AN EXPEDITION INTO THE UNCHARTED TERRITORY OF MODERN CHINESE MEN AND MASCULINITIES

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

AN EXPEDITION INTO THE UNCHARTED TERRITORY OF MODERN CHIENESE MEN AND MASCULINITIES

presented by Annie Yen Ning Yang,

a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Michael Kramer

Professor Michael J. Porter

Professor Alan Strathman

Professor Jon Hess

Professor Debbie Dougherty

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Betty and Chiali Yang, who have been there for me through thick and thin. Without their support and unconditional love, I would not have the will to complete.

I also like to dedicate this dissertation to Felix Hsia, a modern and traditional Chinese man who embodied both wen and wu masculinties.

Finally, I want to say to all my friends and those who have crossed my paths along this journey of self discovery, THANK YOU!

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ABSTRACT

Modern Chinese men and masculinities are relatively an uncharted territory with only handful exploratory expeditions underway. These expeditions did not go far enough. They were voyages within the realms of history, literature and media. Images and stereotypes were found. But how close these images and stereotypes correspond to real life men is still unknown.

This study employed written surveys, interviews and field observations on Chinese men living in the capital city of Beijing in China. Data are solidly grounded in real people whose identities and perceptions of their masculinities are coming into light.

Masculinities meant different ideas to men of various age groups. The older generations saw the way to be a man was to be the sole breadwinner for his family. Times were hard and life was simple. The ability to put food on the table meant everything for the older Chinese men. The younger generations had totally different ideas of being a man. They saw themselves as closer to the ideal way of doing manhood, as advocated in the media. However, at the same, they felt rather lost of to which way was the way to approach manhood. Information overload made the choices tougher and more confusing.

Introduction/Rationale

Contemporary gender research has been an enterprise that emerged from the field of anthropology and sociology, accentuated and intensified by the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Feminist research has predominately addressed women's issues and problems, while men's issues and problems have generally been put on the backburner. Professor Ronald F. Levant (1997) in his article featured in the *Journal of Men's Study* pondered the question: "Just where are men today?" (p.221). Across the fields in which gender is studied, men are in fact disadvantaged. It is not difficult to notice that in undergraduate gender courses, the texts are mostly focused on feminism and women related issues. Men's issues are discussed infrequently and are rarely studied with the same fervor as women. "The intellectual content of the Books-About-Men genre is slender" declared Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985, p.569). It is only within the past twenty years that the study of men has gained some front-stage attention (Louie, 2002).

Starting in the 1980s, an interest in men has emerged and studies about men have accumulated substantially (Connell, Hearn & Kimmel, 2005). Such interest is not solely confined to the academy. Starting in the 1990s and onto the 21st century, the topic of men and interest in masculinities also surfaced in areas such as brotherhood (McIssak, 2006), international relations (Barnett & Sung, 2003), race and masculinities (Nakayama, 2000), and international businesses (Collinson & Hearn, 2005). Furthermore, the participatory role of men as problem-solvers rather than root causes has been included in international discussions dealing with policies on gender status and equality. For example, the Division for the Advancement of Women, an entity under the United Nations, started an online discussion on "the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" in 2005 (Connell et al, 2005).

Even though gender has garnered increasing international attention, it is nevertheless a concept that is uniquely culture specific. Every nation-state still has maintained its distinctive culture that shapes every aspect of people's lives. Gender is no exception. Culture prescribes the proper roles, behaviors and practices for men and women in every society, and although each has its unique cultural flavor, the study of gender, however, has a Western (imperialistic) slant. During the 18th century, European scholars and writers were the first to notice gender issues and to describe gender issues and relations (Connell, Hearn & Kimmel, 2005). This initial knowledge was utilized by the scholars who followed to study gender and as the referencing standard against which all other forms of genders are measured. This referencing standard of genders has evolved as a model for the ideal and hegemonic masculinities. Consequently, studies on men tend to revolve around White, middle-class, highly educated and heterosexual individuals (Kimmel, 2005).

It is not surprising that other types of masculinities have been obscured as a result of the Western hegemonic masculinities. "Judging from the limited literature in English and Japanese, Japan has made the greatest advances in research on men and masculinities in East Asia. Most of the research published in English reflects work done by Western researchers or by East Asian researchers who are studying in Western countries. In the Japanese literature, there is hardly any research on men and masculinities in Asian countries other than Japan" (Taga, 2005, p136). The imperfect picture of men includes the fact that most research on men is done in the First World countries, mainly in the United States. "There are major regions of the world where research even partly relevant to these questions (men and masculinities) is scarce-among them China, the Indian subcontinent, and Central and West Africa" (Connell, Hearn, & Kimbell, 2005, p.9).

The limited understanding and research about Chinese men and masculinities are not solely a Western phenomenon. Chinese scholars are slow to understand the urgency to study gender, especially in the contemporary social environment in China. Not only have Chinese scholars been slow to realize the importance of gender studies, but also they have failed to theorize and study Chinese masculinities (Kirby & Krone, 2005). China has been characterized in general as a culture in which gender roles are substantially differentiated (Burleson, Liu, Liu, & Mortenson, 2006). Although Chinese society has been under the Confucian influence for centuries, and this has influenced gender definitions tremendously, men and women have to adhere to specific rules in regard to relating to each other, social and personal responsibilities, as well as, tasks and mores. Furthermore, a man in the traditional Confucian society should cultivate himself with education to contribute to the society. However, the model Confucian society has been interrupted by the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and most traditions have been abandoned and abolished by the Communist Party. With the drastic social, political and economic changes, Chinese men were impacted and redefined. Burleson et al. (2005) contends that a modern Chinese man has to be able to take care of both external and internal affairs. Although the discussion of gender has caught scholarly attention in China, it is fair to say that gender is still equated with women's study there, similar to how gender was defined in the United States a few decades ago (Louie, 2002). Given this type of bias, a call was made in the study of gender and masculinities to be inclusive of nonwhite masculinities at a global level (Louie, 2002). Many also agree that the study of Chinese men in their own cultural context pales in comparison with the study on white men (Louie, 2003), or even of African men in their original cultural settings.

Robinowitz and Martin (2001) noted the concept of the voice is an important area in planning research. When researchers give voice to certain participants, this ultimately means that some voices are silenced. In this case, Chinese men are not only voiceless, but also faceless. Dick Lee, a pop singer from Singapore attempted to give voice to Chinese men with his album The Mad Chinaman in 1989 (Wee, 1999). Lee contemplated the struggle between tradition and modernity of a China man with this album. The voice was obviously not powerful enough to be heard in either the West and East.

Media can be a major source through which types of masculinities are communicated. In the United States, Chinese men are stuck with the stereotypical media image of asexual kung-fu fighters. This image is further reinforced by Hong Kong movie star Jackie Chan's popular and comical kung-fu films. In actuality, it does not take much to observe that most Chinese men living in the United States are not using kung-fu fighting as a way to resolve conflict. In addition, Chinese men do not have a unique onscreen identity compared to other Asian men. Asian men are perceived as having the same identity by the Western media without differentiating their unique differences between various nationalities, thus contributing to the pan-Asian identity, which obscures individual ethnic identities (Fu, 2003).

Globally, there is a serious consequence to such a void in the literature concerning the identity of men of various races and cultures. Intercultural communication is the "exchange of cultural information between two cultures" (Barnett & Sung, 2003), and with modernization, one inevitable consequence is the frequent and diverse communication between people of different races, cultures and nations. In other words, people currently find themselves engaging in intercultural communication more frequently than in the past. China has the largest population in the world currently (U. S. Census Bureau, 2006). Out of the 6.5 billion people in the world,

1.3 billion people are Chinese living in China. In 2005, the male population in China reached 673 million, which is more than half of the entire Chinese population. Chinese men make up approximately 8.3 percent of the world population and scholars have neglected this population in the research field of men and masculinity. In the past twenty years when China has opened itself internationally for business, its worldly connection and influence are inevitable and omnipresent (Ding, 2003). It is surprising that knowledge of such a large global population remains small in quantity. Consequently, people interacting with Chinese men often rely on the media stereotypes than personal experiences. Media stereotypes can be misleading and thus result in unpleasant intercultural communication. One practical impetus for Western scholars to increase the understanding of Chinese men and masculinities is to have adequate information to avoid frustrating experiences in intercultural communication.

Several important goals are central to this study. Foremost, this study attempts to bring into focus the blurred and stereotyped picture of what masculinity means to the 21st century Chinese men. Chinese men were asked directly of their thoughts on being Chinese men and the concept of Chinese masculinities. The second purpose was to determine if media portrayals of Chinese men in the United States and China hold true for modern Chinese men. The third purpose was theory-testing. Kam Louie (2002) theorized that the modern Chinese men fall into two categories of masculinities, wen and wu. The concept of wen and wu comes from an old Chinese division between scholars and warriors. Louie suggests that this concept is suitable to describe Chinese masculinities in the modern era. However, scholars have not collected empirical data to validate Louie's theory.

Literature Review

Gender: An American Preoccupation

Gender has long been an unit of analysis in the field of psychology and sociology (Horrocks, 1994). Still, gender studies did not start on the U.S. university and college campuses until the late 1960s as the second wave feminism began to prosper. The field of gender studies is the theoretical work in social sciences and humanities that focuses on issues of sex and gender in language and society, and often addresses related issues including racial and ethnic oppression, postcolonial societies, and globalization. Gender studies research influences and is influenced by Ethnic Studies, African American Studies, Asian American Studies, Latino/a Studies, and Native American Studies. Work in gender studies is often grounded in feminist theories, queer studies, and other theoretical aspects of cultural studies. While work on gender is often found in humanities departments and publications (in areas such as English literature and other literary studies), it is also found in social-scientific areas such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology (Louie, 2002). Sociology, social psychology, political science, cultural studies, education, social policies, women studies, communication, gay studies, gender studies and postcolonial studies have all shown interest in the topic of men and masculinities. Although it is known that two prominent genders are present in the United States, the field of gender studies has mainly focused on women. Consequently, research in gender studies has yielded a tremendous amount of literature about women and women-related issues. Sadly, the picture is missing its significant other, namely the men (Louie, 2002).

