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Cross-Strait Interactions, Exchanges, and Integration Between Zhoushan and Taiwan as Documented in the Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo During the Late Qing and Republican Period

晚清民国时期《台湾日日新报》所见舟台两岸交往交流交融

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Keywords:

Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo;
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Abstract: This study analyzes the communication strategy of Xinwen Lianbo on rural revitalization from the perspective of agenda-setting theory. Through content analysis of 427 reports (January 2023 to June 2024), it identifies a structural imbalance in agenda setting—overemphasis on industry and ecology, neglect of culture and organization—coupled with a lack of farmer subjectivity and critical depth. Optimization strategies are proposed to enhance communication effectiveness by diversifying, innovating narratives, and strengthening interaction.

关键词:

《台湾日日新报》；舟山；
台湾；交往交流交融

摘要：《台湾日日新报》是晚清民国时期日本割占台湾后，由日人创办的报刊。在近半个世纪报道中，舟山群岛因重要的战略位置与文化地位，在该报中被反复聚焦。该报一方面记载了普陀山作为文化圣地吸引台湾民众跨海朝圣，呈现两岸割不断的文化纽带；另一方面显露西方殖民者紧密追踪舟山“东海门户”战略位置，日本窥视清朝筹建军港计划及美国租借台湾企图，持续报道侵华军事行动，为殖民宣传服务。这些报道深刻反映了海峡两岸在殖民强权割裂意图下历史渊源的顽强延续。

1. 绪论

中日甲午战争后，日本强占台湾省，在台湾设立总督府，并创办各类报刊，利用报刊控制台湾省内各界人士的社会舆论，以强化对台湾的殖民统治。《台湾日日新报》在日本沦陷台湾时期，由日人创办，成为晚清民国时期台湾省内发行量最大、延续时间最长的报纸。近年来，学界对近代台湾省报刊的研究愈加重视，涌现出了许多研究成果，如刘璇《〈汉文台湾日日新报〉所载谢汝

铨译久保天随〈中国文学史〉考论》（《国际汉学》2024年第1期）、赵攀《〈汉文台湾日日新报〉刊载小说研究（1905~1911）》（上海师范大学2012年硕士学位论文）、陈忠纯《〈台湾日日新报〉的中国大陆报道——以张学良相关报道为中心（1924—1933）》（《台湾研究集刊》2023年第3期）等，均以专题性研究呈现。笔者爬梳《台湾日日新报》中、日文版资料，发现在近半个世纪报道中，舟山群岛因重要的战略位置与文化地位，在

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该报中被反复聚焦。该报一方面记载普陀山作为文化圣地吸引台湾各界人士跨海朝圣,呈现两岸割不断的文化纽带;另一方面显露西方殖民者紧密追踪舟山“东海门户”战略位置,日本窥探清朝筹建台湾军港计划及美国租借台湾的企图,持续报道侵华日军的军事行动,为殖民宣传服务。这些报道深刻反映了海峡两岸在殖民强权割裂意图下历史渊源的顽强延续。

2. 沦陷背景下诞生的《台湾日日新报》

晚清时期,列强环视中国,台湾岛处于西太平洋航线的中心位置,控制着关键的海上交通路线,是中国东南沿海的重要防御屏障。1885年,为有效治理及稳固守卫台湾岛,清朝将台湾岛从福建省中析出,正式建立台湾省,管辖台湾岛、澎湖列岛及周边附属岛屿。1894年,清朝在中日甲午战争中落败,次年与日本签订《马关条约》,将台湾岛、澎湖列岛及周边附属岛屿均割让给日本,台湾省沦陷为日本的殖民地。台湾省自古以来作为中国的领土,与中国有着难以割舍的关系,日本虽通过不平等条约割占台湾省,却遭到了台湾人民的顽强抵抗,中国大陆民众也通过各种方式积极支援台湾人民的抗日斗争。日方档案侧面记载了台湾省与中国大陆的抗日斗争,如“林季成于六月二十三日归台,王秋煌于八日在水脚返与其会晤,王原为林之营官,归顺后背反往清国,去年十一月间派秋煌回台联络各匪首,而今林季成本人回来,卢阿野、李养、林火旺均有同谋之意”^[2]。即使斗争失利,大陆民众仍然持续支持台湾省人民抗日,给予重要物资,如“林季成逃至厦门之初,因其名轰动彼地,获得帮助不少,亦不乏费用”^[3]。

日本割占台湾后,在台湾设立总督府,强化对台湾的殖民统治,并采取了一系列措施,试图阻断台湾与大陆民众之间的交往联系,其中一项重要手段是创办报刊,用以传达殖民政府的指令,灌输殖民思想。1896年,日人在台湾创办《台湾新报》,次年又创办《台湾日报》,因派系纷争,两报发表政论争斗不息。1896年,台湾总督府为有效引导和控制台湾省内社会舆论,时任台湾总督儿玉源太郎支持日人守屋善兵卫并购《台湾新报》《台湾日报》,创办了中、日文并载的《台湾日日新报》。^[1]《台湾日日新报》创办后不久,因陷于经费困厄,转由台湾总督府出资,该报遂成为台湾总督府的官方报纸。1944年,日本侵略势力陷入颓势,台湾省物资匮乏,报社运行难以为继,乃于该年3月与其他五家报社合并为新办的《台湾新报》,《台湾日日新报》正式退出历史舞台。《台湾日日新报》在创办期间,广揽中日

学者、文人担任编辑,成为晚清民国时期台湾省内发行量最大、延续时间最长的报纸。

《台湾日日新报》的报道内容十分丰富,涉及法令规章、时事新闻、社会现象以及生活形态等各种信息。在台湾沦陷时期,该报首创了社会报道的体例,同时也开启了台湾总督府政治力量介入新闻媒体的先河,是日据台湾总督府的“御用工具”。^[4]《台湾日日新报》作为台湾总督府支持创办的报刊,广泛活跃在台湾民众的日常生活中,充当台湾总督府的官方传声筒,协助日本殖民者开展对台湾人民的殖民统治。

《台湾日日新报》诞生于台湾沦陷时期,其创刊目的是将日本殖民思想潜移默化地散播给台湾民众,利用报刊报道招揽人心。与日本殖民者事与愿违的是,《台湾日日新报》在发行过程中,受到广泛民众有意与无意的影响,不少报道从侧面体现了台湾民众的抗日情绪,亦有不少报道反映台湾与中国大陆两岸的交往、交流、交融。这些报道恰恰体现了台湾在被日本沦陷时期冲突与和平并存的矛盾状态。

3. 《台湾日日新报》载普陀山旅行记录

《台湾日日新报》的报道中留存许多台湾民众的真实活动印记,这之中有诸多报道记载民众前往舟山地界旅行游玩,普陀山作为舟山重要的标志之一,为台湾民众所熟识和向往,反映出日本殖民统治下两岸的民间交往。

普陀山全称普陀珞珈山,原名梅岑山,一直以来与宗教有着关联。其宗教渊源可以追溯至道教,历来的普陀山志中都有关于普陀山与道教的记载,如汉代的梅福曾经在此处炼丹,所以普陀山原名又叫梅岑山^[5]。在佛教传入之前,普陀山似乎已经是道教的重要场所,普陀山中的不少景点都与慈航道人有关系。随着佛教传入后,普陀山与观世音菩萨联系甚密,今天成为中国佛家四大名山之一,观音菩萨的显化道场。普陀山的开山则与日本僧人慧锷有关,“日本国沙门慧锷,礼五台山,得观音像,道四明,将归国。舟过补陀山,附着石上,不得进。众疑惧禱之,曰:若尊像于海东,机缘未熟,请留此山。舟即浮动,锷哀慕不能去,乃结庐海上,以奉之(今山侧有新罗礁)”^[6]。

普陀山的名声早就远播海外,乔治·斯当东在访华时对普陀山的景色感到由衷的赞美:

群岛之中有些引人入胜的地方,尤其是其中的普陀,被形容为人间天堂。这个地方是一个风景区,以后一些宗教信徒又去加以修饰。大约有3000个信徒在那里过着独身的生活。那里有400座庙宇,每座都附有住房和花园。

和尚就住在这些房子里寺庙的布施非常多。这个地方是全国闻名的胜地。^[7]

普陀山作为海天佛国的特殊宗教地位，加之其人间天堂的美丽景色，持续吸引着世界的目光，受到近代旅行家如斯当东的大加赞赏，吸引了许多西方游客与台湾民众，最早有关台湾民众游览普陀山的旅行记录是1907年8月11日所刊郑毓臣与普陀僧人子清上人的诗文唱和记录，先是子清上人留诗于法雨寺赠郑毓臣，郑毓臣回访后“丁未清和月游普陀山淹留法雨寺，于壁上读子清上人题句，写作俱佳，深以来得一见为憾。后得引缘大师为介绍，间谈半日，聊慰浮生。复承惠赠佳篇，铭感曷极，依韵奉和以志雪泥鸿爪，工拙弗计也”^[8-1]。而后二人再次以诗论道，其中既有佛教偈语，又暗含历史关联，“未得遗音乐继福台（注：沈光文，浙江人，流寓台湾，有福台新詠集群英之句），分牋觅句愧麤才。折腰斗米陶元亮，何日高歌归去来”^[8-2]。诗中沈光文为遗民流寓台湾，与郑毓臣的鲑海逸民身份相呼应，表达了郑毓臣渴望像陶渊明一样归隐山林潜心修行的愿景。而二人的唱和报道不仅承载着遗民群体的精神共鸣，同时还为两岸佛教交流做出贡献。这篇报道刊登不久，《台湾日日新报》发布一篇《江浙零闻》，部分内容介绍了普陀山的基本情况，旨在增加台湾民众对于普陀山的认识，“浙省普陀山，绵亘以百方里计；寺观庙宇六七十所，僧侣以千计，其中无职业者多。遇有香客上山，托钵于途，口念阿弥陀，互求布施。凡礼佛来游之辈，每解囊相赠，相习成风，恬不知怪”^[9]。此后诸多台湾民众前往普陀山游玩，如基隆月眉山灵泉寺住持善慧上人，在大陆游玩时得到当地高僧以黄娟题诗相赠，这之中有一位南海普陀山鹤鸣庵的广通禅师，因是台湾籍僧人，更添一层因缘。善慧上人往来两岸，同内地高僧进行佛法交流，更有在普陀山修行的台籍僧人广通禅师，既是两岸法脉延续的活证，也体现大陆佛教对台籍僧人的接纳。部分台湾民众在旅行期间进行佛法交流，成为台舟两地友好交流的佐证。

普陀山并非台湾民众的唯一目的地，他们在旅舟之外还会选择在周边地区游玩，慎净和尚在1921年同友人同游，被报道在《台湾日日新报》上“余偕闽僧达本老人一行四众云游大陆苏杭等处，既而栖泊上海。遇周学士与郑拱辰氏一行亦至申江，于东亚旅馆会晤，同参南海普陀。约一星期，余先下闽中，归台之后，尚未晋谒，因题一律，以呈省园主人”^[10]。不只是普陀山，江浙等地同样是台湾旅客游览的地点，推动了江浙等地旅游与文化的推广，更为两岸交流做出不可磨灭的贡献。此后普陀山的名字不仅仅出现在游记中，更是被台湾民众广泛提及使用，《金魁星》是章回体小说，作者笔名佩雁，实

为台湾嘉义人白玉簪。小说自1908年3月6日开始在《台湾日日新报》连载，至1910年1月16日停载^[11]，连载时十分畅销，受到读者的喜爱，而小说第十二回和第五十二回两次提及普陀，一次以地名出现，一次涉及普陀高僧，被畅销小说提及无疑给普陀山带来一定的宣传，让更多普通民众听说普陀山。

除此之外，普陀山的文化还通过戏剧的形式呈现给台湾民众。从1924年2月20日开始，上海班上演新的戏剧《普陀山观音收十八罗汉》，广受好评：“新舞台开演中之上海班，自二十一夜新排普陀山以来，各界人士，非常欢迎。初夜以天候晴霁，及早即已满座，停止再入，二十二夜重演又于七时过，已告满座，后至之人多以不得其门而入者为憾，为是同戏园监于一般人气，拟于二十四夜（礼拜日）再演，以酬会顾客之高谊云。日间观书走城，三本铁公鸡，天女散花古城会。夜间普陀山观音收十八罗汉”^[12]。由此前往普陀游玩朝圣者日益增多，普陀山的人亦有前往台湾者，“普陀山法雨古寺达圆方丈徒孙光佑禅师，及学静师自前月来，历游福建各地视察佛教，然后渡台，调查各寺佛教规例完毕。将于来十五日，搭外国船返国。稻市佛教信者许松革氏外数名，爰于去十三日午后七时，假王义兴商店为开饯别之宴云”^[13]。日据时期两岸来往虽受限制，但舟台两地民众之间的往来仍绵延不绝，即使作为御用报纸，《台湾日日新报》亦不时刊登两岸之间的互动交流，台湾民众对普陀山的认识也逐渐从佛教圣地进行深化，乃至扩展到其他地方。

