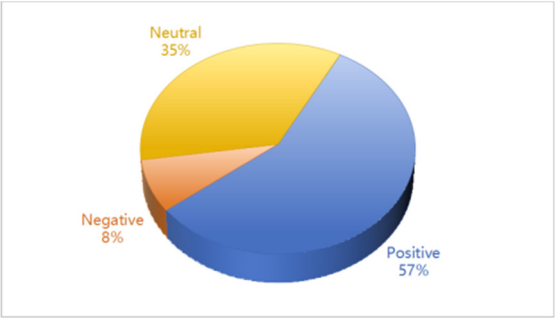


Fig. 5. Emotion Proportion of Zhou’s ‘Entry into F1’ Report

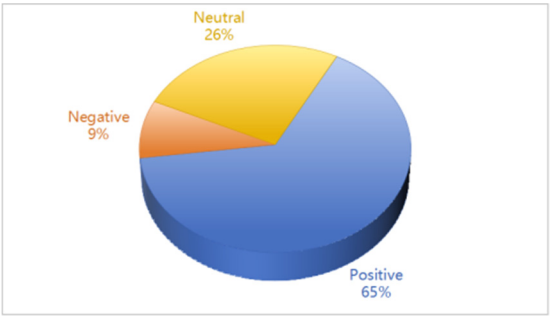


Fig. 6. Emotion Proportion of Tsunoda’s ‘Entry into F1’ Report

4.2 Home Race

The 2024 Chinese Grand Prix carried three significant implications: firstly, it marked F1’s return to China after a five-year hiatus due to the COVID- 19 pandemic. Secondly, it celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Chinese GP. Lastly, it represented a milestone in F1 history as a Chinese driver competed on home soil for the first time. AP suggested that Zhou was seen as F1’s ‘prime candidate for fostering ties with Chinese sponsors’, presenting remarkable business opportunities for China [21]. The revival of the Chinese GP demonstrates China’s determined efforts to leverage sports and cultural tourism as catalysts for post-pandemic consumption stimulation. The article reflected how Zhou’s media image in this ‘Home Race ’ report has been shaped to emphasise his ‘high commercial value ’. Such emphasis stems from F1’s ambition to

recapture the Chinese market in China post-pandemic, positioning Zhou as an ideal spokesperson.

Tsunoda finished 10th in the 2024 Japanese GP, becoming the first Japanese driver to score points on home soil since 2012. AFP noted that Tsunoda's strong performances are positioning him to become Alpha Tauri's main force [22]. Overall, media coverage of Tsunoda in the 'Home Race' continued to portray him as an F1 driver with exceptional strength and an outstanding personality. Compared to Zhou, Tsunoda's 'Home Race' reports were 7% lower (Figures 3 and 4), and positive coverage was also down by 10%, while neutral coverage increased by 8% (Figures 7 and 8). This disparity shows the significant appeal of the Chinese market for Western interests, leading Western media to prioritise Zhou's commercial value over his identity as an F1 driver, while emphasising Tsunoda's driver identity and downplaying his Asian background.