Problematic gender research. Although gender studies scholars have generated a new found interest in studying men and masculinities, the existing literature is flawed in several areas. The research in gender studies tends to focus on sex and gender differences (Chang, 2003).

Research on sex and gender differences can be based on purported differences that are usually rooted in commonly held gender stereotypes (Canary & Hause, 1993). Representative of this tradition is work by Guiller and Durndell (2007) who examined gender differences in linguistic behaviors in an online discussion. Consistent with past research, women and men tended to exhibit different linguistic behaviors when conversing. Males were found to use authoritative language more so than females. For example, men were more likely to make a direct request when wanting something whereas women are more likely to use a question to ask for something. Barbuto, Fritz, Matkin and Marx (2007) find through their quantitative analysis that gender has a small but direct effect on leadership style. In other words, the fact that you are a man or woman will lead you to a certain leadership style. Hall, Murphy and Mast (2006) found women and men differ in their abilities to recall nonverbal cues. Women were more accurate in interpreting nonverbal cues with a relational partner than men. Grabe and Kamhawi (2006) reported that women and men process negative broadcast news differently. They argued that women were more likely to avoid negative stimuli than men and found in their study that women understood and remembered less of negative news than men do. The list of gender and sex differences research seems endless. Sex and gender difference research may offer interesting comparisons and contrasts between women and men, but it does not explore the meaning men attribute to their masculinity. From this line of research scholars can only get a glimpse of how men differ from women in psychological aspects and communication behaviors.

Another problematic area in gender studies research is related to research participants. Of the male participants recruited for data collection, the majority are white, heterosexual male college students (Spence & Buckner, 2000; Mulac, 1998). Not surprisingly, our knowledge about men is limited to white, heterosexual male college students. Information on Chinese men is of

very limited quantity. Nakayama (2000) noted that although the study of masculinities did include some racial groups, the field is nevertheless bound in a white-black binary, wherein men are divided into categories: "white" and those who are nonwhite will be placed in "black" category. "Research suggests that people of different race and ethnicity, gender and age may interpret items differently" (Robinnowitz & Martin, 2001, p.43). Reliance on the black and white binary system of masculinities will hinder the understanding of other masculinities that do not fit well into the dichotomy, namely Chinese men.

Another component of gender studies relevant to the exploration of masculinities has been the media portrayal of men and their masculinities. The media portrayal of men does not offer a complete picture of men and masculinities either. It is not difficult to notice when one turns on the television that the major characters are most white, heterosexual men. Examples of masculinities in the media offer a revealing insight to the cultural expectations and norms for masculine behaviors. The constant bombardment of the male images in the media helps to reinforce an ideal male image. Horrock (1994) has observed three prominent types of masculinities prevalent in the media. The first one is the superman archetype. The superman figure embodies both the useless male and the male who is always in the right place during the right time to save the day. The geeky Clark Kent is the useless side of superman who is clumsy and unable to take on challenges. The superman is an idealized vision of masculinity that is desirable yet unattainable, so that most men are suffering due to their inability to achieve such potency and perfection. The second type of masculinity can be seen in the movie character Freddy Krueger. He is the quintessential personification of the dark side of men. Through him, male viewers can vicariously experience pent up violent rage and aggression against all opponents. Finally, man as a robot-like machine is depicted in Arnold Schwarzenegger's movies.

The hard body of a man is used as a means to achieve a certain outcome. The robot-like figure is a "conformist, obeying authority, attacking women, becoming dehumanized in the process, and eventually destroyed" (Horrocks, 1994, p.146). The hard body has been internalized by male viewers as a sign of doing masculinity the right way.

Western men and masculinities. The existing gender research on men relies largely on known stereotypes of various masculinities. In the next few sections, a closer examination of various masculinities and their origin is presented. Early 20th century analysis of modern masculinities came from the psychoanalytical tradition pioneered by Sigmund Freud and Alfred Adler. The concept of masculinities was thought to be constructed while boys were relating to others during their turbulent years of adolescence. Later on, anthropologists determined with the ethnographic studies of other cultures the importance of social norms and structures on the construction of manhood. "By the mid-20th century, these ideas had crystallized into the concept of sex roles" (Connell, Hearn & Kimmel, 2005, p. 5). Through learning from family, school and mass media, men begin to acquire and internalize the society's norms of masculine identity (Connell et al., 2005, p.5). Yet another new school of thought on masculinities surfaced from historical research, paying special attention to the dominant and resisting masculinities. Historical research aims to understand the background and life of a certain phenomenon by tracing the development of it. A biography of a person would be considered historical research, tracing a person's life from a starting point to an end point. The dichotomous white and black manhood dominated the study of men while other types of masculinities were studied with less vigor. In addition, since the emergence of historical research, the concept and usage of the term "masculinities" is preferred over male sex roles, manhood, and manliness, indicating the varieties of masculinities to be recognized.

The concept of masculinities comes from the dichotomous system of gender based on the two biological sexes, female and male. The adjective form of masculinities, masculine, has been used to describe the quality associated with the male gender and sex. Being masculine, as the common notion suggests, is to be physically strong, assertive, rational, and competitive (Kong, 2005). Another facet of masculinities resides in a man's sexual orientation. Being a man is to be masculine and being masculine means a man has to be heterosexual (Kong, 2005). Masculinities are also defined in opposition of that which is feminine.

Attempts to define masculinities are varied. Feminist sociologists, who are fully aware that there is no one single way to describe the range of masculinities existing at any given time, began to see the multitude of masculinities (Horrocks, 1994). "Feminist sociologists have begun to deconstruct 'masculinities' itself, and the term 'masculinities' has been adopted, since there is clearly not a homogenous monolithic identity possessed by all men in all contexts" (p.3). Horrocks (1994), a psychoanalyst, comments further, "It makes sense to see masculinities as heterogeneous, contextually sensitive, interrelational. It's not something you carry around with you like an identity tag. It's not fixed but fluid" (p.5). Nevertheless, masculinities are a concept that has not been well defined by the scholarly community (Spence, 1984). In a general sense, masculinities are related to qualities of being male. Ironically, the current definition of masculinities is murky at best, to scholars as well as lay people. "Masculinity and femininity, it appears, are amorphous concepts, rich in their connotations but left undefined and unanalyzed" (p.62). Spence (1984) argued that there is little empirical data to help scholars define and understand the concept of masculinities. One of the primary reasons for this lack in understanding about masculinities is that this is a rather new topic, and is not brought to scholarly attention until feminists begin to challenge the biased assumptions within the political

and social theories (Horrocks, 1994). Going to China and collecting empirical data directly from Chinese men will provide an initial understanding of Chinese masculinities.

When scholars start to deconstruct masculinities, the outcome is not a flattering one. Often, the research centers around the darker side of masculinities, linking masculinities with male violence (Messerschmidt, 2005), male sexuality (often seen as inherently oppressive) (Plummer, 2005), the male use of pornography, the institutionalization of male power in the state and in the professions (Collinson & Hearn, 2005), the dominance of fathers in families (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005), male homophobia (Edwards, 2005), and the concepts of 'manliness' and machismo" (Horrocks, 1994). Research of masculinities tends to link masculinities with the darker side of being a man. Perhaps to achieve a richer and fuller understanding and a brighter side of masculinities, researchers may need to explore how the concept of masculinities serves a how-to guide for manly behaviors.

Inevitably, masculinities have been linked to patriarchy, the social system in which male domination of women in any given society is sanctioned. Under patriarchy, men by social norms take the lead in his family/terrain and the responsibilities as the provider. Ironically, the very same power that enables men also restricts them in what they could be. Men may be expected to be the provider, but they may not have the ability to provide in the fast-changing economic system. Thus, patriarchal masculinities can empower men while rendering them powerless simultaneously (Horrocks, 1994). Some anthropologists have argued that the social division between women and men is not always distinct historically. When the external environment became harsher and men were called upon to protect the family, they gradually gained physical, societal and political strength. Similarly, with the trend of Western nation-states toward

capitalism, economic systems, which provide the harsh environment for fierce competition, men's patriarchal masculinities then grow in size and strength as well (Horrocks, 1994).

Modernity and western masculinities. In the centuries before the Industrial Revolution, perceived to be the beginning of modernization in the Western world, men and women coexisted in a more complementary manner. Life was centered around the village commons in a close-knitted community of peasants who worked on the fields jointly owned. Although tasks and duties were specifically assigned to men and women, they still worked in complementary fashion in which no one sex dominated (Kimbrell, 1995). During the 1500s, land had been redistributed and landowners fenced the land to claim ownership. As a result, peasants were separated and segregated by land redistribution and fences. Life changed dramatically for the peasants at that time. These peasants no longer felt a sense of joint ownership of the land. They have been demoted to wage earners who had no decision-making power. Worse, the sense of independence had been stripped off of them by the landowners and government. During this time the income gap had widened between the landowners who profited after the land redistribution and peasants whose income decreased (Kimbrell, 1995).

Human labor also changed during the Industrial Revolution (Kimbrell, 1995). Craftsmen and artisans were no longer valued for their unique skills. The event shifted the goal from novel and original production to mass production, which was unattainable for individual craftsman and artisan. People were valued less and easily replaced as cheap laborers needed for factories, and migration to urbanized cities aggravated the feeling of alienation (Kimbrell, 1995).