尽管《台湾日日新报》是日本殖民政府的官方喉舌，但其关于普陀山的报道，却成为两岸文化血脉的鲜活见证。作为宗教圣地的普陀山，吸引许多台湾信众跨海朝圣——从1907年郑毓臣与子清上人诗作中“福台遗民”的诗文唱和，到1921年慎净和尚“云游朝山”，无不体现出普陀山是超越殖民桎梏的纽带。《台湾日日新报》对普陀山的诸多报道证明普陀山成为日据时代舟台之间独特的文化飞地，印证两岸水乳交融的事实。

4. 《台湾日日新报》所载两岸军事、政治活动

报纸是普通民众认识世界的工具之一，舟山在近代中国历史上有重要地位，在《台湾日日新报》上有诸多记载。早在乾隆年间，马夏尔尼使团访华时就来到过舟山，随团的乔治·斯当东留下一部《英使谒见乾隆纪实》，其中就对舟山做了一个简单的定性“这块地方的岛屿多，安全的停泊港也多，可以容纳任何大船。除了这点之外，这里还处在中国东海岸朝鲜、日本、琉球和台湾的中心地带，对于宁波的繁荣起着很大作用”^[14]。在英国人看

来, 舟山是我国的东海门户, 也是他们重要的侵略基地, 他们可以在舟山建立贸易基地、军事据点, 因此英、法、德、美等西方各国都对舟山充满觊觎。日本同样将目光聚焦于舟山岛, 这一战略思维反映到台湾总督府, 便落实于《台湾日日新报》, 因而《台湾日日新报》曾刊登诸多涉及舟山的军、政报道。关于舟山的军事、政治报道首见于1898年, 虽然只报道了一件小事即舟山架设海底电线^[15], 但仍可发觉在《台湾日日新报》创设之初已关注舟山。

甲午战后, 日本的海权意识进一步加强, 对东亚海域的争夺日趋激烈, 中国是当时列强瓜分的目标, 受到各方的关注。中国当时也有计划继续振兴海军, 因此日本对当时中国的海军建设尤为关注, 《台湾日日新报》于1907年6月就中国海军基地的选址问题进行报道, 当时的清政府也发现舟山作为军港的潜质: “该地山峰屏蔽, 流水回环, 最适当于避风波。门户亦紧严, 加以港内地势宽阔, 水深而广, 可收容多数船舶, 虽二万吨以上之军舰亦于出入毫无阻碍。若建设砲台于山上, 前后皆能相呼应。在中心砂碛一高地, 面积约一千数百清里, 可以建设造船厂、造兵厂、海军学校及海军诸官衙, 实不易得之良军港也”^[16]。1908年清政府建设北洋、南洋、粤洋三大舰队时, 舟山被选为南洋舰队的军港^[17]。对于此事日本方面高度重视, 十分关注清政府海军的建设进度, 至1911年仍通过媒体报道清政府的动向: 清政府派遣测绘人员对舟山定海厅等关键港湾进行实地勘测, 以推进海军基地的实质性建设^[18]。但从结果看, 在舟山建立军事基地这一设想并未付诸实践, 清朝即宣告覆灭。

舟山与台湾经度相近, 地理位置重要, 《台湾日日新报》中曾有一篇报道, 是日本殖民当局对于台湾的形势分析, 在日本当局看来, 台湾土壤肥沃、物产丰饶, 能达成这些的原因是由其自然地理位置决定, “台湾之在地球位置, 于东经略等于扬子江口之舟山列岛, 于北纬则近福州厦门。天气晴和之日, 与琉球之与那国岛相望, 在半热带寰”^[19-1]。而台湾所处位置, 对日本有着重要作用, “于外国则无甚切要, 亦以我国之统治为便, 而他国则鞭长莫及, 统治当难。而台湾人之归我国, 其较诸归他国, 幸福实多。若溯台湾与我国之缘故, 则不自近今始, 而远自前明也。以台湾占形势之区, 富饶之国, 以我国之文明植民政政策统治之, 其成效今已昭然人目, 后此之更开发者, 岂有限哉。盖台湾之文明, 将与年俱新矣”^[19-2]。在新年的第一天, 日本当局在台湾的报纸上通过这一篇报道, 分析台湾的形势与台湾归附日本的好处。

进入民国之后, 舟山依旧是列强争夺的重要口岸, 1912年就美国租借舟山列岛的问题得到了日本的关注。

早在1846年英国退还舟山之际, 曾与清政府订立《退还舟山条约》, 条约规定“英军退还舟山后, 大皇帝永不以舟山等岛给予他国。舟山等岛若受他国侵伐, 英国应为保护无虞”^[20]。而现在中国政府试图将美国引入, 以此牵制日、德等列强, 美国方面则希望实现其门户开放政策, 与列强实现利益均沾, 同时又希望拿下舟山这一重要港口, 因此1912年前后双方进行谈判, 为此美国不惜以一亿为借款, 想要租借舟山百年^[21]。该谈判最终未能达成, 舟山没有被租借。舟山一直处在民国政府手中, 日本一直关注这块地方。

日本殖民当局还通过控制报刊进行舆论宣传。1937年后日本方面在台湾掀起“皇民化运动”, 对社会的管控不断加强, 在言论上实行废止中文的政策^[22], 《台湾日日新报》所载舟山地区涉及军事、政治的报道, 全部使用日语进行报道, 并不断通过报道进行亲日舆论宣传。

1937年7月, 全面抗战爆发, 8月日军占领嵊泗岛, 派出大量军事力量在舟山附近活动, 从1937年8月至1939年6月, 日军在舟山洋面活动达38次, 出动舰艇百余艘(次), 登陆12次(不包括侵占嵊泗列岛)^[23]。《台湾日日新报》也持续关注并报道日军在舟山附近的战事, 从1939年开始至1943年共报导15次, 经常出现扫荡、剿灭等字词, 由此瞥见当时战况的惨烈以及日军的残暴。《抗日战争在舟山》一书曾记录日军在普陀的暴行, 1939年6月23日的一条记录触目惊心:

1939年6月23日凌晨2时, 数百名日军分乘4艘兵舰在飞机、大炮的掩护下, 强行在沈家门墩头、茶湾等地登陆。清晨4时日寇炮击鲁家峙胡家, 炸死无辜群众2名, 炸毁胡裕顺、胡祥德等家房屋10余间。5时左右, 日军用喷火器纵火焚毁宫墩天后宫(现普陀区人民医院门诊部地址)、东岳宫(现区人民医院职工宿舍址)、民众教育馆(东岳宫西侧, 现区人民医院职工宿舍址)及教场朱家祠堂等名胜古迹百余间。下午又将新街附近居民陈交生等房屋烧毁。当天, 日寇在白虎山嘴、教场、戚家湾等地抢杀了王和尚、张小狗、杨友元、朱富贵等18名无辜群众, 拷打居民数十人, 还有十几名青年妇女、姑娘被强奸, 刘××姑娘被强奸后, 含恨而死, 张XX被折磨得神经失常。^[24]

而日本方面最初的报道多为日军攻占舟山的过程, 同样是日军基本占领舟山这一事件, 日军占领后于6月25日随即发布这一消息, 向民众宣告这一“喜讯”^[25], 日军也想借这些报道向民众树立日军在战场上的英勇形象。1941年1月20日《台湾日日新报》刊登了名为《舟山岛的扫荡战》的报道, “海军陆战队威风堂堂。陆战队活跃在大展

庄附近”^[26]。并附上日军出击的照片，旨在营造日军高歌奋进的现象。

随着日本侵略战争形势的变化，日军在太平洋战争中总体呈败退趋势，日军在占领舟山初期的兵力约800人，1942—1943年减至500余人。太平洋战争后期，日军为了应对反法西斯同盟军的进攻，在舟山群岛修建大量军事设施进行防御。因此1944年日军又逐渐增加在舟山地区的兵力，至1945年7月间，约有千人^[27]。1944年，《台湾日日新报》因时运艰难，报社难以为继，最终与其余五家报社合并为《台湾新报》。

舟山群岛“东海门户”的特殊地位被列强洞悉，甲午战后成为清廷海军建设要地与列强竞逐焦点。日本通过《台湾日日新报》监视并报导舟山情况——从揭露美国租借舟山的想法，到抗战期间鼓吹日军扫荡战、歼灭战的暴行，为其在台湾殖民统治的巩固提供助力。

5. 结语

舟山在近代西方人眼中有重要作用，日本人亦对舟山十分重视。舟山群岛在《台湾日日新报》近半个世纪报道中，既被塑造成近代东亚海域海权争夺的重要地点，同时也是两岸血脉相连，进行文化交流的纽带。体现了舟山在国际局势中所处的地位——既是两岸军事政治冲突的前沿，又是各界人士崇拜的宗教圣地，体现了战争与和平的时代主题。

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A Study on the Communication Strategy of Xinwen Lianbo on Rural Revitalization: From the Perspective of Agenda-Setting Theory

《新闻联播》对乡村振兴的传播策略研究：基于议程设置理论的视角

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Keywords:

Xinwen Lianbo;
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Agenda-Setting;
Communication Strategy

关键词:

新闻联播; 乡村振兴;
议程设置; 传播策略

Abstract: This study analyzes the communication strategy of Xinwen Lianbo on rural revitalization from the perspective of agenda-setting theory. Through content analysis of 427 reports (January 2023 to June 2024), it identifies a structural imbalance in agenda setting—overemphasis on industry and ecology, neglect of culture and organization—coupled with a lack of farmer subjectivity and critical depth. Optimization strategies are proposed to enhance communication effectiveness by diversifying, innovating narratives, and strengthening interaction.

摘要: 本文基于议程设置理论, 分析《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道的传播策略。通过对2023年1月至2024年6月427篇报道的内容分析, 发现其议题设置存在“重产业生态、轻文化组织”的失衡现象, 农民主体性缺失, 批判性不足。研究从议题多元性、叙事创新性与传播互动性三方面提出优化策略。

乡村振兴战略是新时代“三农”工作的总抓手, 关乎国家现代化进程与城乡协调发展。媒体作为政策传播与社会动员的重要载体, 在乡村振兴战略的推进中发挥着不可替代的作用。《新闻联播》作为我国影响力最大、覆盖面最广的电视新闻节目, 其对乡村振兴的报道不仅塑造着公众对“三农”问题的认知, 更直接影响政策落地的社会氛围与执行效果。从现实层面看, 《新闻联播》的乡村振兴报道通过议题选择、内容呈现与情感引导, 构建了全社会对乡村振兴的“认知图景”。这种图景既可能强化政策认同, 也可能因传播偏差导致公众认知与现实需求脱节。例如, 过度聚焦“典型示范村”而忽视普通乡村的发展困境, 可能掩盖乡村振兴中的真实矛盾; 偏重“产业振

兴”而轻忽“文化振兴”, 可能窄化公众对乡村振兴内涵的理解。从理论层面看, 议程设置理论为解析《新闻联播》的传播策略提供了重要框架。该理论认为, 媒体通过赋予议题不同的“显著性”, 影响公众对议题重要性的判断。基于此, 本文通过分析《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道的议题设置、属性呈现与传播效果, 探究其如何通过议程设置引导社会关注, 并为优化传播策略提供理论依据。

1. 国内外研究现状

1.1. 乡村振兴的媒体传播研究

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国内研究多聚焦于媒体在乡村振兴中的角色定位，如方晓红（2002）指出，大众传媒需适应农村受众需求以推进农村现代化^{[[1]]}；陈娟（2013）探讨了农村类报纸的转型路径，强调服务性内容的重要性。^{[[2]]}针对电视媒体的研究中，陈旭鑫等（2019）分析了《新闻联播》“三农”报道的叙事框架，发现其以“政治权威”“经济影响”框架为主，存在偏向政策解读而轻忽农民视角的问题。^{[[3]]}国外研究更关注媒介对乡村社会的建构作用，如Hallin（1984）提出“共识领域”“合法争议领域”的概念，为分析媒体对乡村议题的选择性呈现提供了思路^{[[4]]}；Couldry（2004）则批判了主流媒体对乡村的“他者化”呈现，认为其强化了城乡二元对立。^{[[5]]}