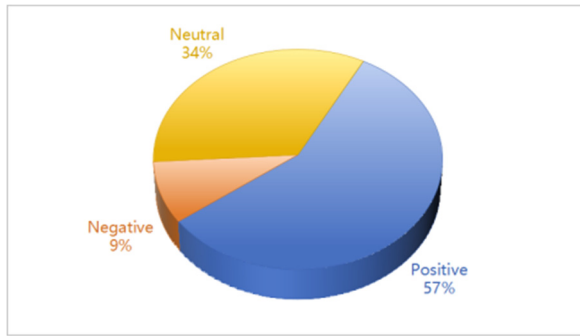


Fig. 7. (L) Emotion Proportion of Zhou's 'Home Race' Report

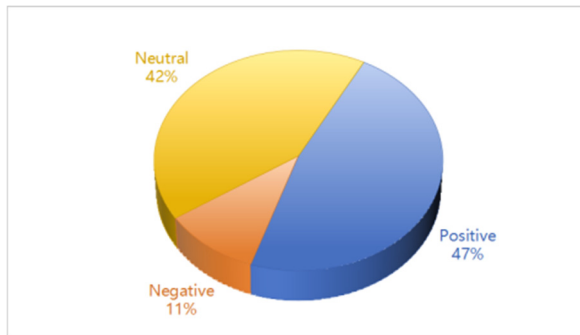


Fig. 8. (R) Emotion Proportion of Tsunoda's 'Home Race' Report

However, in a post-race interview, former F1 driver Karun Chandhok believed that despite Tsunoda's impressive first-half performance in the 2024 season, his Japanese heritage put him at a disadvantage compared to Mexican driver Sergio Perez when it came to securing a seat in top teams [23]. This reveals a bias against East Asian F1 drivers and implies that they have to gain recognition by surpassing Western drivers,

which mirrored the challenges faced by non-Western athletes participating in noble sports like Lewis Hamilton's experience.

4.3 'Chinaman' and 'Potty-mouthed'

During the 2023 Spanish GP, Sky Sports commentator Martin Brundle used the term 'Chinaman' to refer to Zhou. Social media comments after this incident can be categorised into two perspectives: those who perceive Brundle's remarks towards Zhou as 'questionable silly things', and those who consider calling Zhou 'Chinaman' as normal as calling someone British an 'Englishman' [24]. However, the problem is that 'Englishman' has always been a neutral term since its inception, while 'Chinaman' has not. Therefore, referring to British with the former term cannot be equivalent to referring to Chinese with the latter. Nevertheless, regardless of the validity of either viewpoint, the incident has gained significant attention and highlighted the persistent tendency to perceive Asian athletes as 'others'.

Zhou refrained from responding to Brundle's comment but he prefers to be called 'China Zhou' to represent a Chinese in F1. He aims to inspire global youth in pursuing their goals by exemplifying an ordinary individual who diligently strives towards their aspirations [25]. Despite being a pioneer for China in F1, Zhou essentially perceives himself as an athlete who embodies the confidence and resilience characteristic of China's younger generation.

Shortly after joining F1, Tsunoda was found to be outspoken on his team radio during races. The Daily Express reported that he had received warnings from the team regarding his frequent use of abusive language, and his referrer Helmut Marko questioned the appropriateness of his words and actions, considering him 'not very Japanese' and doubting whether he fully understood the implications [26]. The New York Times suggested that Tsunoda's verbal outbursts have gained him recognition in the public eye as a 'cultural icon', propelling him beyond just being an F1 driver [27].

In other words, the British media reinforced stereotypes suggesting that Asian athletes lack proficiency in English and should demonstrate self-discipline and obedience; US media, on the other hand, interpreted Tsunoda's behaviour as an expression of his individuality challenging prevailing Western stereotypes about Asians. Tsunoda acknowledged that he damaged Japan's image but shattered stereotypes about its people [28]. Overall, Tsunoda identifies himself as a Japanese athlete with a distinctive personality, aiming to serve as an 'icebreaker' for reshaping Western perceptions of Asians.

5 Conclusion

The research examined how Western media constructs the image of East Asian F1 drivers and the identity of East Asian drivers in the era of diversification in F1. Through analysing Zhou and Tsunoda's reports, the study found that (1) biases and stereotypes still persist in Western media, now often transferred from athletes to national levels; (2) while Zhou is portrayed as a valuable commercial asset, Tsunoda is

highlighted for his personal expression; (3) both drivers consider winning honours for their country and promoting diversity within F1 as noble pursuits. However, Zhou regards himself as an ordinary athlete embodying the spirit of Chinese sportsmanship, without perceiving himself as particularly special, whereas Tsunoda seeks to challenge Western stereotypes of Asians by showcasing his exceptional characteristics.

Although the study has limitations due to the lack of East Asian F1 drivers, it is worth noting that emerging media platforms, such as social networking sites, enable East Asian drivers to shape their media image independently and proactively address challenges posed by biased coverage in Western media. This aspect warrants further research attention.

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