> "Labor became the technical market term used for human beings in the new factory system. Humans are now defined by little more than their place in the economic system. They no longer worked in the interests of the community, or for family, or religious duty,

> but rather for wages that barely allowed for survival. Extended families are disintegrated. Even parents and children are separated as each member sought some location where an employer would buy his or her labor" (p. 36).

Men felt the bluntest impact because child labor was considered cruel and thus outlawed. Women, on the other hand, were in and out of pregnancies and not considered the ideal workers in factories. Accordingly, men were the major working force and thus bore two major impacts. First, the land was taken away from the men and their families. Second, they were simply "laborers" in a disorientating working environment. Men's new and primary role was the sole breadwinner, which caused them to work endlessly in factories, separated them from the natural world and their families.

Men were not only alienated from nature and their family, but also from other men (Kimbrell, 1995). The competitive nature of factory work pitted men against each other for survival. The collective cooperation among the peasants working jointly in the field was a tradition of the past. The sense of individualism in the new way of living and working became the dominant survival skill. A particular kind of relationship that has changed its flavor was that between an older man and younger man. An older man used to act as a mentor/teacher to the younger man. Under the pressure to compete in an industrial age, the mentor and apprentice relationship could no longer exist. The mentality was that everyone is a competitor and to survive is to trust no one but oneself (Kimbrell, 1995).

The Industrial Revolution served a transition for men from an agrarian society to an industrial world in which drastic lifestyle changes were happening too fast for adequate comprehension. It put an end to the old lifestyle and brought on different ways of a new life. Since The Industrial Revolution, it was said that the West was progressing into a modern time

period (Kimbrell, 1995). Consequently, modernity has extended its influence beyond men's psyche, social relationship and economic independence. More recently in the 20st century, men's physique has fallen to victim status as well. The preferred physical image of men has come to the "lean machine" ideal-a hairless body packed with muscles. It is not surprising that men and even boys are becoming less content with their bodies, in addition to everything else that is unsatisfying in their lives (Kimbrell, 1995).

Western hegemonic masculinity in crisis. Hegemonic masculinity is a term developed in the critical studies approach to the study of men and masculinities to explore the power relations between men and the gap between an idealized male image set by and in cultural norms and the reality of men and masculinities (Alsop, Fitzsimmons & Lennon, 2002). Currently, there is an ideal way to be a real "Man" in the United States and that image is repeatedly reinforced through the media portrayal (Kimbrell, 1995). The ideal man is white, heterosexual, and upper middle class. The ideal man should also possess the following masculine qualities: self interested, competitive, impersonal, objective, independent, ambitious, machine-oriented, sexual, aggressive and tearless. The list can go on endlessly. Media prescriptions of masculinities can hinder the various competing modes of masculinities in the real world (Kimbrell, 1995). In other words, media introduce and portray the ideal and dominant mode of masculinities while give very little mention of other types of masculinities. At this point, however, men are experiencing a cognitive dissonance in which their notion of masculinities does not measure up to and/or is not congruent with the social and media's prescription of masculinities. This discrepancy noticed by men has made men feel anxious, uncertain and lost. These feelings are not traditionally associated with men and thus created a greater uneasiness for some of the American males. Kimbrell (1995) referred to this uneasiness as the masculine mystique.

Sociologist Lewis Yablonsky (as cited in Kimbrell, 1995) continues to lament the masculinities crisis and coin the term "robopath" to describe a "classic disease of this era." Precisely, a "robopath" is a man who behaves like a machine, with efficiency, regularity, and predictability. This person follows a rigid routine without much thought and emotion. Under the spirit of industrialization, this "robopath" has found to be working more than 2,000 hours annually in the 1980s, in contrasted to the average number of 1,500 working hours a century ago. Currently, the trend of overworked and overmechanized "robopath" is increasing and further alienates men from themselves as well as others in their lives. In contrast, the Western industrialists have frowned upon the laziness of Asian and African men who have been working fewer hours than the white industrialists (Kimbrell, 1995).

Asian Masculinities: Panethnic and Stereotyped Masculinities

Although studying white men is gaining popularity in the United States in the past twenty years, the literature about men of other races pales in comparison. Within the existing research, two problems are prominent with the study of Asian men and masculinities (Park, 2005). Of the miniscule empirical data collected from Asian men, most are gathered from Japanese men. What is known from Japanese men tends to be generalized onto other Asian men, fueling the inherent assumption that all Asian men are alike. This tendency to combine all races into one major category of the "other" is a prominent discourse in the West when perceiving nonwhite races (Park, 2005). A case in point is when Americans think Chinese people would wear kimonos, which is a traditional Japanese attire. Such thinking can be an indication of the Western ignorance in not knowing the differences among Asians (Park, 2005). Intercultural communication scholars have called for a true understanding of the individual in his/her unique cultural context rather than relying on cultural stereotyping (Yuan, 1997). In other words,

Chinese men need to be distinguished and studied independently from other Asian races and instead of relying on cultural stereotypes of Asians in general.

Another problem is that most studies of Asian masculinities by Western scholars have only examined the mass media's portrayal of Asian men instead of Asian men in their natural context (Park, 2005; Ma, 2000; Shim,1998). The Western media's portrayal of Asian men and masculinities does not paint a realistic picture of Asian men. Rather, the media's portrayal often reflects a negative slant against Asian men, as shown in the study of Orientalism (Park, 2005). The "Orientals" often neatly fall under the following stereotypical categories: pollutants, the coolie, the deviant, the yellow peril, the model minority and the gook. Pollutants describe people who seem to be out of place and/or foreign. A coolie is a historical term used in the 19th and 20th century for manual laborers from Asia, namely China and India. Yellow peril is a derogatory term giving to Asian immigrants to the West, emphasizing on the different skin color. A gook is a derogatory term used for Southeast Asians who are also the enemy soldiers. Furthermore, Asian American men and Asian men are not only negatively portrayed as "frosty killers, martial artists, cunning villains and sexless wimps," but also they are quite invisible in the American media (Park, 2005). In other words, Asian men can only take on one of the two identities, a kung-fu fighter whose sexuality is nonexistent or a shrewd individual who is drowned in self interest. The reality is, Asian men, just like Western men, are of different sizes, shapes and identities. Media's portrayal of Asian men thus limits the types of Asian masculinities in public perception.

Chinese men in America. The history of Chinese men in the United States was not a pleasant one, to say the least. The first group of Chinese men arrived in the United States in the mid 1800s when the Gold Rush took place in California (Shim, 1998). They worked mostly in

the labor-intensive jobs and farmlands. Although field workers were in large demand and the Chinese workers filled the void, they were not treated well by mainstream Americans. Furthermore, when the economy took a nose dive, the Chinese workers were the scapegoat for the bad economy (Shim, 1998). Since then, negative stereotypes and derogatory terms, such as Yellow Peril, began to surface. Numerous discriminating laws were passed to ostracize Chinese immigrants. Eventually, most Chinese workers and their families retreated to Chinatowns and found their roots in restaurants and laundries business as the only safe way of making a living (Shim, 1998). The United States has been closed off to the outside world after World War II and no more Chinese immigrants were allowed into the states until the 1960s. With a renewed sense of hope, Chinese immigrants were gaining positive support and earning the title of the model minority in the United States (Shim, 1998). Even though returning with a more positive image, Chinese men were still misrepresented in the American media.

Chinese men in American media. In addition to the stereotyped images of Asian men in the media, two primary competing and contradicting Chinese male images appear in the media in the late 1930s. The first one was Fu Manchu, the stereotypical Oriental bad guy who plans and plots against good people. The other image is that of Charlie Chan, the idealized male image (the sage) of Confucian teaching. The two competing images represent the alternating stereotypes of Chinese men (Choi, 2005). Another contradiction can be found in the asymmetrical attitudes toward the two Asian genders. On one hand, Asian women are often depicted as submissive and adorable. While Asian women are perceived as the feminine ideal to white men, Asian men present a threat to white women, and the threat of these men must be reined in. This anxiety over Asian men's sexual aggression is reflected in the portrayal of Fu Manchu, who had the ability to hypnotize hapless victims, white women in particular. The need to discipline or simply to

castrate and emasculate Asian men is exemplified in the creation of numerous passive and asexual Asian characters, ranging from Charlie Chan to the more recent "nerdy" Asian engineers. The creation of an inept Asian male character who lusts after white females as illustrated by Long Duck Dong in the movie Sixteen Candles is another stereotype often seen in American cinema (Choi, 2005).

American media often engage in a love-and-hate relationship with Chinese immigrants, a reflection of the immediate social environment impacting people's attitude on a national level (Shim, 1998). Chinese male characters in the media are portrayed both negatively and positively, depending on the national attitude toward Chinese immigrants at any given time. The first well-known Chinese male character, Dr. Fu Manchu, appear in American media in 1929 (Shim, 1998). Dr. Fu Manchu is a typical Chinese villain character in a series of films that reflect the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 1920s. Aside from the typical villain character from Chinatown, Chinese men are portrayed in the media as asexual (Shim, 1998). The Chinese detective character, Charlie Chan, appears in 48 movies in the 1930s and 1940s, is a classic example of an asexual Chinese male character with feminine style of walking and gesturing.

Media portrayals of Chinese immigrants are more positive in the post World War II era, when Americans felt sympathetic toward the Chinese people who fought relentlessly against Japanese invasion (Shim, 1998). The positive image did not last long as the Korean War in the 1950s changed the perception of Communist China by the Americans. The perception of Chinese immigrants takes another turn in the 1960s when African Americans are demanding more civil rights. The image of Chinese Americans as the "model minority" was viewed by some as a propaganda by the American government to justify the failure of African Americans in pursuing a better and higher economic status (Shim, 1998). The "model minority" image of Chinese

immigrants lasted until the 1980s when the economy took another dive and this time Japanese businesspeople were blamed for unfair trading practices. Although Chinese immigrants specifically have not experienced a negative backlash, the image of Asian American communities is tarred once again.