1.2. 议程设置理论的应用研究

麦库姆斯与肖（1972）提出的传统议程设置理论，强调媒体对公众“想什么”的影响；后续发展的“属性议程设置”理论（McCombs et al., 1997）则关注媒体如何通过议题属性（如正面 / 负面、政策 / 民生）影响公众“怎么想”。^{[[6]]}国内学者中，崔凯（2025）指出，主流媒体在政策传播议程初始化时具有先发优势和示范效应；自媒体在阶段内议程互动中体现出共鸣效应，并在跨阶段体现出溢散效应^{[[7]]}；秦双飞（2020）以《河南日报农村版》为例，发现涉农媒体的议题设置与国家政策高度契合，但与农民需求的拟合度仅为 51.8%。^{[[8]]}现有研究已揭示主流媒体乡村报道的议程偏向，但针对《新闻联播》这一核心媒体的专项研究仍显不足：其一，缺乏对乡村振兴报道的长期追踪与系统分析；其二，对议程设置的“层级性”（客体议程、属性议程）关注不足；其三，较少结合乡村振兴的“五个振兴”维度解析传播策略的结构性偏差。

本文以议程设置理论为核心，构建“议题选择—属性呈现—效果反思—策略优化”的分析框架。第一部分：解析《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道的客体议程设置，即“报道什么”，包括议题类型、数量分布与时空特征。第二部分：分析属性议程设置，即“如何报道”，聚焦报道倾向、信源选择与叙事框架。第三部分：结合乡村振兴实践，反思议程设置的偏差，如议题失衡、农民主体性缺失等。第四部分：提出优化策略，如构建多元议题体系、强化农民话语权重等。

2. 议程设置理论与乡村振兴传播的适配性

2.1. 议程设置理论的核心内涵

议程设置理论经历了从“客体议程”到“属性议程”再到“网络议程”的演进。在乡村振兴传播中，其核心作用体现为：客体议程：媒体通过选择“产业振兴”“生态振兴”等议题，决定公众对乡村振兴的关注焦点。例如，《新闻联播》若高频报道“农村电商”，可能引导公众认为“产业振兴”是乡村振兴的核心。属性议程：媒体通过赋予议题特定属性（如“政策利好”“技术赋能”），影响公众对议题的价值判断。例如，强调“乡村旅游带动增收”的正面属性，可能强化公众对乡村振兴成效的认同。网络议程：在新媒体环境下，《新闻联播》的议程与社交媒体议程形成互动，但其作为主流媒体仍具有“议程融合”的主导力。

2.2. 乡村振兴传播对议程设置的特殊要求

2.2.1. 议题全面性

乡村振兴涵盖“产业、人才、文化、生态、组织”五个维度，媒体议程需兼顾各维度以避免认知偏差，并保障企业、农民等多元主体的话语权，最终是为了实现从“认知引导”到“实践赋能”的多重效果，既让社会对乡村振兴形成全面、真实的认知，也推动各主体真正参与到乡村振兴的实践中，具体可从以下层面来看：

一是构建全面真实的乡村振兴认知图景，避免认知偏差。

首先是平衡五个维度的议程设置。若媒体过度聚焦“产业振兴”（如只报道乡村企业、经济数据），可能让公众误以为乡村振兴只是“赚钱”；若忽视“文化振兴”（如传统技艺、乡村习俗的传承），则会掩盖乡村的精神内核。兼顾五个维度的报道，能让社会理解：乡村振兴是“产业强、人才兴、文化活、生态美、组织稳”的系统工程——例如，既展现乡村特色种植产业的增收成效，也报道返乡青年用新媒体传播非遗手工艺的故事，还关注村党支部如何带领村民治理人居环境，从而让公众形成“乡村是经济、社会、文化、生态协同发展的共同体”的认知，避免将乡村振兴简化为单一的“经济指标”或“项目工程”。

其次是要打破“政府主导”的单一叙事。若报道中只有政府政策、干部行动，容易让公众觉得乡村振兴是“自上而下的任务”，忽视农民的主体地位。而突出农民的话语权（如他们对土地的规划、对生活的期待、在创业中的尝试）、企业的角色（如电商如何助力农产品出山、合作社如何带动村民增收），能让社会看到：乡村振兴的主角是农民，政府是引导者、企业是参与者，各方形成

“共建共享”的合力。这种认知能避免公众对乡村振兴产生“政府包办”的误解，理解其本质是“乡村自己的振兴”。

二是激活多元主体的参与动力，推动实践落地。

对农民：增强主动性与创造力。当农民的声音被媒体关注——比如报道某村民通过直播卖果带动全村、某返乡青年用创意改造乡村民宿，会让更多农民意识到“自己的想法和行动能改变家乡”，从而从“被动等待”转为“主动探索”。媒体对他们实践的传播，既能提供经验借鉴，也能增强其成就感，激发更多人参与乡村建设的热情。

对企业与社会力量：明确价值与路径。媒体报道企业在乡村的实践（如农业科技如何改良土壤、文旅企业如何活化古村落），既能展示乡村振兴中的商业机遇，也能传递“社会责任”的价值——让企业看到，参与乡村振兴不仅能盈利，还能获得社会认可。同时，报道中呈现的具体需求（如乡村缺技术、缺市场、缺创意），也能为社会力量（如公益组织、高校团队）提供参与方向，推动资源精准对接。

对政府：优化引导与服务方式。媒体通过传播农民的真实诉求（如“希望完善冷链物流”“担心农产品销路”）、企业的实践困境（如“土地流转流程复杂”“政策落地效率待提升”），能为政府决策提供参考，推动政策从“供给导向”转向“需求导向”。例如，报道某地因缺乏技能培训导致农民就业难后，可能推动当地政府针对性开展培训项目，让政策更贴合乡村实际。

三是培育乡村振兴的社会共识与文化认同。

首先凝聚“乡村有价值”的社会共识。媒体对五个维度的全面报道，能打破城市对乡村的刻板印象——不仅展示乡村的生态之美、文化之厚，也展现其产业潜力、人才活力，让社会意识到乡村不是“落后的代名词”，而是有独特价值的发展空间。这种共识能吸引更多城市资源（如资本、人才、消费）流向乡村，形成“城乡互补”的发展氛围。

其次强化乡村文化的主体性与自豪感。突出文化振兴的报道（如乡村庙会、传统手工艺的传承故事），以及农民对本土文化的认同表达（如“我们的山歌比流行歌更有味道”），能唤醒乡村居民的文化自信，也让外界理解乡村文化的独特魅力。这种文化认同是乡村振兴的精神根基——当村民珍视自己的文化，才会主动守护乡村的根与魂，避免乡村在发展中“千村一面”。

四是保障乡村振兴的可持续性，避免形式主义。

单一维度的报道可能催生“政绩工程”（如为追求产业数据而盲目上项目），而多元维度的平衡能引导社会关注“实效”——例如，不仅看产业是否增收，还要看是否破坏生态；不仅看人才是否引进，还要看是否能留住。

保障农民话语权则能避免“替农民做主”的形式主义——当媒体持续追问“农民是否真的受益”“他们是否认同项目”，能倒逼各项举措回归“以农民为中心”的本质，让乡村振兴的成果真正惠及乡村、扎根乡村。

2.2.2. 问题导向性

既需传播成就以凝聚共识，也需直面问题（如城乡差距、人才流失）以推动解决，最终是为了实现多维度的积极效果，既关乎舆论引导的深度，也涉及社会发展的实效。主要具体有几个方面：

构建更立体的社会认知，增强舆论公信力。传播成就（如经济发展、科技突破、民生改善等）能让公众直观感受国家进步，建立对发展道路的认同感；而直面问题（如城乡差距、区域发展不平衡、部分领域的改革难点等）则体现了舆论平台的真实性与勇气，避免因“报喜不报忧”引发公众质疑。这种“既讲成绩也不避问题”的叙事，能让公众形成对社会现状的全面认知——既看到国家发展的整体向好，也理解前进中的挑战，从而增强对媒体乃至对政府的信任度。

凝聚共识，激发社会合力。传播成就的核心是“凝聚信心”：通过展示共同奋斗的成果，强化公众的集体归属感，让不同群体（如城乡居民、各行业从业者）意识到自身与国家发展的关联，从而减少分歧、形成“同向而行”的共识。直面问题的价值则是“凝聚行动”：清晰呈现城乡差距、人才流失等现实矛盾，并非放大负面情绪，而是让公众理解问题的成因与解决的紧迫性，进而激发社会各界（政府、企业、公众）的参与意识——例如，引导政策向乡村倾斜、鼓励人才回流、推动社会力量参与公益等，形成“共同解决问题”的合力。

为改革发展提供舆论支撑。任何社会进步都伴随着问题的解决，而解决问题需要舆论环境的支持。《新闻联播》作为主流舆论场，直面问题能为改革措施的推出“铺路”：例如，提前探讨“城乡差距”，可以让公众理解后续乡村振兴政策的必要性；聚焦“人才流失”，能为户籍改革、基层待遇提升等措施的出台营造共识，减少政策推行中的阻力。同时，通过对问题的跟踪报道（如展示某地如何通过产业扶持缩小城乡差距、某地区如何用政策吸引人才回流），既能体现解决问题的进展，也能为其他地区提供借鉴，推动问题从“被关注”到“被解决”的落地。

塑造理性成熟的社会心态。长期只传播成就可能让公众对社会风险缺乏认知，而过度聚焦问题则可能引发焦虑。二者的平衡能引导公众形成“理性看待发展”的心态：既不因成绩而盲目乐观，也不因问题而消极悲观，而是以客观视角理解“发展是一个在解决问题中前进的过程”。

这种心态的培育，有助于社会在面对挑战时保持稳定——例如，在经济转型期，公众能理解短期阵痛的必然性；在民生改善过程中，能包容改革的渐进性，从而为社会的长期稳定提供心理基础。

综上，《新闻联播》兼顾“传播成就”与“直面问题”，最终是为了实现“真实叙事—信任建立—共识凝聚—行动转化—发展推进”的良性循环：让公众在认同国家发展的同时，主动参与到问题解决中，从而推动社会在正视挑战中不断进步，实现“凝聚人心、汇聚力量”的根本目标。

3. 《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道的客体议程设置

3.1. 样本选取与编码

为系统分析《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道的议程设置特征，本研究选取2023年1月1日至2024年6月30日共18个月的相关报道作为研究样本。通过央视网官方节目库进行全文检索，关键词包括“乡村振兴”“三农”“农村发展”“农业现代化”“乡村治理”等，初步筛选出报道正文或标题中明确涉及乡村振兴内容的新闻条目，共得到有效样本427条。编码方案依据乡村振兴“五大振兴”维度（产业振兴、人才振兴、文化振兴、生态振兴、组织振兴）进行议题分类，同时记录每条报道的时长、播出日期、地域属性（东/中/西部）、信源类型（政府官员、专家学者、农民、企业代表等）及报道倾向（正面/中性/批判）。编码由两名研究者独立完成，信度检验显示Cohen's Kappa系数为0.87，一致性较高。

3.2. 议题分布特征

统计分析显示，《新闻联播》乡村振兴报道在议题分布上呈现显著不均衡性：

其一，产业振兴主导。产业类报道占比最高（42.6%），主要集中在农业科技推广（如无人机播种、智慧农业）、农村电商（如直播带货）、特色产业发展（如乡村旅游、农产品加工）等领域。例如，2023年6月报道《浙江安吉：小小白茶叶 致富大产业》，聚焦茶产业带动农民增收的案例；2024年8月报道西畴县东升村“西品出山”村播学院通过直播带货带动农产品销售额突破1600万元，直接助农增收100万余元。

其二，生态振兴跟进。生态类报道占比23.2%，多涉及农村人居环境整治、垃圾分类、厕所革命等议题。如2023年9月《湖南湘西：农村改厕改出美丽乡村》的报道，突出政策落地成效；2024年8月报道浙江常山路里坑

村从“石灰村”转型为生态旅游村，通过废弃建筑改造实现绿色发展。

其三，人才与组织振兴薄弱。人才振兴（11.5%）和组织振兴（9.8%）报道较少，且多依附于产业或生态议题中出现，如“返乡创业青年”常作为产业案例的补充，缺乏独立深度报道。例如，2024年报道全国返乡创业人数累计超过1430万人，但未深入分析其政策支持或面临挑战。

其四，文化振兴边缘化。文化类报道仅占7.3%，且多集中于传统节日（如春节、丰收节）的仪式化呈现，如2023年春节特别节目《村里的年味儿》；2024年8月报道灵宝市焦村镇通过篮球文化和特色农产品展示乡村振兴成果，但此类报道频率较低。