A rather demeaning way in which the media have portrayed the Chinese is through the technique of "yellowfacing" (Shim, 1998). Instead of hiring Chinese actors for Chinese roles, a Caucasian actor would play the Chinese character by taping his temples and cheekbones. With the practice of yellowfacing, Chinese men did not have the opportunity to play themselves in the media. This practice lasted until the 1980s. Films such as "The Fiendish Plot of Fu Manchu" (1980) and "Remo Williams: the Adventure Begins" (1985) still used white actors to play Chinese men using the technique of yellowfacing.

Since Bruce Lee's kung-fu persona was imported to the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, American media have not disconnected the tie between Chinese men from their martial-art image in the media. In the 1990s, Asian men have played characters mainly in the martial-art films (Ma, 2000). There is one major difference between Bruce Lee's kung-fu films and the current trend of kung-fu films, popularized by Hong Kong movie star Jackie Chan. Lee's kung-fu films reflect the individual combat of the 1960s and 1970s. Past kung-fu films were simply about fighting. Lee, nevertheless, played a Japanese butler in the television series "The Green Hornet" from 1966 to 1967. Once again, for a Chinese man to play another Asian character showed the mainstream's undifferentiated view of differences among Asians. The current kung fu films, on the other hand, have employed an African-American sidekick (Ma, 2000). The visible difference is the fact that Jackie Chan plays a Chinese man, as he is in real life.

Images of Asian men in American media provide an inaccurate picture of Asian men in general and Chinese men in particular. All Asian men are lumped into one category without the uniqueness of each ethnicity being shown. American media even go so far as using white actors to portray Asian characters, a practice known as yellowfacing. Chinese characters are casted in limited and restricted roles. One end of the spectrum shows the good minority image of Chinese men. The other end shows the deviant and alien side of Chinese men. Media images are so extreme that other characteristics seem impossible.

Chinese men in empirical studies. Empirical studies with Chinese men as participants are limited in quantity. One study of Chinese men from Taiwan deals with sportscasters and their use of the informal pronoun "you." Kuo (2003) content analyzes recorded sports game announcements and observes that Taiwanese male sportscasters tend to use the informal pronoun you more frequently than the female sportscasters. Kuo speculates that the use of the informal pronoun you by the male sportscasters signals power, authority and self involvement. This study, similar to gender difference research in the United States, found gender differences in linguistic behavior among Taiwan sportscasters.

The next set of studies used Chinese men from China. Kirby and Krone (2005) found that Chinese male managers (female managers included as well) cannot adequately communicate with foreign managers in joint-business ventures. The authors attributed the different masculinities exhibit by the foreign and Chinese managers as the main reason for miscommunication. (Most managers in international joint ventures are men and most managers in China are men). The foreign (Western) managers subscribe to the type of managerial masculinities in which reason, rationality, authority, and an impersonal style of communication are stressed. The Chinese managers, observed by Kirby and Krone, tend to subscribe to

Confucian masculinities in which the emphasis is on cooperation, conformity, and collectivity. The display of individual heroism and aggressive competitiveness is discouraged in Confucian masculinities.

Another study examined the emotional support through communication by Chinese men. In a cross-cultural comparison study, Burelson, Liu, Liu and Mortenson (2006) found that both Chinese men and women value the provision of emotional support through communication, although the women provided more emotional support than the men. At least in perception, Chinese men recognized the importance of providing emotional support through communication to their partners even though women are still mainly responsible for emotional support within a relationship.

Still, research involving Chinese men seemed few and sparse. In an edited book by Louie and Low (2003) about Asian masculinities, only five out of twelve articles are written about Chinese men. The other seven are devoted to Japanese men. Of the five articles on Chinese men, two focused on contemporary Chinese men and their identities as diasporas in Australia. The other three articles deal with Chinese men of the past generations (Wang, 2003, Wu, 2003, Louie, 2003). Hibbins (2003) interviewed 40 Chinese male immigrants in Australia regarding their (re)construction of the male gender and found that the Chinese immigrants put more emphasis on education and hard work, and less emphasis on sports and sexuality. Khoo (2003) more or less offered a thought piece on examining Asian masculinities in Australia and Canada. She argued that it is rather difficult for male Chinese diasporas living in Australia and Canada to negotiate their cultural identity when images of Chinese men are so limited and restricted. This is the same case faced by Chinese men living in the United States. Media portrayals of them tend to be limiting and restricting to a few stereotypical roles that were familiar to the audience. A review

of the empirical studies using Chinese men shows that very little research is conducted using Chinese men as participants. Even less is known about Chinese men and masculinities.

Gender Studies: The Chinese Way

Gender studies did not emerge until the 1970s in China and Taiwan. The very first study by an American anthropologist, Margery Wolf (1972), looking at women and families living in rural Taiwan sparked an interest in reexamining Chinese families and gender relations (Nye, 2006). Soon after, anthropologists in Taiwan, along with scholars from China, followed Wolf's lead to examine the structure of Chinese families and the gender relations within the family context. Similar to gender studies in the United States, the field of gender studies in China and Taiwan was also inspired by work from cultural studies, the social sciences and gay and lesbian studies. Furthermore, Chinese Gender Studies historians pay attention solely to the women, who are occupying the bottom position in the Chinese gender and societal hierarchy (Nye, 2006). Thus, in the beginning stage of gender studies, women are examined and reexamined repeatedly under a microscopic lens. The inescapable consequence of this unilateral approach to gender studies is the neglect of men. Parallel the pattern seen in the United States, the field of gender studies in China has turned itself away from men and equated itself with women studies (Mann, 2006). One possible reason for the lack of studies of men is the fact that historical and literary texts have all been written about and for men. Thus there is no perceived lack of knowledge about men throughout history. As a result, scholars have focused on women to fill the void in the gender knowledge gap. Interestingly, scholars who study women are the ones noticing the shift in masculinities and the varying definitions at various historical turning points (Mann, 2006). "The study of Chinese gender, especially over the last twenty years, has been oriented predominantly toward exploring how structural forces have shaped the formation of public

institutions ranging from the nation-state to the family" (Jankowiak, 2002, p.361). In other words, gender researchers have analyzed external social factors such as marginalization, discrimination, domination and resistance and their impact on relationships. The internal dimensions, such as emotion, sexuality and love are often overlooked due to the lack of conceptual framework for examination.

Confucianism and Chinese Masculinities

Confucius, often considered by many as the greatest teacher of all time in China, lived from 551 to 479 B. C. His philosophy was most influential during the Han Dynasty (206 B. C. to 220 A. D.). Central to his teaching was the idea of social and familial orders, detailing specifically where a man's proper place is in the society and family. Confucius defined the ideal man. His influence was weakened between 220-589 A. D. when a competing philosophy, Taoism, gained momentum in China. During the Song Period (960-1279 A. D.) his teaching came back to prominence and was renamed neo-Confucianism (Taga, 2005).

Before the Song dynasty (960 – 1279 A.C.), Confucian masculinities were the ideal model for men's behaviors. Confucius questioned the potent physical power associated with being masculine. Instead, he argued that a true gentleman should express his masculinities through benevolence (Huang, 2006). The core of Confucian masculinities is a man's never-ending obligation to refine himself in moral vigilance. "Confucius said (in Lunyu), 'There are three things the gentleman should guard against. In youth, when the blood and chi are still unsettled, he should guard against the attraction of feminine beauty. In the prime of life, when the blood and chi have become unyielding, he should guard against bellicosity. In old age, when the blood and chi have declined, he should guard against acquisitiveness" (Huang, 2006, p.16). Simply put, a real man is always looking for the ethical courage to take the right course of action.

To take the right course of action was independent of a man's physical prowess. Confucius put righteousness above all other qualities that a man shall possess. Although a man is valued for his courage, Confucius warns the danger of courage without 'yi' (morality).

Many of Confucius' disciples expressed and extended their thought of Chinese masculinities based on Confucian philosophy. During the Song dynasty, the neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi and his notion of masculinities were influential in shaping the perception of masculinities in later years. Zhu Xi contemplated with the idea of moral vigilance in partnership with courage. "Only when a man is courageous but cautious at the same time and only when a man is constantly in fear and trembling as if approaching a deep abyss, as if walking on thin ice can he become a courageous man of great military skills and effectively defend the state" (Huang, 2006, p. 15). A man with courage is not adequate to achieve the ideal. Rather, the ideal man needs to exercise courage with great caution.

Mencius, one of Confucius' well-known disciples, defined masculinities in contrast to femininities. "While a woman, according to Mencius, is defined by her obedience, a true man is characterized by his independence and his courage to practice the Way alone, especially under unfavorable circumstances. Once again, masculinity was measured in terms of a man's ability or determination to stand up for the sake of righteousness, or 'yi', because, unlike a woman, a true man would not easily bow to the powerful (politically or physically). Martial prowess and other physical attributes were not significant factors in Mencius' definitions of masculinity and femininity" (Huang, 2006, p.17). Consistent with Confucian philosophy, Mencius did not think a man needed to possess physical prowess to be the ideal man. The ideal man needed to be mindful of exercising courage under careful ethical consideration.

Many Chinese scholars well-versed in Confucian philosophy have associated a feminine quality to Confucian masculinities, due to the emphasis moving away from physical prowess to concerns over morality. This shift, concluded scholars of masculinities, gives rise to a new masculinity, one that stresses morality over martial valor (Huang, 2006). These scholars were mostly Confucius' pupils who studied with him but also branched out to their own school of thoughts. They included Yan Hui, Min Sun, Zhong Yu, and Zeng T'san.

Another prominent feature in Confucian masculinities is the ability to fulfill one's duties. One of the duties prescribed for a man is to produce male offspring to carry on the family name. "In Chinese culture there are four things, four qualities that everyone must know-zong is loyalty, xiao [filiality] is being loyal to your parents, ren [compassion, pity]is being good to people in general, forgiving them when they are trying to harm you; and yi [brotherhood] which means when you are a friend you are willing to give your life for your friend" (Berry & Farquhar, 2006, p.152). The ability to produce a son to carry on the family name accomplishes loyalty to one's parents (xiao). This, therefore, was the true achievement of masculinity. Confucius was known even today as one of the greatest teacher in China. His influence was still felt in the numbers of temple dedicated to him throughout China. Considering his omnipresent impact on Chinese culture, one would expect his teaching to still be influential to modern day thinking. Thus, a research question explored this possibility.

RQ1: How does Confucian teaching affect the construction of masculinities in modern China?

Chinese Masculinities in Literature

The Chinese character 'nan' 男 (man or male) is defined in ancient Chinese dictionary as 'zhangfu' 丈夫 (literally a male who has reached the adult height). The character is also defined as 'a man laboring in the field,' as suggested by the two graphs 'li' 力 (physical strength) and

'tian' 田 (field), which make up this character. Although the latter definition puts emphasis on the physical power of a man, the Qing philologist Duan Yucai (1735-1815) calls attention to another definition that linked man to a successful career in the government. The alternate definition suggests that masculinities were defined less by physical strength, and more by career success. "However, some scholars have argued that 'nan' is originally used to refer to someone good at working in the fields rather than a noun denoting male per se and that is reference as 'man' is a relatively late phenomenon. Instead, the character originally used to refer to 'male' is 'shi,' which etymologically refers to the male sexual organs" (Huang, 2006, p.1-2).

A major source of Chinese masculine archetypes derives from the examination of literatures of different time periods, ranging from early dynasties to the more modern times. Two competing images of masculinities, even before Confucian teaching, have been described by modern day scholars (Huang, 2006). The first image of masculinities is that of a warrior, whose physical strength and prowess used in the expression toward violence are sanctioned. In contrast, a different image of masculinities emerged during the late Spring and Autum Period (722-481B.C.) and the Warring State Period (480-221 B. C.). A group of literary scholars have advocated for a more cultured prototype of masculinities. They tend to prove their manhood through the success in the China's civil examination system. Civil examination is the only public system through which a man can obtain a governmental position. During the times of dynasties, holding governmental positions was considered a prestige enjoyed only by a small group of elites. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that during the Warring State Period, a man, whether possessing physical strength or intellectual capability, is required to request total obedience from his wife. The complete authority a man has over his wife supersedes any hierarchical orders (Huang, 2006).

A famous politician and historian Sima Qian in the Han Dynasty has written about many male figures in Chinese history (Huang, 2006). From Qian's writing, different types of masculinities are noticeable. Qian was castrated as a result of a political punishment. Consequently, his writing tends to focus on other historical figures who suffered temporary defeat or disgrace and the process to reclaim their manhood. One of the major themes of masculinities for him was the endurance of disgrace, resembled the one he faced after castration. From his own suffering, he believed that a true hero was someone who can be emotionally vulnerable during his temporary defeat (Huang, 2006). In contrast to emotional vulnerability as the defining characteristics of masculinities, another famous writer of a much later time named Xu Wei believed in the physical prowess as the hallmark of masculinities (1521-1593). His interest in military affairs manifests in his writing. "Xu Wei explicitly asserted that one's masculinities are defined by victories on the battlefield rather than book learning" (Huang, 2006, p.55).

In the late Ming Dynasty literature, many terms were used to describe historical male figures and/or fictional male characters, one of which was 'yingxiong' 英雄 (Huang, 2006). Apparent from its composition, the term 'yingxiong' is inherently a concept of masculinities: the character 'xiong' denotes male. 'Yingxiong' literally means an outstanding [yin] male [xiong]. That is, a discourse of the hero is often a discourse on how a man proves that he is an outstanding male (in relation to females and other males). However, this very need to prove one's masculinities also implies that manhood is a delicate and contested issue because it is a very fluid construct' (Huang, 2006, p.91). Interestingly, literary scholars of heroic tales have noted that the concept of 'yingxiong' is defined as a concept that is against everything that is

female and/or associated with female. Defining what is masculine against that which is feminine is similar to one of the Western ways of defining masculinities of many literary and social eras.

In contrast to 'yinxiong' who has military background and experience and is usually from a well-to-do family, 'haohan' 好漢 (stalwart, strong man) is a commoner who is actually rebelling against governmental control (Huang, 2006). In the famous fiction Shuihuzhuan, haohan is assessed by his financial power and ability to drink and eat beyond normal capacity. Furthermore, the rebellion against the government can sometimes require extreme violence and physical prowess. Also in the fiction, the proof for a man to be a 'haohan' is the ability to resist sexual temptation from a seductress (Huang, 2006). Coincidentally, this theme is also prominent in the modern Chinese media portrayal of heroes.

Aside from the warrior tales of 'yinxiong' and 'haohan,' another genre of the literature depicted romantic love of the 'caizi,' 才子 the epitome of scholarly masculinities (Huang, 2006). 'Caizi' literally means a talented man. A 'caizi' is valued for his intellectual ability and not his physical strength or masculine manner. The "caizi" genre has the plot centered around same-sex male romantic relationships. In fact, novels with same-sex male romantic relationships put the emphasis on love of beauty, rather than a person's biological sex. The implication is that the distinction between sexual orientation may not be as apparent as the one in the Western societies. Even before this genre, male beauty was a constant subject appearing in the Chinese literature.

Another genre of writing consists of how-to literature on the ethical and behavioral codes of conduct for men (Huang, 2006). The how-to literature offers another insight to the proper behaviors of the idealized Chinese masculinities. The advice books were usually written by male authors to and for male audience members. One category of the advice-writings deals with how men should resolve household discords, especially with their wives. Daughters-in-law are

thought to bring chaos into the big family. The test of a good son or man who can maintain his masculinities is his ability to resist his wife's negative influence and discipline her accordingly. "Consequently, owing to the patriarchal nature of a Chinese family, daughters-in-law, 'outsiders' with different surnames, are considered one of the most serious challenges to the manhood of the sons because of their potential for compromising the sons' allegiance to the matrilineal family" (Huang, 2006, p.188).

In addition to maintaining manhood in the family context, general advisories are given to men about the proper behaviors of men. "Masculinity is a prescriptive concept about what a man should be rather than a descriptive notion of what a man actually is. It is man's ideal of himself or the ideal of man shared in a particular group of men" (Huang, 2006, p. 185). One piece of advice comes from Confucian masculinities, the idea of caution and prudence. Consistent with Confucian teaching, the advice suggests a man to behave morally and pay extra attention and thought before acting. Even though moral caution and prudence are still honored in these general collections of aphorisms, now they may be emphasized as qualities that a man needs just in order to survive in a dangerous world rather than as sage qualities for moral self-cultivation. While the Confucian spirit of active engagement with worldly affairs is still endorsed, alternative models of masculinities are also promoted; "While alive, a true man should seek success in his career and reward from the government; when dead [he should] be remembered and worshipped by posterity. However, he can also cultivate himself by withdrawing into private life and amuse himself with books and poetry" (Huang, 2006, p. 194). Advice often ranged from the general to the very specific. An example of a specific advice can be found in the writing of Chen Jiru. Chen Jiru believed that to be a real man, one has to read 3,000 books and pay a visit to all great mountains and rivers under Heaven.

The masculine ideal reached a bottleneck during the Ming dynasty when China was forced to open itself up under external pressure (Huang, 2006). Chinese men experienced ambivalent and ambiguous feelings toward this forced entry by foreigners and experienced a blow to their identities as they are unable to resist the invasion. The uncertainty in national security transformed into a crisis of masculinities. The crisis of over-feminized men spread everywhere, from the imperial court to local schools. Men were obsessed with philosophies and poetry, possessing no real talents or skills to earn a living. Critics against excess learning argued that having empty knowledge could emasculate men and drain them of vital male energy (Huang, 2006).

The crisis of masculinities continues onto the next Dynasty, Qing, when ethnic Manchurians invaded China and ended the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Han Chinese men feel a further emasculation when Manchurian leaders force Han Chinese men to shave the front of their heads and wear a queue in the back as a sign of total submission (Huang, 2006). Although Chinese literary scholars and historians have claimed to observe the feminization of Chinese men during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the observation is solely based on anecdotal evidence. The claim of feminization of Chinese men is used by historians to account for China's failure to modernize. "In other words, accounts of Chinese men becoming increasingly feminized during the late imperial period are most likely teleological narratives developed to account for China's humiliating encounters with the Western powers, a process that started in approximately the mid-19th century. In other words, they are often constructed by some modern historians to explain China's failure to achieve modernity" (Huang, 2006, p. 201). Feminization of Chinese men perhaps served as a scapegoat for Chinese men and their failure to defend themselves.

Intra-culturally, the feminization of Chinese men was not perceived as negatively as it was depicted in the West. In fact, the Western concept of sexual orientation does not exist in China until modernization.

> "…The concept of a third gender, later known as homosexuals, did not gain prevalence in Chinese cultural discourse until the early 20th century, when Western cultural values and Western medical science began to acquire a hegemonic status in China...In pre-20th century Chinese cultural discourse, same-sex passion is seldom blamed for a man's effeminacy since femininity is not associated only with males who desired other males, even though it is true that the passive partner in a same-sex relationship is often described as feminine" (Huang, 2006, p. 151-152).