地域分布上，东部地区报道量占比51.3%，中部占28.7%，西部仅20.0%，且西部报道多与“脱贫攻坚”“对口支援”挂钩，一定程度上反映了地域关注度的失衡。

3.3. 议题设置的驱动因素

《新闻联播》的议题选择受多重因素驱动：

其一，政策导向优先。报道议题与中央政策高度同步。例如，2023年中央一号文件强调“粮食安全”后，相关报道量同比增加30%；2024年文件提出“乡村振兴示范村建设”后，示范村案例报道占比显著上升。

其二，典型示范偏好。倾向于选择具有示范效应的“标杆村庄”（如浙江鲁家村、陕西袁家村），通过成功案例传递政策有效性。例如，2024年报道福建北大村通过文旅融合实现收入增长，但普通村庄的发展困境较少被触及。

其三，事件驱动补充。重大事件（如丰收节、全国两会）期间报道量集中，常态化报道不足。2023年丰收节期间，乡村振兴相关报道日均3.2条，而平日仅0.8条；2024年报道《丰收时节 特色农产品助农民增收》聚焦多地特色农产品丰收场景，但未深入分析产业链可持续性问题。

4. 《新闻联播》乡村振兴传播的问题反思

4.1. 结构性失衡与认知偏差

《新闻联播》的议程设置在乡村振兴五大维度中存在显著结构性失衡。产业与生态振兴的过度凸显（合计占比65.8%），可能导致公众形成“乡村振兴=产业+环境”的片面认知。例如，2023-2024年间，文化振兴相关报道年均仅12条，且多为节庆类软性新闻，未能深入呈现乡村

文化传承的困境（如传统技艺失传、乡村文化空间萎缩）。这种议程设置偏差，易使公众忽视乡村振兴中文化认同与精神重建的核心价值。同时，地域报道的不均衡（东部占比超50%）可能强化“示范村效应”，掩盖中西部普通乡村的发展需求，导致政策资源分配进一步向“明星村”倾斜。

4.2. 农民主体性缺失与批判性不足

农民作为乡村振兴的主体，在《新闻联播》中常处于“被表述”地位。样本中，农民作为直接信源的比例仅占18.5%，远低于政府官员（53.2%）和专家学者（21.7%）。报道多采用“政策解读+成效展示”的叙事模式，缺乏对农民真实诉求的反映。例如，2023年报道《安徽小岗村：改革之乡再出发》中，村民仅作为政策受益者出现，未涉及其对土地流转、市场风险等的自主观点。此外，批判性议题几乎缺席，如城乡收入差距扩大、农村空心化等问题未被深入探讨。2024年报道虽提及全国农村网络零售额同比增长6.2%，但未分析农村电商面临的物流成本高、产品同质化等挑战。

4.3. 议程设置与现实需求的脱节

《新闻联播》的议程设置未能充分反映乡村振兴中的多元矛盾与长效需求。一方面，报道多聚焦短期成效（如项目落地、收入增长），忽视可持续发展挑战（如产业同质化、生态承载压力）。例如，2024年报道《云南普洱茶产业助力乡村振兴》未提及茶叶市场价格波动对农户的长期风险；另一方面，议程设置与基层实践存在温差。尽管报道强调“返乡创业”（累计超1430万人），但未深入探讨人才回流后的职业发展瓶颈或基层政策落实障碍（如融资难、土地限制等）。这种脱节可能导致公众对乡村振兴的认知过于理想化，削弱媒体监督与舆论引导功能。

5. 优化《新闻联播》乡村振兴传播策略的建议

5.1. 构建多元平衡的客体议程体系

一是补齐短板议题。增加文化振兴与组织振兴的报道比重，设立常态化栏目如《乡村文化纪事》《基层治理一线》，深入报道非遗传承、乡村伦理重建、村民自治实践等议题。例如，可借鉴2024年对灵宝焦村镇篮球文化的报道，扩展为对乡村体育文化激活基层组织的系列追踪。

二是地域均衡覆盖。扩大对中西部普通村庄的关注，避免“典型村”过度曝光。可推出《乡村振兴·中部行》《西部乡村日记》等系列报道，呈现不同资源禀赋下的多元发展路径。例如，针对西部冷链物流不足的问题，可报道青海海西州通过完善冷链设施实现枸杞鲜果60小时全国直达的案例。

三是强化长效议题跟踪。建立乡村振兴议题的长期跟踪机制，避免“事件驱动”式报道。例如，对同一村庄的产业项目（如黑龙江双鸭山菇娘果种植）进行连续年度报道，分析其市场波动、技术升级与农民收益变化。

5.2. 创新属性议程的呈现方式

一是强化农民话语权。在报道中增加农民访谈比重，采用“村民口述+记者探访”形式呈现其真实需求。例如，在产业报道中引入农户对技术培训、市场销路的切身看法，而非仅展示宏观数据。可参考西畴县东升村村民在镜头前直接表达“村播学院随时收购农产品，增加收入”的案例。

二是引入批判性视角。适度报道乡村振兴中的挑战与争议，如人才流失、项目烂尾等，通过《记者调查》板块开展建设性监督。例如，可分析部分乡村旅游项目同质化竞争问题，或探讨农业补贴政策落地中的盲点。

三是创新叙事形式。运用微纪录片、VLog等轻量化形式，增强传播贴近性。如《新闻联播》子栏目《主播说乡村振兴》已尝试采用轻松语态解读政策，可进一步扩展为“农民主播”参与叙事，借鉴文山州“万名村播”培训模式。

5.3. 增强传播的针对性与互动性

一是精准对接受众需求。利用央视新媒体平台（如央视新闻客户端）开展议题征集，根据农民、企业、基层干部等不同群体的反馈调整报道重点。例如，针对农民关注的“农产品销路”问题，可增加对冷链物流、电商平台对接等内容的报道。

二是构建跨媒体议程网络。将《新闻联播》的议程与社交媒体互动融合。例如，在报道乡村特色产业时，同步发起“#我为家乡带货#”话题互动，引导公众参与传播闭环。可参考文山州通过村播带动农产品网络零售额同比增长119.1%的经验。

三是建立效果反馈机制。定期开展传播效果评估，通过受众问卷调查、专家研讨等方式反思议程设置偏差，动态优化传播策略。例如，联合农业农村部发布《乡村振兴传播影响力报告》，量化分析报道对政策落地、社会参与的实际影响。

6. 结语

《新闻联播》作为国家级主流媒体，其乡村振兴报道通过议程设置构建了社会对“三农”问题的核心认知。研究发现，其客体议程呈现“产业主导、生态跟进、文化薄弱”的特征，属性议程以“正面成就、官方话语”为主，虽有效传递了政策导向，但存在议题失衡、农民主体性缺失等问题。

基于议程设置理论的优化路径需从两方面入手：在客体层面，构建多元均衡的议题体系，补齐文化、组织振兴等短板，兼顾地域差异与长效发展；在属性层面，强化农民话语权重，增加批判性报道，创新叙事形式以提升传播贴近性。

未来，《新闻联播》需进一步平衡“政策传播”与“民生服务”的双重功能，通过议程设置的精细化、多元化，使乡村振兴报道既成为国家战略的“传声筒”，也成为农民心声的“扩音器”，最终推动社会共识与乡村现实需求的深度契合。

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Limited Ressentiment and Indeterminate Desire: The Resonance between "Against the Shivering Cold" IP and the Audience's Feeling Structure

有限的怨恨与未定的欲望：《逆水寒》IP与受众情感结构的共鸣

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Keywords:

Against the Shivering Cold;
Ressentiment;
Feeling Structure

关键词:

《逆水寒》；怨恨；
情感结构

Abstract: From novels to TV series to online games, the Chinese wuxia IP *Against the Shivering Cold* has sustained popularity by resonating with audiences' limited resentment and indeterminate desires. Central to this resonance is Gu Xizhao, who has shifted from a symbol of betrayal to a contradictory figure shaped by internal resentment and desire. Unlike Nietzschean creative will, his resentment is bound to utilitarian and emotional impulses. This mirrors broader Chinese social discourses—such as college entrance exam oaths—where eroded idealism and intensified competition leave individuals exhausted yet trapped, turning hatred into self-motivation. This paper examines the IP's affective resonance by analyzing intertextual variations and Gu's characterization, applying Nietzschean theory to interpret resentment, and situating these elements within social contexts that shape contemporary audience feelings.

摘要：从小说到电视剧再到网络游戏，中国武侠IP《逆水寒》凭借对受众有限的怨恨与未定欲望的呼应而保持热度。其核心人物顾熙照从背叛象征转变为由内在怨恨与欲望塑造的矛盾形象。他的怨恨不同于尼采式的创造性意志，而是纠缠于功利与情感冲动之中。这种动力折射出更广泛的中国社会话语——如高考誓词——在理想主义消解与竞争加剧的背景下，个体疲惫却困于其中，将仇恨转化为自我驱动。本文将通过分析文本间的变体与顾熙照的复杂性，运用尼采理论解释怨恨的意义，并结合社会语境揭示其如何塑造当代受众的情感共鸣。

1. Introduction

IP is originally referred to as "Intellectual Property", which is a legal term that refers to "mental creation" [1]. IP in the field of cultural industry is called cultural IP, which is a cultural symbol with high recognition and strong convertibility [2]. As a form of cultural capital in the era of globalisation, it emerged from the industrialised operation in Europe and America. A typical example is

the Disney model, which forms a business closed loop through "film - park - derivatives". In the early days, China mainly imported IPs, but with the iteration of technology and the awakening of cultural self-confidence, local IP innovations have gradually begun: for instance, *Ne Zha 2* reinterprets the "myths" with a film, and *The Black Myth: Wukong* outputs oriental aesthetics with a game. Cultural IPs have attracted a lot of attention due to their strong transformative and regenera-

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tive power and commercial value. At the beginning of the introduction of the concept of cultural IP, related study focused on the discussion of copyright and commercial value; after 2016, the perspective of cultural identity and reflection gradually intervened, and the discussion of value and emotional identity was occasionally seen; at the later stage, the intervention of IP phenomenon from the perspective of emotional identity has formed an independent research (typical examples include Luo Kunjin et al [2024], "Digital Empowerment, Emotional Empowerment, and Character Enhancement of Traditional Cultural IPs", and Li Lingling [2023], "Emotions, Experiences, and Identities: Network Literature IP and the Aesthetic Consumption of Non-legacy"), but it is still relatively rare in the field of China Research.

Against the Shivering Cold is an example of a successful transformation of a cultural IP. The original novel was written by Wen Rui'an, one of the four great masters of Wuxia novels^[1], in 1986, and was first published on the mainland by Beijing Friendship Publishing Company in 1989, and then reprinted and republished by a number of publishers^[2]. In 2004, it was adapted into a TV series, directed by Ju Jueliang and released in mainland China, and has been broadcasted on Hunan TV and other famous platforms, which has received a strong response from the audience. The development of the Internet has propelled its dissemination. Some netizens used the elements of the novels and TV series, compiled and interpreted novels derived from the characters in the series, and published them in BBS^[3]. Nanjing Publishing House chose the best of them and released "The Other Side of the Distance: Against the Shivering Cold Fan Fiction Collection" ^[3] in 2005, and "Against the Shivering Cold" fan fiction continued to be renewed in the online literature world. In 2017, NetEase Thunderfire Technology Co., Ltd. adapted and launched an online game of the same name, which attracted a large number of young audiences and gained high profits, and was classified as the "flagship wuxia product" by NetEase internally^[4]. Since then, related games have been continuously developed and updated. At the same time, several IP communities have gathered. Among them, the official microblog of "Against the Shivering Cold" has 1.316 million followers, far more than similar games.

The popularity and time span of the "Against the Shivering Cold" IP is rare. Admittedly, its vitality cannot be achieved without commercial operations, but this potential for continuous development is also rooted in the internal identity it creates. According to Chen Qiong, the core element of IP is the value and emotional identity hidden behind the story, and the universal recognition's are closely related to human nature (Chen Qiong, p.3.). In the original story, "Against the Shivering Cold" is based on the main line of Jianghu enmity ("Faithfulness-Betrayal" Confrontation), and in the sub-

sequent adaptation, it further portrays the psychology of the characters, then in the game, with the help of the AIGC^[4] technology, it expresses the abstract emotional links through the concrete body image, showing the tendency of the emotional link over the value identity. The tendency of emotional connection overrides value identity^[5], but what kind of value-emotional connection has been established is ambiguous.

Therefore, this paper will describe the transformation of "Against the Shivering Cold" IP around the way of constructing identity as a guide line to explore: how "Against the Shivering Cold" IP resonates with the audience's changing perceptions of life; and aims to combine the social and cultural contexts to make the relevant features of the feeling structure more and more relevant to the audience. In the analysis of this resonance, the features of the feeling structure will be revealed from the hidden to the obvious. Unlike the gathering of warriors in martial arts IPs such as Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils as well as Laughing in the Wind (Jin Yong), Gu Xizhao has received particular attention in "Against the Shivering Cold" from the fans' comments, and he is the one who can arouse the most empathy. In the original novel, he was only a faceted character, but he was gradually fleshed out in the adaptation and received mixed reviews. Thus, the portrayal of Gu is taken as the focus of the discussion.