Rather, the role of the penetrator or the penetrated served as the structure underlying gender and sexuality in the late imperial China (Sommer, 2002). When lawmakers in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) began to regulate sexual behaviors, three distinct and problematic males are identified: dangerous, vulnerable and polluted males. "The logic behind these categories is an absolute phallocentrism that identified the act of penetration with domination, possession, and pollution. The dangerousness, vulnerability, and pollution of males all derived from the threat of penetration out of place" (Sommer, 2002, p.67). In other words, the object of penetration is unimportant. Rather, where the penetration takes place is the concern of the public and hence, dominant ideal masculinity.

During the Qing Dynasty, the ideal male was one who was married and observed Confucian teaching religiously. He kept the family in a peaceful state and carried on the family business. More importantly, his masculinities are in line with the dangerous male, taking on the role of a penetrator. The major difference between the dangerous male and the ideal male is that

the result of penetration shall bring the ideal male an offspring to continue the family lineage (Sommer, 2002).

Further national chaos inspired Chinese intellectuals to examine the concept of masculinities (Tsu, 2005). Specifically, the new concept of masculinities links national failure to a man's responsibility to defend his country. China continued to experience turbulence between 1895 and 1937. Chaos was a common after the relentless invasions from Great Britain and Japan. This was also a time when many Chinese intellectuals were educated overseas and thus interjected the closed-off country with many new Western ideas, such as that of Freud's psychoanalysis (Tsu, 2005). The May Fourth Movement took place during this time when Chinese intellectuals felt a deep sorrow in the country's inability to fend off foreign invaders. Living in such turbulent time generated an image of masculinities that is rooted in melancholy and masochism. Chinese writers during that time have made a connection between nationality identity and men's images of themselves. During the time when China was devoured by outside forces and life appears uncertain in all aspects, men often were drenched with melancholy mood and torture, symbolizing the nation's inability to protect itself. "…[M]aleness is often voiced as uncertainty, lack of confidence, and the desire to be exposed in one's frailty. Masochism becomes an indissociable constituent of male subject formation and of the masculinities that defines it" (Tsu, 2005, p. 174). At this unstable time period, "maleness is often voiced as uncertainty, lack of confidence, and the desire to be exposed in one's frailty" (p. 174).

Stories of brotherhood during wartime periods provide another glimpse into the means through which a boy could achieve his manhood. According to McIsaac (2006), "it is important to emphasize that the glorification of violence in these stories is not for the sake of violence itself. Rather, it served as the means by which vengeance is exacted, justices achieved, and men

express their righteousness and loyalty to the brotherhood, thereby confirming their manhood" (p.7). Even though violence was associated in the literary genre of brotherhood tales, it is an uncommon phenomenon to perceive the expression of violence as the expression of manliness in Confucian China.

Over the years, a variety of masculinities have been expressed in the Chinese literature. Since it is not known which of these are still influential on modern Chinese men's views of masculinity, the second research question is this:

RQ2: How do the different male images in the Chinese literary work and history affect the construction of modern Chinese masculinities?

Mediated Images of Chinese Masculinities

Differences in Chinese masculinities have been observed in Chinese films originated from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. The three places, although all occupied by Chinese and Chinese diasporas, have progressed at different paces and directions in the political, economical and social arena. Nevertheless, the residents of the three places are Chinese in origin. Thus it is important to keep in mind the possible differences in masculinities present in the three locales. In other words, certain types of masculinities from one region may not be representative and applicable to other regions.

The Chinese film industry has its root in the West. The first Western film was played in Shanghai in 1896, a year after film was invented in the France (Lu, 1997). That very same year wass also a turning point in Sino-Japanese War when the Qing Empire ceded Taiwan to Japan in a devastating defeat (Lu, 1997). Since then, films have been a state-owned enterprise in China. "Cinema is often subject to being a vehicle of political propaganda and ideological indoctrination" (Lu, 1997, p.6). The state government utilized cinema to build a unifying

national identity for the winning Communist regime. To practice such propaganda, the film industry was turned into a state property, operated by the state and dictated by the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Propaganda.

More precisely, the cinema was to create a Moaist national identity for people to adopt and internalize (Lu, 1997). The governmental hegemony did not met external threat until the year 1995, when China and the United States signed an agreement on the import of Hollywood films into China, while maintaining any censorship rights. Beginning in the 1990s, China, Hong Kong and Taiwan began cooperating in film productions, thus ending the hegemonic portrayal of the national identity from the Maoist era.

The ideal national identity during Mao's era centered on the theme of brotherhood, a familiar aspect of Chinese masculinities often appearing in Chinese literature (Lu, 1997). Chairman Mao Zedong avowed to the American journalist Edgar Snow in an interview that he favored the rebellious spirit in the old romance Chinese novels, portraying men forming rebel groups and taking care of each other. Not surprisingly, the gangster machismo is one of the male images sought out by young male urban workers who migrated to the big cities looking for a better living and joined the rebel groups. Interestingly, Chinese brotherhood was formed based on social hierarchy, in line with Confucian philosophy of an ordered society. Younger brothers had to pay respect to older brothers. The irony of this type of brotherhood during the Maoist era is that while the old societal structure based on Confucian philosophy was politically abandoned, as a practical matter people nevertheless reverted to the very same philosophy when practicing manhood (Perry & Dillon, 2002). The Maoist ideal image of Chinese manhood was that of a bonding brotherhood, and men sacrificing themselves for the greater good of society, in this case for the Maoist revolution (Berry & Farquhar, 2006).

Generally speaking, Chinese cinema included films from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, most films from these three regions are largely funded by sources from Hong Kong and Taiwan due to the fact that China's film industry is still state operated. Hong Kong, after becoming a colony of Great Britain, was the first to venture into market economy and progress toward privatization of industries. Thus, the popularity of Hong Kong films surpasses those coming from China and Taiwan (Lu, 1997). Consequently, studies of portrayals of Chinese men in Chinese media have given emphasis to Hong Kong films, while masculinities in films from China and Taiwan remain under-explored. Hong Kong cinema has been an interesting cultural locus in which global appeals and local flavors intersected and produced unique cultural artifacts. Unlike other transnational media, Hong Kong cinema has not produced a hegemonic masculinity, partly due to the fact that a delicate balance between the local culture and global appeal needs to be maintained in order to maximize profit. Hong Kong cinema is also a congregation site where China, Hong Kong and Taiwan communities meet and present various types of masculinities. The complexity and fluidity of Chinese masculinities are ever present and changing (Pang & Wang, 2005).

Lead actresses dominated the big screen in Hong Kong until the late 1960s (Kar & Bren, 2004). The reversal of fortune finally offered men an opportunity to play the lead character. However, the male image that was popular in the late 1960s, due to the popularity of sex and violence on screen, is that of the shrewd villain trying to seduce good women. The image of men did not change until the early 1970s when martial-art films come in vogue (Kar & Bren, 2004). On a side note, martial-art films were banned in China from 1931-1980. The well-known kung-fu star from China, Jet Li, revived martial-art films in China starting in the 1980s (Berry & Farquhar, 2006).

Although the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to martial-art films, the emphasis was not strictly on the pure physical prowess of the male characters (Kar & Bren, 2004). The two most well-known directors of the time were Zhang Che and King Hu. Zhang Che hired only male characters in his film to show the congregated power of men, while King Hu utilized the aesthetics of the dance-like movement of the Peking opera to sport the male physique. In addition to his unique style of martial-art films, Zhang Che made the following observation of Hong Kong Cinema before the 1960s. He noticed that while around the globe male actors have dominated the big screen, Hong Kong cinema was led by famous actresses. Thus, Zhang Che included all male cast in his films. His male actors relied on pure physical strength rather than the use of weapons in fighting. The emphasis on the pure physical strength was to accentuate the physical prowess of the male body. Aside from the fixation of the male physique, Zhang also explored the psychological aspect of Chinese masculinities. Themes occurring in his films about the male psychology included male bonding, conflicts between father and son, and heroic sacrifice for one's comrade (Desser, 2005).

An interesting fact about Hong Kong media is the specific roles men and women have played. While women's onscreen characters were clearly delineated as songstress/prostitute, good wife/heroic mother, sweet birds of youth, the new breed and the wild and sexy (Kar & Bren, 2004), no such clear-cut roles were identified for men. The Western ideal male image has been constantly reinforced through and by the media, which contributed to the Western masculinity crisis (the inability to achieve the ideal). The impact of the murky male roles in Chinese media on Chinese men's identities is yet to be explored.

Since the rise of martial-art film, men had no other choice but to play the kung-fu fighter who exploited violence as a means to resolving conflicts. Although the tough guy image from

martial-art films has persisted until the present, variations in the image have altered with time lapse. In the very beginning of the martial-art genre, the emphasis of the tough guy image was on the aesthetic appeal of the male image, concentrating on the fluid movement of the Peking opera in martial-art films (Desser, 2005). Part of the aesthetic appeal was the physical prowess of fighters without the use of weapons. The emphasis on the man's bare fist is a contrast to films utilizing swords and knifes when fighting. One classic actor coming out this kung-fu genre was Bruce Lee. Although Lee's male character on screen was macho and physically intimidating, this male character has never displayed any overt sexual interest and intimacy toward the female character (Kong, 2005). One aspect of traditional Chinese masculinities, in contradiction to the open display of a man's sexual desire in the West, is the suppression of one's sexual desire. Such suppression signifies the incredible self control a man can exert on himself (Louie, 2003).

While the Western media have portrayed Chinese men as effeminate and weak, Bruce Lee single-handedly changed the preconceived view of Chinese men. His hard muscles have given a new definition to Chinese masculinities, bringing back manliness as a quality to the stereotypical Chinese manhood. This new Chinese persona has negated the image of Chinese men as the "sick men of Asia" since the Opium War in the early 19th century (Tasker, 1997). Bruce Lee transformed the international image of Chinese men and masculinities as the underdog who finally triumphed in the end. His display of a hard body has won the international and interracial competition of the tough guy (Berry & Farquhar, 2006).

Recent decades revealed a shift from simple kung-fu fighting to gangster bonding and action-driven plots (Pang, 2005). An example of the gangster genre is Hong Kong director John Woo's portrayal the romantic and tragic male heroes in mafia organizations. John Woo has reinvented Chinese masculinities through the theme of brotherhood in his films. The theme of

brotherhood was prominent in Chinese literature on manhood and during the Maoist era. He often portrayed men sacrificing themselves for brotherhood. The consistent image of masculinities from his films was that of the sober and clean heroes who directed their attention to male bonding rather than romantic connection. Similar to Taiwan martial-art director Zhang Che, John Woo also spent time exploring the male psyche during male bonding moments.

A crucial change in the media portrayal of men happened in 1997 when Hong Kong was returned to China by the British (Pang, 2005). Hong Kong men were no longer in charge of their future and feeling superior as one of the leading industrialized entities. In contrast, the new male has become a comical figure, a reaction to the feeling of hopelessness in the political environment. An interesting note to keep in mind is the polarized portrayal of Chinese male mainlanders in Hong Kong media. After the infamous Tiannaman Square in 1989, the mainlanders were portrayed either as cops who worked with local Hong Kong authorities fighting crime or the infamous country bumpkins from China's backward regions (Pang, 2005). The polarized portrayal of Chinese male mainlanders was interpreted as the mixed emotions felt by the residents of Hong Kong toward Hong Kong's return to China.

Another theme of manhood appearing in the media was the responsibility of continuing the bloodline (McIssac, 2006). Media have given attention to this subject because one of the hallmarks of practicing manhood in China is the responsibility to bear a son so that the family name could continue. This idea of continuing the family lineage was also one of the prominent themes of Confucian masculinities. For a boy to transform himself to a man, he needs to marry and produce a son to pass on the family name (McIsaac, 2006). However, Chinese director Chen Kaige has been posing the question in his film "King of the children:" Do Chinese men still want to carry such burden with them as a means to fulfilling manhood (Chow, 1995)? Such

Confucian thinking is, however, evident in the movie *The Wedding Banquet* directed by Taiwanese director Ang Lee. Although the gay character was already living with his partner, he nevertheless found a woman to marry and have a child to pass on the family name and to make his parents happy (Kong, 2005).

Chinese director Zhang Yimou's films often flirted with the theme of Chinese masculinities in crisis and trouble, a similar situation in which Western men were depicted as facing at current time. "He offers the viewer spectacles of impotence and incest (The story of Judou), the inability of men to save their spouses and children (To live), and adultery (Shanghai Triad). This consistent theme of wounded fathers and sons and inability to bond with each other has been the hallmark of Zhang's portrayal of Chinese masculinity on the big screen, which sounds again rather similar to the Western masculinity crisis. "According to Zhang, the liberation of the self from the oppressive tradition is still the unfulfilled task, the incomplete project of Chinese modernity. The emancipation of the individual is also the goal of the May 4th generation of Chinese intellectuals more than half a century ago, a goal that is yet to be realized today for Zhang" (Lu, 1997, p.110).

Although male characters on the big screen have portrayed different types of masculinities, one particular form of masculinities has been sidelined and minimized. Homosexual masculinities are almost always nonexistent in Chinese media, with an exception of a few movies that dared to address such a sensitive issue (Kong, 2005). When portrayed at all, homosexual masculinities take on a comical flavor or that a feminine feel. "A Hong Kong gay man is usually stereotypically portrayed as a bitchy, campy, overdressed and Westernized young man who hangs around the alleged gay 'ghetto,' Lan Kwai Fong" (Kong, 2005, p.67).

Finally, male film directors from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan have contemplated with one of Confucian teachings about the duties of men, the filial piety (Berry & Farquhar, 2006). Filial piety is concerned with the relationship between the son and the father and the mother. Chinese director Zhang Yimou has repeated the theme of killing the father, which symbolically means throwing away the old traditional values. Hong Kong films, exemplified by Jackie Chan and his new comical approach to martial-art films chose to save the father, embracing the good old tradition. Similarly, films from Taiwan also embrace the father, welcoming traditional values in the modern day era (Berry & Farquhar, 2006).

Given the wide range of portrayals of masculinity in the media since the invention of cinema and television, it was important to consider this question as well:

RQ3: What is the impact of media on the construction of modern Chinese masculinities?

Modernity and Chinese Masculinities

The rapid commercialization of modern China has made some people question the traditional values and norms in the age of modernity (Zhong, 2000). The incoming flux of Western ideas and values are taking people through the experience of a cultural shock, unable to determine which system of norms and values to follow (Wang, 2003). The Opium War, which took place in 1839, proves to be a national wound to the Chinese national pride and masculinities and marks the beginning of modern history in China (Berry & Farquhar, 2006). It was a war fought between China and England over the supply of opium to Chinese people by the British merchants to weaken the country. "Not only culture but also gender is transformed in modernization" (Berry & Farquhar, 2006, p.12). The understanding people have about masculinities and being masculine do come from the shared cultural norms (Spence, 1984). In other words, the concept of masculinities is quite heavily cultural-dependent. It is then very

possible that people abiding by different cultural norms would have very different perception of the masculinities concept.

The Cultural Revolution remains one of the monumental events in China history that has proved to be "the most important, most formative, and yet most disillusioning experiences in both their personal and collective lives" (Lu, 1997, p.18). The long-standing cultures tend to hold the belief that they know the meaning of being a woman or man. However, if under persistent external pressure to tell them otherwise, courses of actions can vary widely. In the 20th century, the dual influence of a flourishing feminist movement and globalization, gender relations in any given country may have been impacted in some manner. Scholars should question whether a new pattern of gender relation has emerged since modernization. China has one of the world's most developed gender system, mainly based on Confucian philosophy of order and hierarchy. Men are the head of households while women need to be submissive and proficient in domestic skills. However, gender scholars have observed Chinese gender relations that have been firmly rooted in Confucian philosophy has been impacted by globalization (Stearns, 2000).

Globalization not only implies an economical change, but also the cultural influence due to Western domination. This is a frontier in which the local culture meets the Western cultural norms and ideologies and reconstruction takes place. In other words, every culture has its unique and distinct gender roles and practices. With the invasion of external cultures, the existing gender roles and practices interact with others to form a different set of roles and practices that have the essence of the native culture but with the footprint of the new. The new arenas for these contested gender roles and practices include transnational and multinational corporations, international state, international media and global markets (Connell, 2005).

In addition to the Western hegemonic masculinity, an international ideal image of masculinities is also on the horizon. According to Kimmel (2005),

> "In addition, the patterns of masculinities embedded within these gendered institutions also are rapidly becoming the dominant global hegemonic model of masculinities, against which all local, regional, and national masculinities are played out and to which they increasingly refer. The emergent global hegemonic version of masculinities is readily identifiable: You can see him sitting in first-class waiting rooms in airports, or in elegant business hotels the world over, wearing a designer business suit, speaking English, eating 'continental' cuisine, talking on his cellphone, his laptop computer plugged into any electrical outlet, while he watches CNN International on television. Temperamentally, he is increasingly cosmopolitan, with liberal tastes in consumption and sexuality and conservative political areas of limited government control of economy. This has the additional effect of increasing the power of the hegemonic countries within the global political and economic arena because everyone, no matter where they are from, talks and acts as he does" (p. 415).

Kimmel suggests an emerging modern form of masculinities that seems to silence all other forms of masculinities. This modern form of masculinities is showered in financial success and enjoys the outcome as a result of its financial success. (Un)fortunately, men are taking note of this dominant and hegemonic form of modern masculinities. Globalization in modern time has certainly impacted men's view of their selves.

With the interrelatedness and interdependence of world countries growing stronger and tighter, China has certainly felt the impact. China has experienced several noticeable changes during the 20th century, also the beginning of modernization. Gender relations in China have

undergone transformations. The New Culture movement started in the 1920s by Chinese youth radicals envisioned a new sense of self to be in better shape for China's future. These young men, coming from universities all over China pursued the essence of Victorian American manhood as their new identity. "Like their American counterparts, young Chinese insisted on complete control of their lives and fervently believed that individual autonomy would fuel production and speed national progress" (Glosser, 2002, p.123). Interestingly, the themes of industrialization and modernization were the key to reinventing a new masculine identity by the young Chinese college students. Although at the time China was not industrialized and the college students had not worked at the factories at all, information about the Industrial Revolution and modernization was disseminated through the press. By reading the events in America and Europe, becoming modernized became an impetus for the young Chinese college students to search for a new masculine identity. When rural peasants begin to migrate to the more industrialized cities for factory jobs, the male role of a breadwinner came to prominence and the power dominance of husband over wife was reinforced with the clear distinction between men and women (Glosser, 2002).

The Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949) pushed the gender-role division even deeper (Honig, 2002). With the heavy Western influence of gender norms, homosexuality was gradually perceived as deviant and was criminalized. Although Chairman Mao advocated for equal rights for Chinese women after the Civil War in China, in actuality the major powers were still in the hands of men. The Cultural Revolution served to be another contested arena in which gender identities were renegotiated. Although it was the common belief during The Cultural Revolution that men and women were equal in saving the country, women were rarely seen in the leadership positions, although they were encouraged to

strive for the success standard of men. On the other hand, men were never encouraged to behave like women (Honig, 2002).

During this time, the new masculinities under the Maoist era contradicted that of the Confucian ideal. Whereas the ideal man in Confucian philosophy was that of the intellectual scholar, the Maoist image of the ideal man was that of a heroic warrior who dared to fight for his country and was ready to engage in manual labor. Furthermore, Maoist followers frowned upon intellectual scholar who was not physically able (Taga, 2005).