To answer the above questions, this paper first examines the cross-media form of the Against the Shivering Cold IP and the transformation of Gu's image, focusing on value construction and identity formation. Nietzsche's theory of resentment is then used to interpret Gu's generalized image and explore its evolution, especially in Against the Shivering Cold, where resentment becomes an inner driving force. Through the concept of "feeling structure" by Raymond Williams, the paper investigates how the "resentment infiltrated by frail desire" resonates with audiences' emotions, linking it to the socio-cultural context and shared anxieties about failed desire and involution in China. Nietzsche's resentment, as a repressed yet creative psychological force, helps explain Gu Xizhao's motivations, while "feeling structure" theory reveals how emotions and values are transmitted across generations. Using the unique meaning of "resentment" in Against the Shivering Cold IP as a starting point, this paper examines how the IP aligns with the audience's feeling structure, aiming to offer fresh insights into cultural IPs and reveal subtle, often inexpressible feelings within contemporary experience.

2. Textual Analysis: the Identity Construction of "Against the Shivering Cold" IP and the Change of Gu Xizhao's Image

2.1. Wen Rui'an's Original Wuxia Novel and the "Faithfulness-Betrayal" Confrontation

The original novel was written by the famous wuxia writer Wen Rui'an in 1986^[5], which is regarded as the representative work of Wen's wuxia in the middle of his writing career, and enjoys the reputation of "Against the Water, Cold is Better than Ice, and Warm in the Heart of the Fire". The novel is set in the Southern Song Dynasty and revolves around the story of Qi Shaoshang, a leading figure in the jianghu, who recruits Gu Xizhao to rule Lianyunzhai, but encounters Gu's betrayal and is forced to flee under the joint pursuit of Gu Xizhao and other court officials. Among other things, Gu's identity is set as the righteous son of the treacherous Fu Zongshu, who has been a court henchman since the beginning.

The plot of "Against the Shivering Cold" features dramatic twists and turns, yet follows a relatively simple narrative structure. As Ding Yongqiang notes in reference to Propp's Morphology of the Folktale, martial arts narratives commonly revolve around in martial arts novels along the lines of Propp's Fairy Tale Morphology^[6], it can be seen that the story consists of "vendetta - exile - frustration - (injury - healing -) - comeback [turn into a cycle]". The story consists of several main themes. Among them, "exile" is the main line throughout the story, with "setbacks - comeback" dominantly cycling in the process of exile. (Such as escaping from Lianyunzhai, Thunderbolt Hall and Ruino City without any danger). The reason for the "setback" is either betrayal from within^[7] or the arrival of strong reinforcements from the enemy^[8]. And "comeback" is in the back of "limit situation", relying on the faithful friendship between the partners. The end of the novel is a bit abrupt, by the detector Liu Dufeng's dying, he announced a book written with blood (Qi ShaoShang was hunted due to it) to provide the negotiation strategy, and

make the situation completely reversed - Qi ShaoShang and his entourage to obtain the court shelter and Gu xizhao into the outlaw.

Betrayal triggers a crisis, while faithfulness facilitates a breakout, and the plot moves forward in a repetitive pattern of danger and escape. Characters of all shapes and sizes are added in the process. Qi Shaoshang, on the run, is assisted by his friends at the cost of their lives - revenge for them is the driving force for his exile- and both he and his friends who are portrayed as heroes. The betrayers, represented by Gu Xizhao, are portrayed as woefully treacherous, who invariably fall into a retributive end. The dichotomy of faith and betrayal is the central conflict that contributes to the development of the plot and characterisation. This dichotomy is summarized in **Table 1**, which categorizes characters, values, and outcomes according to moral alignment:

In Against the Shivering Cold, the value dichotomies (see Table 1) shape a plot-driven and functional approach to characterisation, resulting in mostly flat characters defined as either good or evil. Gu Xizhao, though crucial to the plot, is a one-dimensional villain. He begins by betraying his friends and Lianyun group, and throughout the story repeatedly sabotages Qi Shaoshang and his partners through deceit and ambush. Eventually, he is punished and forced to flee. Despite his narrative importance, Gu lacks depth in personality as well as complex relationships. His appearances only serve to create conflict or highlight corruption in official circles. His role is to advance the plot and contrast with Qi, but his inner motivations are undeveloped.

This clear moral division also shapes the novel's view of chivalry. As Gong Pengcheng notes, "chivalry"^[9] is not fixed but a myth constructed in martial arts fiction, shaped by values and historical references across different eras^[6]. It symbolizes the power to restore justice when the social order breaks down, appealing to readers' desire for fairness. Beyond the corrupt court, martial arts fiction creates a separate world, the jianghu, aligned with heavenly justice (ibid.). Here, complex struggles are simplified into a battle between good and

Table 1 | The structure of dichotomies in Against the Shivering Cold

Core values	Faithfulness	Betrayal
Derived values	Loyalty, integrity, selflessness, sacrificing one's life for righteousness, knowing right from wrong: as heroes	Treacherous, cunning, self-interested, fearful of death, aiding and abetting the enemy : as evildoer
Representative Characters	Qi Shaoshang, Xi Hongtian, Lei Roll, Iron Hands, Liu Dufeng mostly positive characters	Gu Xizhao, Gao Fengliang, You Zhimian, Wu Shuangzhu mostly negative characters
Plot	Fighting against the enemy with one heart, helping to escape	Betrayal and rebellion
Character ending	Rehabilitated or sacrificed their lives for justice	Retaliation

evil. The spirit of chivalry is built through the simple presumption that "evil never triumphs over good"^[7].

In this novel, "chivalry" aligns with that myth but takes on a specific meaning: loyalty, righteousness, integrity, and selflessness. Within the tension between faith and betrayal, faith represents the positive side. Those who uphold faith typically show moral clarity, patriotism, and loyalty. To avoid narrowing the idea of chivalry, the story links it with imperial secrets and succession. But in the end, these secrets merely prompt the emperor to compromise, allowing Qi to be vindicated. The effort to elevate chivalry to national righteousness is ultimately dissolved.

Conversely, betrayal fuels a survival-driven need for revenge. This vengefulness often overshadows the moral dimension and becomes the main driving force for Qi Shaoshang and his allies, propelling the plot.

In conclusion, the conflict between faith and betrayal underpins both the plot and characterisation in *Against the Shivering Cold*. This dichotomy, alongside the "evil never triumphs" value system, defines the novel's vision of chivalry. The story relies on a straightforward plot, morally polarized characters, and a clear value structure. Gu Xizhao, as a wholly negative and functional figure, embodies this simplicity.

2.2. TV Adaptation and the Mixing of Love, Reason and Righteousness

In 2004, *Against the Shivering Cold* was adapted into a TV series, which was broadcasted on major TV and online platforms. The main story line is still based on Wen Rui'an's novel, but the adaptation is also very obvious. The first step of the adaptation is to shoot and select the footage, that is, according to the theme of the

film, to select the parts that can best elucidate the essence of life, illustrate the characters and their relationships, and even best express the artist's own feelings, as well as to discard or omit the trivialities that are not important; the second step is to assemble the footage^[8]. Focusing on the TV drama's deletion and reconstruction of the novel's content is an important way to understand the differences in the ways of identification.

In terms of plot, with the help of montage-style camera switching, the single-line mode of pursuit - escape is transformed into multiple lines. Among them, the emotional experiences of Gu Xizhao and Fu Wan Qing also serve as important clues. The cycle of "frustration - comeback" in the main line was partly cut, leaving only the more typical places such as Huinuocheng. Plots and characters that were not in the main story were also omitted, such as Liu Dufeng^[10]'s fight with opponents, which was transformed into Qi Shaoshang's fight with the opponents in the capital, and led directly to the end of Prime Minister Fu's conspiracy being exposed. The plot of the TV series is more focused and compact, with a clearer story line; extraneous characters are also deleted, and the protagonists of Qi Shaoshang, Gu xizhao, and Fu Wanning are highlighted.

The original dichotomy of faith and betrayal has not been cancelled, but weakened by the parallelism of multiple threads and the construction of Gu Qichao's emotional relationship - faith and betrayal are no longer the intrinsic driving force of plot development and characterisation. The multi-dimensional contradiction between emotions, reason and desire has also become a key element in the plot development and characterisation, see **Table 2** for details.

Table 2 | Rich Value Elements in the TV Series "Against the Wind

Core Values	Faith	Betrayal	Emotion	Reason	Desire
Derivative value	Loyalty, selflessness, knowing right from wrong	Deceitful, self-interested, aiding and abetting the enemy.	Altruistic, self-sacrificing	Selflessness, honesty.	Self-interested, hateful
Representative Characters	Qi Shaoshang, Xi Hongtian, Lei Juan, Iron Hands	Gu Shishang You Zhiwei	Xi Hong Tear (sheltered Chi) Fu WanQing (sheltered Gu and died), Helian Chunshui (sheltered Xi and died)	Qi Shao Shang (vindication of faith) Iron Hands (law and order)	Prime Minister Fu, Golden Lin, Gu Shishang (straying between his love for Evening Qing and his own meritocracy, favouring the latter)
Plot	Fighting with one heart against the enemy and assisting in escaping	Craftiness, deviation and trickery	Protecting the protagonist, assisting in escape	Clarifying right and wrong, firm and stubborn	Competitive, pursuing fame and fortune
Character ending	Vindicated or sacrificing their lives for justice	Self-destruction	Various endings	Vindication	Self-destruction

In the drama adaptation, Gu Xizhao's character gains more complexity beyond his role as an ordinary villain. While he remains an antagonist who drives the plot through betrayal with hatred, the portrayal adds emotional depth and background. His story is ultimately tragic—rising from humble beginnings only to be rejected and erased by both the court and jianghu systems.

Unlike in the novel, where Gu is a stereotypical traitor, the drama presents him as a full character with distinct personality and emotions. He is depicted as a scholar excluded from officialdom due to his inherited family circumstances, mocked despite his efforts (e.g., writing the “Seven Strategies”), and driven by a desire for recognition. These experiences contribute to his later psychological distortion.

Gu differs from both Qi Shaoshang, who upholds justice, and Fu Wanqing, who prioritizes love. His hesitation between self-interest and emotion is reflected in his relationships. The drama emphasizes Gu and Qi's early bond, showing Gu's resentment as mixed with envy, regret, and helpless hostility. The added character of Gu's wife, Fu Wanqing (daughter of the Prime Minister), deepens his tragedy. Their love is distorted by class disparity and ambition—his affection is entangled with inferiority and the desire to rise in power. His reluctance to follow an order to kill Wanqing and his later madness after her death reveal a softer, obsessed side that contrasts his treachery. However, his selfish ambition eventually overpowers love, leading to the continued persecution of Qi, indirectly causing Wanqing's death.

Casting and cinematography further enhance Gu's image. Actor Zhong Hanliang vividly portrays his coolness, ambition, and paranoia. Close-ups and shifting camera angles highlight his emotional changes, especially in scenes like his hidden observation at the inn, where his gaze reflects conflict between hesitation and obsession. The visual storytelling helps reveal his inner world.

Though the drama enriches Gu's character, it doesn't reverse his role as a villain. However, audience response went beyond this framing. Gu attracted more attention than the protagonist Qi, with mixed but generally positive reviews. Some viewers sympathized with his social limitations, praised his persistence, or admired his love for Wanqing. Most comments focused on his three-dimensional portrayal, with moral judgment becoming less prominent.

In summary, the drama streamlines the plot and emphasizes character complexity. It weakens the novel's core dichotomy of faith vs. betrayal, instead presenting Gu as a multifaceted figure shaped by resentment, ambition, and tragic love. Audience reactions show a shift from moral condemnation to emotional and social understanding of his character.

2.3. Other Texts and Emotional Interactions Taking the Game as an Example

Against the Shivering Cold has also been adapted into other textual forms such as online games and on-line homoeroticism, thus adapting to the booming online medium, which still maintains its popularity to present. These new texts have retained the main lines of plots and most characters from the original book and film, though. However, their overall structure is rather discrete due to their constant innovations. The image of Gu Xizhao has been further moulded on the basis of the original. Taking the game as an example (the game's development team, which basically consists of the audience of the TV series and the same novel^[9]), looking at the typical characteristics of Gu Xizhao's character and his narrative in these texts helps to understand the general trend of the new textual adaptations.

The game version adds more detail to Gu Xizhao's background and personality. For example, it shows him kneeling to a nobleman to protect villagers before joining the minister's household. He is later humiliated after standing up for justice, even dragging the villagers into trouble. These events reveal his early selflessness and moral integrity. His line—“Gu walks alone, unwilling to be lost in the crowd... to leave those who mocked, scorned, and humiliated me with nowhere to hide”—exposes his strong desire to succeed, tinged with resentment and exclusivity. Unlike the decisive betrayal seen in the novel, the game shows him as hesitant and conflicted during the “Betrayal of Lianyunzhai” episode. Instead of acting with clear purpose as in the drama, he struggles internally before gradually adopting the belief that “people's hearts can be used, and any means are justified.” These changes deepen his character and add inner contrast.

Another key feature of the game is its multiple endings, breaking the linear narrative of the original. Gu Xizhao has five possible outcomes, showing his narrative importance. These include tragic endings like “A Life of Regret,” “A Life of Separation,” and “The Pearl Sinks and the Jade Shatters,” as well as a gentler version—“Goodbye in the Jianghu”—in which Gu returns to his hometown with Fu Wanqing. In Meeting Against the Shivering Cold, players can choose to relate to Gu as enemy, friend, lover, or stranger, allowing diverse storylines. This helps compensate for the regret over Gu's fate in other versions and brings players emotionally closer to him.

The chivalric values emphasized in the original novel are weakened in the game, replaced by stronger emotional attraction. While earlier versions embedded values in character relationships, the game allows direct engagement between creators, characters, and players. With AIGC technology, players interact with NPCs in immersive ways. By making choices as a character, the player dissolves their self-identity, adopts the perspec-

tive of another subject, and reconstructs a new self to interact with others. This enables inter-subjective emotional experiences—such as friendship, sorrow, and joy—beyond ordinary self-awareness^[10].

In *Against the Shore*, players' roles are cognitively simple, and interactions rely more on sensory connection—like developing friendship, beginning with admiration and ending in rejection of Gu's betrayal. Meeting *Against the Shore* constructs romantic tension. Overall, emotional engagement replaces traditional value-based identification as the main way to fulfill audience expectations.

In summary, the new version responds to audience interest by improving Gu Xizhao's background and inner world. Through interactive choices and multiple endings, players build direct emotional bonds with him. Instead of reaffirming moral values, the focus shifts to inter-subjective, sensory experiences beyond the self. Gu is no longer a flat character but a complex figure marked by ambition and resentment, foreshadowing his later psychological collapse.

From novel to drama to game, *Against the Shivering Cold* has undergone notable shifts in plot and character design. Gu Xizhao evolves from a one-dimensional function to a fleshed-out figure who provokes empathy and debate. The original dichotomy of faith vs. betrayal is increasingly blurred—first by the drama's mix of love, reason, and desire, then by the game's prioritization of emotional experience. While commercial logic drives IP evolution, its lasting appeal lies in audience value recognition and emotional connection. How *Against the Shivering Cold*, especially the figure of Gu, has sustained its popularity for over thirty years still requires deeper study within relevant theoretical and cultural frameworks.

3. Interpretation of the Phenomenon: Gu Xizhao's "Ressentiment" and the Audience's Feeling Structure

3.1. Gu Xizhao's Ressentiment and Desire

In the TV series and the texts derived from it, the audience's attention is seldom directed to the protagonist Qi Shaoshang, who characterises chivalry and righteousness, but more to the tragic figure Gu Xizhao, who is the villain. A netizen commented, "We should then easily understand Nietzsche's saying: 'He who wrestles with an evil dragon is careful not to become one himself. If you gaze into the abyss for a long time, the abyss is also gazing at you.' A person who has been humiliated and wantonly trampled on his self-respect since he was a child has the optimism to gain grandiosity, which in itself is an unimaginable thing. Compared to the grandiose Qi Shaoshang, Gu Xizhao is more like the shadow of our reality."^[11] Similar comments are not uncommon in the *"Against the Shivering Cold"* commu-

nity. Admittedly, there is no Nietzsche's systematic philosophy and problematic domain in *"Against the Shivering Cold"*, but using Nietzsche's theory of ressentiment to collide with *"Against the Shivering Cold"* can help to further explore the intrinsic driving force of the *"Against the Shivering Cold"* IP and the uniqueness of the image of Gu Xizhao, and then explain why it can generate widespread popularity among audiences. This will help to further explore the intrinsic driving force of the *"Against the Shivering Cold"* IP and the uniqueness of Gu Xizhao's image, and then explain why it has attracted widespread attention among audiences.

3.1.1. Limited "Ressentiment"

From the perspective of the world setting in **Against the Shivering Cold**, the "Martial world" creates a fictional space independent of real-world laws, filled with competing powers driven by the "will to occupy, rule, grow, and become stronger"^[12]. Qi Shaoshang is a heroic leader embodying chivalry, morality, power, and happiness^[13]. In **Jianghu**, he represents the noble morality described in *The Genealogy of Morality**. In contrast, Gu Xizhao reflects Nietzsche's portrayal of the lowly—talented but ignored, accumulating "ressentiment" against the privileged^[14]. Ressentiment arises when powerless people cannot act directly and turn to imagined revenge^[15]. Unlike noble morality based on self-affirmation, slave morality denies the external world. Gu shifts from lamenting injustice to wanting to shame and destroy those who oppress him. He questions whether Qi's chivalry or his own ambition is more valuable, basing his value on the injustice he suffers^[11]. This ressentiment drives Gu's pursuit of Qi and propels the story forward.

However, in Nietzsche's system, "ressentiment" is dialectical. It is a toxic danger, but becomes "creative and valuable" (Bernstein, 2015, pp.145.) . It counters negative inertia and docility, and makes the human being a truly interesting animal. gains depth in a higher sense (Nietzsche, 2015, pp.64-68). If ressentiment is allowed to grow, it becomes a harmful insidious poison and leads to a nihilism that will disintegrate all assessments of value. But the condemnation of conscience that arises in self-ressentiment is a disease, "but a disease like pregnancy" (G88; 343). Within the crevices of this disease there is also a " great promise " (Bernstein, 2015, pp.148.); Nietzsche has not yet told us what this is, but it is something that will transcend both good and evil, that will be the self-overcoming of ressentiment (Spinks, 2014, p.167). Through Nietzsche's theory it is clear that this is the will that is preserved in ressentiment and may be transformed into a powerful will that can both create and transform the kernel of all the "beings" and "realities" we encounter; it can transcend the ressentiment that is based on ressentiment. It is capable of transcending the good and the evil based on ressentiment, and of constructing

the creative force of every level of life above nothingness (Bernstein, 2015, pp.167.).

Unfortunately, Gu's resentment is not entirely an imaginative revenge, let alone the development of a strong will to subvert the value system. On the one hand, he magnifies the humiliation he has suffered into accusations of social evils, in order to maintain his moral high ground of non-conformity, while on the other hand, he seeks to gain fame under the system of social judgement, and uses the "court" to fight the "Martial world". He seems to be in control of power, but in reality, he is still driven by powerful officials, and he looks like a cynic. The subtlety of the story is that although Gu has the psychological foundation for resentment and the negative expression of accusation of injustice, as well as sufficient strength of desire and perseverance, he enters the social evaluation system that he dislikes, and his "resentment", which is supposed to lead to introspection, erupts into violence against chivalry. This is more and more obvious in the transformation of the IP "Against the Shivering Cold". As mentioned above, the novel's concept of chivalry is an ideal order that opposes the injustice of reality, and Gu Xizhao represents the court and submits to its value system. As the concept of chivalry becomes more diluted in the adaptation, love, reason and desire are mixed in, and the emotional connection gradually overtakes the identification with the concept of chivalry. Gu is no longer only a representative of negative morality, but also on the periphery of the imperial order and the antithesis of the Jianghu order. His "resentment" is shifted from resentment of social injustice to chivalry, and the real order that he fights against with his "chivalrous" myths strikes back at him. Gu Xizhao's resentment does not lead to his ideal life, but rather to the support of his own official position and interests.

Gu Xizhao's resentment does not go beyond the existing value system, pointing to the moral concept of rebellion and creative will, but is reduced to the rejection of those who hinder him, and is used as a reverse incentive to realize his ambitions. His "ambition" is also always ambiguous, mixed with the fantasy of changing the order, the desire to match his wife's status, the desire to prove himself and the pursuit of fame and fortune. The "ideals" that support his actions are not defined in essence. The "ideals" that support their actions do not have any definite values as their core, and they are a pretext for the emptiness of values; under the declaration of questioning the injustice of the powerful, they are just the surges of indeterminate desires centred on their own utilitarian interests. This lax desire, however, is condensed into a self-fulfilling appearance of value that supports the character's actions. However, this has helped Gu Xizhao's image to gain further attention from the audience, who either feel aggrieved by him or defend him, or even praise him. The use of "resentment" as a driving force for action does not

evoke a value identity, but it strikes the audience in an emotional way. If it is not the hate that creates new value, but rather the limited hate and disorganised utilitarian desire that interests the audience, then how does it connect with their perceptions.

3.1.2. Generalised Exclusivity and Lack of Desire

It is unrealistic to expect that the popular culture text *Against the Shivering Cold*, which originates from a different context, displays a notion of resentment comparable to Nietzsche's. This IP is only a text of limited exclusivity and disorganised desires. It is unrealistic to expect the popular culture text which comes from a different context, to display the same concept of "resentment" as Nietzsche. *Against the Shivering Cold* only has a similar outline and the same expression of resentment, but it is still far from Nietzsche's moral revolt. What keeps the lack of depth and relevance of the resentment within limits is the weak entry of Gu Xizhao's ambiguous desires. Compared to Nietzsche's original work, a certain commonality can be found in the popularised translation of Nietzsche in China.

In the Chinese translation and reception of Nietzsche, resentment has lost its original dialectical structure, but both elements of that dialectic have been transformed. On one side, resentment has been generalized from a reaction to power oppression into a broader emotional state—characterized by isolation, detachment, and the sense of "fighting alone."^[16] The power dynamic that originally fueled it has been downplayed. For instance, Jia Ming portrays Nietzsche as a solitary, misunderstood figure: "Of all the people living or dead, not one of them makes me feel even a hint of nostalgia". Nietzsche's resentment, Jia argues, was not aimed at individuals but rather at oppressive cultural and social forces. However, he is depicted as battling these forces in solitude, a framing that emphasizes emotion over systemic critique.

This emotional tone corresponds to Liu Xiaofeng's analysis of 1990s affective structures. Liu suggests Nietzsche inspired a kind of "aesthetic individualism"—a pursuit of sensory and aesthetic distinctiveness—that reflects the spiritual crisis of modern individuals. In a money-driven urban culture, rational calculation cannot fully sustain inner life, leading to "floating" mental states such as pride, indifference, isolation, and detachment^[17]. In this context, resentment—as seen in the character Gu Xizhao—aligns more with such floating emotional patterns than with Nietzsche's original structure. It functions alongside rationality, rather than challenging or transforming it.

On the other side of the dialectic, Nietzsche's concept of a creative will—the force that subverts moral norms—is largely erased in translation. Instead, hate becomes a shallow expression of identity, asserting the self through the negation of others without deep introspection. Zhou Guoping observes: "The end is missing, and so each individual must construct their own end.

The liberator liberates himself... by changing 'it has been' into 'I will it so'"[18]. This highlights Nietzsche's emphasis on individual agency, but in translation, the focus often shifts to a vague nothingness or meaninglessness extracted from his critique of Christian morality.

Zhou frequently reinterprets "nothingness" as the existential emptiness of modern life—blending Schopenhauer's pessimism with Nietzsche's affirmation of life despite its meaninglessness[12]. However, this interpretation often stops short of Nietzsche's radical voluntarism. Other scholars similarly flatten his ideas, either aligning "nothingness" with the rejection of tradition[13] or using it to critique modernization[14], without proposing new systems of meaning to replace the old. Nietzsche's Übermensch, too, becomes reduced in Zhou's version to "a real human being with unique personality... a creator of his own value scale"—but only as "a perfect work of art brewing in Nietzsche's mind" (Zhou Guoping, 1986, pp.36). This version emphasizes personal uniqueness over ethical innovation, turning the void of values into a stage for self-display.

Rather than offering a coherent ethical alternative, these interpretations use Nietzsche's work to justify individualist expressions rooted in negation and abstraction. The result is not a systematic rethinking of morality, but a stylized emotional resonance with Nietzsche's ideas. As Zhou himself admits in the preface, his work is intuitive rather than academically rigorous.

Around 1986, when the "Nietzsche craze" was back in China, Zhou's Nietzsche: At the Turning Point of the Century was published and "printed four times in eight months, with a total of 90,000 copies"[19]. In response to the audience's enthusiasm for Nietzsche, more and more Nietzschean abstracts, biographies, and some popular readings with philosophical and aesthetic

colours of life flowed into the market. Through **Table 3**, we can get a glimpse of the characteristics of this popularised Nietzsche translation with the imprint of the feelings and thoughts of the time - the popularised text pays more attention to the audience's perceptions of life, and thus carries a more distinctive imprint of the times:

Combined with Table 3, the author's perception of the times is weakened into the compilation and interpretation, so that Nietzsche's thought is attached to a stronger tendency of floating feeling and consumption preferences. However, the utilitarian nature of the presentation is disguised in the mark of knowledge, emotion, and spirituality, which often achieves its promotional effect out of the grasp of the inner desires of the audience. This same element is also present in Gu Xizhao's desires, which is not a strong will to destroy the moral system, but a key factor in limiting the transformation of his resentment into a creative force. These feelings are thickening with the adaption of texts.

In short, the structure of *Against the Shivering Cold*, especially the figure of Gu Xizhao, has a similarity in framework and expression to Nietzsche's idea of "resentment". Using Nietzsche as a reference, the inner drive of the character is revealed in greater depth. However, there is a clear difference in that Gu has the intensity of resentment and the situation of repression, but lacks its depth and relevance, and does not develop a deep introspection that leads to a creative will beyond morality. What limits his resentment and drives him to act quickly is in fact an intuitive desire for fame. An exploration of this resentment and desire reveals a mixture of the "solitary" state of mind and the kernel-less individual uniqueness. In the popularised translation of Nietzsche, the emptiness of values is generalised into a sense of meaninglessness in life, and individual

Table 3 | Typical expressions and their characteristics in Nietzsche's popularised communication

Title of the book	Date	Presentation	Characteristics
Song Jikai's Book of Philosophical Anecdotes	1988	Superman is the legislator of nature and society, and is not himself bound by any law But on the other hand, his superman often acts as the theoretical embodiment of the ultra-reactionary bourgeoisie[20].	Unrestrained Rebelliousness
Zhao Xifang, Being and Nothingness	1999	Nietzsche neither recognised the existence of a whole beyond the individual, nor did he go towards pessimism. His philosophy of the powerful will showed that he was "overcoming suffering by the power of life itself". What strength and pathos![21]	Individuality and Sensibility
Nietzsche's Philosophy, compiled by Julia Long	2014	The more one lives on the surface of life, the more one's mind is confused and anxious about the lack of meaning We need philosophy more than ever to orientate and direct our lives.[22]	The Lack of a Sense of Meaning and the Valorisation of Philosophy
Philosophising Life to the End by Yuhui Kang	2023	The two poles today are no longer just the rich and the poor, but also the masters of knowledge and the slaves of knowledge And mediating between these two poles are the markets and media channels through which knowledge is disseminated and sold[23].	The difference between market value and cultural capital

uniqueness cannot point to a clear view of life. The fulfilment of desires and emotional identification, are the key to the appeal of these texts. These elements are also blended into the image of Gu Xizhao. In this way, the reason why the "Backwaters Cold" IP - especially the character of Gu Xizhao - has gained the attention of audiences can be centred around this particular sense of "ressentiment" and the amorphous desires that are embedded in it. The answer to this question can be found in the social and cultural context of the audience.

3.2. Burnout and Ressentiment in Socio-Cultural Contexts

In terms of textual structure, the creation and acceptance of TV dramas and their subsequent texts are still ostensibly carried out under the general framework of "evil does not overpower righteousness", but more value elements and sensual components are constantly impacting on the meaning of the concept of chivalry in wuxia novels. Looking deeper into the content of the text, what is injected into the image of Gu Xizhao and his narrative is not a real moral resistance, but "ressentiment", which is a combination of the emptiness of values and personal desires. Driven by "ressentiment", the story that unfolds in the pursuit and escape has gained a firm core, which to a certain extent contributes to the successful IP effect of "Against the Shivering Cold". Compared with the positive characters, the "hatred" Gu Xizhao attracts more and more attention, and the lamentations of "the amazing talent of Gu Xizhao" and "there is no Gu Xizhao in the world" are spread among the audience. To a certain extent, value identification can no longer clearly explain how this attraction occurs, and the answer has to be sought in a wider and more hidden place.

Raymond Williams states: "I would like to describe it in terms of a feeling structure: it is solid and definite, as the word "structure" suggests, but it is at work in the subtlest and most inaccessible parts of our activities. In a sense, this structure of feeling is the culture of an age: it is the particular, living result of all the elements of a general organisation."^[24] This deep commonality is active in the imperceptible corners of the culture of the age, scattered among seemingly unrelated texts and phenomena. It both fluxes with the generations and maintains relative stability in the transformation, "the changing organisation is like an organism: the new generation responds in its own way to the unique world it inherited, maintaining continuity in many ways" ^[23]. Analysing feeling structures, on the other hand, involves searching for resonances between different texts in order to discover the shared sense of life embedded in them. In the light of the above, the fact that "Against the Shivering Cold" IP continues to gain audience attention in different media forms not only adapts to the fluctuation of audience's feelings, but also holds on to the internal identity that has always existed. By borrowing

the concept and method of "feeling structure", we can further release this.

Then come to the age and city distributions of the audience of different texts.

Combined with **Figure 1** and **Figure 2**, it can be seen that the audience of both the TV series and the game are mainly young people aged 18-35 years old, which can be deduced that they are mainly college students and people who start to work. Figure 1 shows that the audience is concentrated in first-tier and new first-tier cities where competition is violent. Comparing the two, it can be seen that the audience of the game is more concentrated on urban youth than that of the TV series. A brief review of the spiritual journey and life perception of young people in the corresponding time period is the key to understanding the resonance they find in the "Against the Shivering Cold" IP.

On the one hand, there is the uncertain pursuit of values after the ebb of idealism, and the accompanying feelings of weariness and anxiety. Since the reform and opening up, after the empty cult of "ism" or idol in Mao Zedong's era was broken, every individual was untied from a fixed value orientation and had to face the "vertigo" of rebuilding their own values. In the 1980s, this could still be covered under the exuberance arising from the liberation of individuality, but there was already a dark sentiment of emptiness and confusion growing in the background, and the "Pan Xiao Discussion" was a manifestation of it. Reflecting on the spiritual crisis reflected in the Pan Xiao Discussion, He Zhaotian pointed out that the natural inheritance of idealism was first eroded by a series of social and cultural trends since the 1980s, and then dealt a fatal blow in 1989. All these made the idealism collapse in the 1990s when it was most needed to balance the market ideology and consumerist atmosphere^[25]. All of this made it possible that

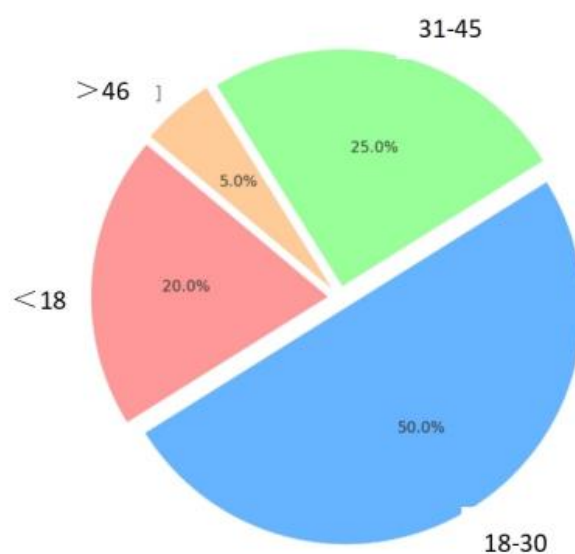


Figure 1 | Age distribution of the audience of the TV series "Against the Wind".^[15]

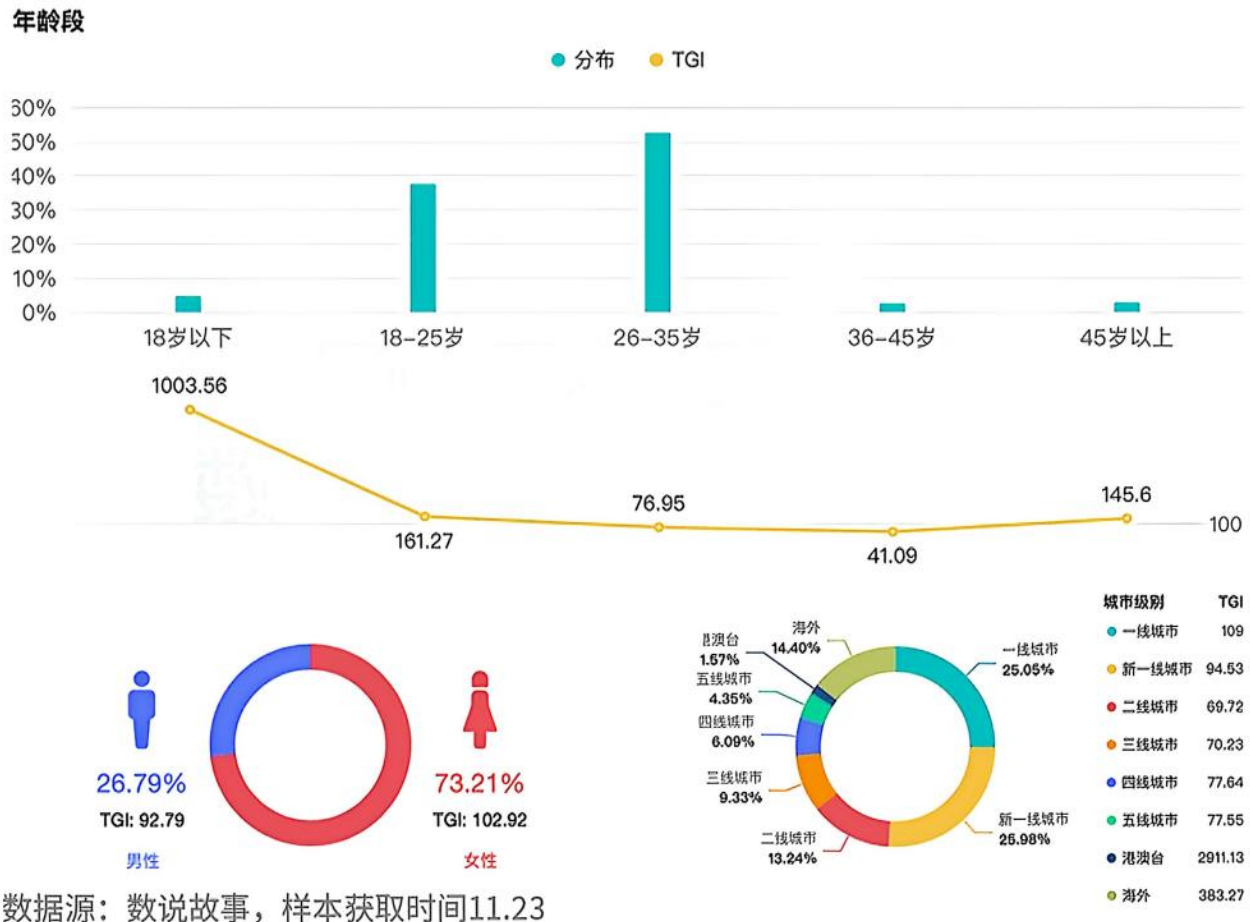


Figure 2 | "Interface News" 2023 "@Backwaters Cold Hand Game" microblog fan portrait [16]

when China moved significantly towards a market economy in 1992, the feeling and logic of the economy not only quickly shaped people's economic behaviours, but also quickly overshadowed and even momentarily shaped people's feelings and imaginations about politics, culture, and daily life. The logic of the market economy can certainly stimulate desire and construct feelings and imagination, but it cannot really close the gap of idealism, and the emptiness of value beliefs creeps into the structure of feelings as an unresolved historical problem. Due to the split between the value factor and the truth factor, the sense of emptiness arising from unbelievability—such as the negation of the value of life, the self-doubt of spiritual concepts, the anxiety and tension of seeking development, and the misgivings arising from the conflict between ideals and realities^[26]..... in the use of fill in the gaps when utilitarianism subsides, come to the surface more and more.

On the other hand, there are the two sides of the same coin of rational calculation and floating moods (e.g. loneliness, burnout) under individualism. The lack of ideals and the proliferation of nihilistic emotions make individuals prone to internalise their own crisis of meaning, and give rise to an individualism that lacks a

sense of social connections and focus on themselves^[24]. Such individuals inherited the resistance against collectivism and mainstream ideology in the 1980s, but gradually turned into aimless antagonism due to the recession of the antagonistic goal. On the one hand, it is centred on self-perception and self-interest, and establishes an appearance of self-worth through the exclusion of the other; on the other hand, it strongly seeks external recognition, and in fact, without regard for its own psycho-subjective condition, it uncritically follows the paths and standards laid down by the dominant external atmosphere^[24]. The external logic at this time is dominated by the market economy, and the calculation of benefits permeates the individual consciousness.

Liu Xiaofeng points out that the role of the monetary economy in the mentality structure of individual life in big cities is certainly rationalised, but it is also individually emotional In modern life, which has been taken away from traditional kinship relations, everyone appears to be rationalised... ..It is only in the realm of individuality and private relationships that various kinds of floating feelings are revealed^[27]. While people can certainly use rational calculation to deal with social relations, they lack a sense of meaning when confronted

with the self. The consciousness of the subject that occupies the centre is essentially just a holistic construct filled with a vague sense of individuality. One manifestation of this consciousness is the utilitarian pursuit of intuition, and another is the generalised feeling of meaninglessness. Wang Xiaoming explains this further in light of recent changes: he uses the "law of the jungle" as a keyword in contemporary culture, pointing out that the self-deception of talking about good and evil after self-satisfaction still locks us into a narrow focus on utilitarianism^[28]. The tightening of utilitarian constraints also provokes exhaustion and burnout, and the rapid rise in popularity of expressions ranging from "adherent" to "lying down" reflects a willingness to withdraw from the competition and the brutal "inward spiral" of the law of the jungle. The rapid popularity of these expressions reflects a desire to withdraw from competition and the cruel "inward spiral" of the law of the jungle. The mental disorders that began in the 1980s and 1990s, which have not been effectively addressed, are still festering today, shaping the structure of current sensibilities. As Wang puts it: it is certainly different today, because over the past 30 years, this culture has grown day and night, and not only is its face now very clear, but each and every one of us is under its spell ^[27].

On the social level, according to Sun Liping's survey, compared to the 80s, when reforms were accompanied by a marked improvement in social conditions, since the 90s there has been a vague sense of depression - economic growth has not brought about a increase in jobs, the disparity between rich and poor has even widened, and social security has deteriorated.^[29] With the solidification of the social structure and the growing imbalance between supply and demand, more and more people are now aware that they may not win ^[(26)] than their previous generation. However, there is a disconnect between the sense of futility and powerlessness and actual action, and many people does not reconciled to withdraw from the mechanism of competition. The crisis awareness of competition and the feeling of meaninglessness are both blended into the inner world and create some kind of new feelings for the subject. As a result of the resource lack and increased competition, and the young generation that has grown up in an environment of increased competition, it is difficult not to be impregnated by this structure of feeling (and they are main audiences of "Against Shivering Cold"). For them, Pan Xiao's confusion about the lack of meaning has been carried over, but it has been transformed into a kind of negative inertia: on the one hand, she recognises the unequal distribution of resources, and doubts the significance and validity of struggle; on the other hand, she is still limited to the social evaluation system, and chases after the given values. The antagonism that prevailed in the 1980s, in the absence of significance and the continuous depletion of "Involution"^[17], has shrunk into a cynical sense of burnout.

Thus, the narrative of Gu Xizhao being excluded by both the imperial court and the jianghu order, and the failure of his desire for self-realisation, which is futile, can easily arouse sympathy, and the use of psychoanalysis can complement the formation of common sense: Gu's desire to replace Qi as the leader of the jianghu is rejected, and his desire to become a member of the powerful and noble is futile, and his attempt to be whole in his love also fails, and he is excluded from the order, which is an implicit reflection of the inevitable fragmentation of symbolic pursuits. He is a symbol of the inevitable breakdown of the symbolic quest. Not only is his image a detached object that the "I" cannot be, but it also cuts to the heart of the audience's psychological deprivation through the doomed nature of the dashed illusion. According to Laura Mulvey, popular cinema produces two contradictory visual pleasures, voyeurism and narcissism, and the contradiction between the two is reflected in the fact that: "the former suggests the separation of the sexually charged subject from the objects that appear on the screen, while the latter, by fascinating the viewer, makes him or her identify the objects on the screen, which have a resemblance to him or her, with another idealised self^[30]." This conflation of separation and identification is deeply rooted in the mechanism of audience's desire. Focusing on the story of Gu Xizhao, his persistent pursuit of meritocracy implies an extraordinary spirit of aggressiveness, the burnout in another pastime is fascinated by his powerful inner drive (which he himself lacks), and his zero-to-zero failure evokes a vague sense of resemblance. While the intensity of the desire and the power of the action somehow creates a reverse incentive. Imagine a viewer or player who is immersed in the virtual world, tired of the constant competition and unclear about the meaning of life, seeing the fiercely ambitious Gu Xizhao and his history of striving for progress through his every efforts despite the lower classes, it is easy to inspire a kind of idealised self-projection under the contrast. This kind of empathy creates a deep emotional connection between the audience and the characters, and thus the regret of "once viewing Gu xizhao is misguided for life, but not viewing Gu xizhao would regret for life" is circulated among the audience.

These common feelings are revealed in various related texts. The college entrance examination is the culmination of the competition, and this competitive aspect is a crucial common memory for urban youth (the audience subject). It is easier to see the commonality of these feelings by linking them to the oaths of the college entrance exams in the corresponding time periods. Therefore, **Table 4** is presented visually first, and then typical expressions are selected for discourse analysis to reveal the perceptions that emerge from them.

Table 4 shows that there is a certain correlation between Gu Xizhao's lines and the oath of the college entrance examination. This correlation is centred on a strong desire for success and a sense of loneliness and

Table 4 | Comparison between the lines of "Against the Shadow of the Sea" and the oath of the college entrance examination

Lines	Oath	Comparison
To make those who mock at me, scorn me, and humiliate me, ashamed of themselves.	Breaking down the boat, burying my head in the sand; tenacious struggle, united combat; wash away the 08 shame, defending the dignity of the Pearl. (2009)	Wash away the shame of the desire and spiritual victory method
I want to prove to them today shy to do climbing, tomorrow get the power to become a dragon	Hundred days hanging beams, to fulfil the dream of a young man's kunpeng. Three years of searching, make an essay at a glance. (2016)	Expressions of Desire for External Recognition and Desire to Rise and Fall
Gu walked alone all his life because he didn't want to be lost in the crowd (Drama)	The same cold windows and hard studies, bright face and dark lights, why should I be willing to be behind others; the same starry nights and long hours of sleep, why can't I be the one to be first? (2019)	The anxiety of being obliterated and the competitive sense of lonely struggle
You know, when the battle is fought, you die and I live, how can you care.	"A hundred days of oaths, the will to win, six moons of swords, who will fight. (2019)	The exclusivity of competition is shown directly in the lines as a fight to the death, and in the oath as a metaphor for battle.
I have been a book for four years, and I have been bouncing around the border and the capital, hoping to be appreciated, but no one has ever taken more than one look at this book. (Drama)	Ten years of hard work, a hundred days of wind and rain, travelling all over the mountain of books, sailing the final sea of trees, a thousand grinds, iron pestle into a needle, the waves wash the water, sand and gold see. (2023)	Emphasising one's own efforts, the lines are intended to highlight the frustration of futility; the oath presupposes success as a goal to strive for.

resentment of exclusion. The oath masks the fear of failure, while Gu's story openly expresses it. Both use emotional rhetoric, exaggeration, and contrast to intensify this drive—especially in Zhang Guimei's school pledge: "No one is born a straw, no one is destined to be a straw. The same cold windows and hard studies, the same bright surface and dark lights, why are we willing to be behind others; the same stars and moon, the same long hours of sleep, why can't it be me who is the first to do so? We can not succeed, but we absolutely can not regret I was born to be a man rather than grass, I stand on the shoulders of great men to defy the humble coward."^[31] Leaving aside the specific context, it can be uncovered that it shares the same set of hateful discursive logic as Gu's formulation. The "I" in this discourse is a fictitious subject that needs to enter the ideology that one is born superior and the competitive for not willing to be left behind, which would in turn inspires the identification and desire of all the oath-bearers.

This is complemented by a rather emotive expression that awakens tired emotions and lapses in concentration. Specific rhetoric and tone are used to create a sense of sadness and a "lone warrior" atmosphere. Under the disguise of sentimentality, there is a direct utilitarian purpose. This purpose has an intuitive point of view (the candidate's grades, Gu's official position - the so-called "success"); it can be diligently and firmly interpreted, but not to the determined, internalised values. Because of the empty core, it must be motivated

by a strong antagonism: the antagonism (exclusivity) is not directed towards a definite object, but only towards other competitors or vested interests, as imagined by the competitor, in an abstract and generalised way. Just as Gu Xizhao's representation of his ideals is full of contradictions and ambiguities; his desperate desire to gain merit within the established order is interspersed with a generalised resentment at every turn. The fact that these feelings, which are hidden in the feeling structure of the audience, resort to resounding expressions in the lines and oaths explains to some extent why discursive constructions infused with resentment and metaphors of one-upmanship and battle are more likely to penetrate into the audience than didactic guidance.

These discourses resonate because they mirror the audience's structure of feeling^[18], where the collapse of ideals leads to emotional exhaustion and identity built on exclusion. In today's society filled with competition and "Involution", utilitarian desire and resentment become dominant feelings. Thus, popular culture often moves people less through moral messages than through emotionally charged, even hateful expressions. Against the Shivering Cold follows this logic: while commercially entertaining, it embeds this emotional structure in Gu Xizhao's character. His failure reflects the audience's fatigue, and his bitter resentment taps into their own lack of meaning and fierce competitiveness, forming a layered emotional connection.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, from novel to television series to online game and humanities, *Against the Shivering Cold* has successfully constructed an IP, and the heat and time span of its text dissemination are remarkable. The character of Gu Xizhao has attracted a lot of attention and received diverse evaluations. One of the main reasons for the long-term and widespread popularity of the "Against the Shivering Cold" IP is that it echoes the finite "ressentiment" and indeterminate "desire" in the audience's feeling structure:

From the perspective of value structures and identity formation, the original novel uses the conflict between "faithfulness and betrayal" as a core of plots and characters. This binary aligns with the moral presumption that "evil never prevails over good," reinforcing the myth of "chivalry". In the TV adaptation, however, this value framework weakens. Emotion, reason, and desire are introduced, shifting the focus away from chivalric ideals. In newer formats like online games, interaction between creators, audiences, and characters replaces direct value transmission. Emotional engagement becomes the main way of attracting audience. This change reflects a broader cultural trend: since China's reform and opening, idealism has waned, and the pursuit of values has become blurred and sensualized^[19].

With this shift in identification, Gu Xizhao becomes increasingly complex. His behaviors are driven by ambiguous desire and resentment, and portrayed in greater psychological detail. Freed from his former role as a mere representative of betrayal, Gu develops into a contradictory figure. His resentment is not just psychological but rooted in Nietzschean logic: as a marginalized character, his repressed status generates hostility toward the chivalric world. Yet instead of using resentment for self-overcoming, Gu channels it through the power of the imperial court to strike at the martial underworld. It serves the court's values, not Gu's own transformation. His desire becomes utilitarian and exclusive—aimed at gaining status and wealth—rather than achieving any transcendent good^[20].

This portrayal resonates with Nietzsche's translation of resentment into structures of feeling. It also subtly mirrors social phenomena such as the "oath" of the college entrance exam—a promise of self-advancement driven by excluding others and self's anxiety.

In the cultural context where *Against the Shivering Cold* is popular, self-interested individualism and inner meaninglessness go hand in hand. Market logic drives utilitarian calculations in social life, while belief-less senses dominate inside. Burnout and intuitive desire are widespread in a society shaped by resource scarcity and extreme competition. If meaningless competition (i.e. "Involution") leads people to identify themselves with narratives of failure, and hatred becomes a compensatory tool—an exclusive response that affirms one's unique value than others to arouse some passion

among tiredness. The IP absorbs both desire and resentment, channeling them into its narrative and continuing to attract urban youth navigating fierce competition. Gu Xizhao embodies these diffuse feelings. His downfall reflects the audience's burnout; his resentment, mixed with utilitarian desire and generalized hostility, speaks to their inner emptiness. This creates a powerful emotional bond.

Thus, the success of *Against the Shivering Cold* lies in how it adapts value and emotional identification to match the audience's changing structure of feeling in a time of value nihilism. It carefully crafts a character whose contradictions reflect complex, ineffable emotions. While some aspects of its appeal may be kitsch and aligned with commercial logic, it also opens up the possibility of transforming resentment into something more constructive. Whether this transformation is possible remains a question for further research^[21].

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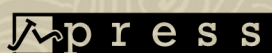
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