Chinese intellectuals have noticed a semantic change in the adjective "masculine." During Maoist era, being masculine was equated with serving one's country selflessly. However, in the more contemporary time, the adjective "masculine" has a different connotation. With the growing participation in the world economy and globalization, a Chinese man's masculinity was assessed more so by the global standard of masculinities (Chen, 2002).

Jankowiak (2002) has observed the new trend in Chinese masculinities influenced by the Western standard as well:

> "The rise of market economy has resulted in a new value system, whereby the former heroes of the collective era have given way to new heroes-the sports athlete, the rock star, and the wealthy businessman. These 'new men' embody excellence and success and, as such, stand in direct opposition to the college professor in greater esteem. The reversal of fortunes has resulted in the repository of talent, ability and intelligence. The shift in China economic and social order has not, however, resulted in the formation of completely new notions of maleness or femaleness. For the Chinese, as elsewhere, manhood depends upon achieving some level of mastery within a specific field of action. In this way manhood is process and not a state of being. Throughout Chinese history

> there have been two competing emblems of maleness: the warrior or military man, who emphasized physical toughness; and the gentleman, who represented gentility and who disdained physical exercise in favor of the arts and other forms of cultural refinement" (p.363-364).

Jankowiak seemed to suggest that although China has experienced economical and social changes, the residents have not understood their identities in this time of changes. Nevertheless, being a participant in global activities, China is not immuned to the new rise of masculinities that thrive in individualism and success in sacrifice of collective interests. It is unknown at this point if the historical malesness grounded in warriorship and/or scholarship still hold true for the present time. Given the influence of modernity and globalization on perceptions of masculinities in China, the next research question is this:

RQ4: What are modern Chinese masculinities?

A Modern Theory of Chinese Masculinities

Traditionally, Chinese masculinities have been constructed by two interrelated ideas of wen and wu. Wen, symbolized by scholars who are refined through cultured activities, is contrasted with Wu, the physical prowess and strength of warriors (Kong, 2005). These two intertwining themes of Chinese masculinities have appeared throughout Chinese literature about Chinese masculinities. In contrast, Chinese masculinities have not received much scholarly attention in the West. Only in 2002 when Cultural Studies Professor Kam Louie of the University of Queensland theorized about Chinese masculinities has there been a much attention to a theory of gender in Chinese society. Although Louie's book offers a fresh perspective on Chinese masculinities, the theory is strikingly based on the traditional concept of masculinities. Louie employs the concept of wen 文 and wu 武 to theorize modern Chinese masculinities. The

ideal combination of wen and wu masculinities is an aspiration for Chinese men in the traditional Confucian society. The figure who personified wen masculinities (scholarship) is Confucius, who is considered to be the greatest teacher in China. The figure who personified wu masculinities (physical strength) is Guan Gong, a war general during the War Era. Throughout the book, Louie used literary figures from traditional Chinese novels and current movie stars to support the concept of wen and wu masculinities. According to Louie (2002), wen and wu should be the theoretical basis for understanding Chinese men and masculinities.

Louie (2002) attempted to apply the concept of wen and wu masculinities onto current well-known male figures. He picked three male Asian actors whose media images are consistent with the biased Western stereotypes of Asian males. Louie picks Bruce Lee, Jackie Chan and Chow Yun Fat as archetypes of wu (physical strength) masculinities. All three movie stars have been known as kung-fu/gangster fighting stars. Interestingly, Louie did not offer any current examples of wen masculinities. Of obvious relevance to the current study is whether there are any media depictions of wen masculinities or whether this apparent absence has affect Chinese masculinities.

Louie's use of wen and wu masculinities to theorize about modern Chinese men can be problematic due to questionable representational validity. Representational validity refers to the degree to which a coding scheme actually represents subjects' interpretation (Poole & McPhee, 1994). Even though this concept of data validation has been applied to coding systems, it is not a stretch when applying to a theorized concept and determining if the theorized concept is in line with people's perception, and simply based on a few anecdotal examples. Given the centrality of wen and wu in much of the theorizing about masculinities in China, the final question is:

RQ5: How do modern Chinese men perceive the concept of Wen and Wu masculinities as the ideal image of Chinese masculinities?

Theoretical Framework

What is known about Chinese masculinities comes from Western and Chinese media, traditional Chinese literary work and an existing theory that lacks empirical foundation. Absent empirical data, it is impossible to answer which versions of Chinese masculinities from the media, literary examples, and Louie's (2002) theory accurately reflect Chinese masculinities in the modern era. However, two concepts have been consistently emerging throughout the literature review of Chinese men and masculinities. They are wen (scholar) and wu (warrior). Although many different male images can be found in the media and literary work, they often fit quite nicely into the wen and wu category. For example, caizi, with an emphasis on literary skills, falls under the wen masculinity. Yinxiong and haohan, both emphasize the physical prowess of men, exemplify the wu masculinity. Thus, the concept of wen and wu will be used as the theoretical guidance in data analysis. Emerging male images from the data collected for this study will be analyzed based on the wen and wu masculinities.

Method

Research methods such as interview, survey and discourse analysis have been used to study men and masculinities, but previous studies that focused solely at the concept of "sex roles" have failed to paint a complete picture of male identity. A call to find innovative ways to study gender has been issued (Light, 2003). Many gender scholars have called for a different approach to study international masculinities. For example, studies of Chinese men tend to be of individuals living in the Western context conducted by Chinese American scholars (Kimmel, 2005). This research offers insight into Chinese men living in the West and their struggles in the hierarchical structure of masculinities power relations. Little is known about Chinese men in the Chinese society without the competition of other racial masculinities (Louie, 2003). For this reason, the primary researcher lived in China for about a year to collect data that offered the first examination of Chinese masculinities from an environment that is native to Chinese men.

Participants

The primary investigator traveled to China from August 2007 to July 2008 for data collection. Specifically, mainland participants residing in the city of Beijing were recruited. A snowball technique was used to recruit participants. The primary investigator attempted to find participants through her students, acquaintances, and family members to complete a survey and/or an interview on issues of masculinities. Participants were then asked if they knew anyone else who would be willing to participate in this study. The goal was to recruit as many Chinese men as possible to share their perspectives on the concept of Chinese masculinities. The number of participants in an interview and/or survey study was an arbitrary decision. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), a researcher can stop sampling when a theme has reached theory saturation. Theory saturation occurs when no new information could be obtained from the

samples. The goal was to explore the variations within Chinese masculinities until no new information could be obtained.

Ten Chinese men of various ages, occupations and educational levels were interviewed by the researcher. One hundred forty five participants filled out the survey. Their ages ranged from 18 to 45, with an average age of 22 ½ years. All participants were single except for four who have been married from 22 to 5 years. They spent from 2 months to 34 years living in Beijing. This meant that most participants were not natives of Beijing, as the city was known as the immigrant city. One hundred thirty five participants belonged to the Han group. Six participants were Manchurians. Three participants were Mongolians and one was Miao. More than 70% of the participants attended or were attending Beijing University. Ten participants had earned a Ph.D. degree. One participant was working on a post-doctorate degree. Twenty-two participants had earned a master degree. The remaining participants were working on a bachelor degree. This group of participants was considered highly educated in China. Most of the participants did not hold any religious belief, mainly due to the fact that China has cultivated an agnostic view since The Cultural Revolution. If they held certain views, the most popular ones were communism and Marxism.

Instruments

Demographics Survey. The primary investigator constructed a questionnaire asking for the basic demographical information from the participants. Information such as age, socioeconomic status, place of residence, and religion were gathered from the participants (see Appendix A). The survey was given to the participants before the in-depth interview and along with the Masculinities Survey to complete.

Masculinities Survey. The primary investigator constructed an open-ended questionnaire soliciting ideas and thoughts on masculinity from the participants. This questionnaire contained 14 questions (see Appendix B). Questions were generated by the primary investigator in English and translated into Mandarin by an acquaintance who is fluent in speaking, reading, and writing Mandarin. The literature review on Chinese men served as the basis for generating the questions. Questions included Chinese men's perceptions of Chinese masculinities, the masculinities portrayed in the media, and the concept of Wen/Wu and its application to modern Chinese masculinities.

Consent Form. This form (see Appendix C) was attached to the written survey and given to interviewees for agreeing to participant in this study.

Interview Introduction. This form (see Appendix D) was used at the beginning of an interview to familiarize an interviewee of the interview purpose and content.

Interview Guide. This form (see Appendix E) was used to guide the interviewing process.

Field Notes. The primary investigator observed Chinese men and how they communicate their masculinities through verbal and nonverbal messages in a 11-month period. The observations were ethnographic in essence (Fetterman, 1998). An ethnography documents the routine daily lives of people through consistent observation on a daily basis. The researcher would live with the participants and make note of certain behavior. The knowledge gained should be from the point of the participants. Thus it is essential for the researcher to live among the participants and go native if necessary. Detailed notes were taken to document any specific observances of masculinities enacted on a daily basis. From Monday to Friday field observations were made inside classrooms and on the Beijing University campus. The researcher kept a notebook within reach and whenever noteworthy events and occurrences took place, she would

take handwritten notes. On the weekends, observations were made inside subway stations, during taxi rides, on buses, inside restaurants, museums, parks and theaters. The research would title the event, include as much detailed information as possible about a particular incident. For example, the incident during which the researcher witnessed a middle-aged Chinese man slapping his female partner in a park on a Saturday night in January 2008 was recorded in the observation notebook as soon as the researcher went home the same night. General impressions of Chinese masculinities were also recorded. For example, the researcher has always noticed the distinct odor in any modes of public transportation and it usually came from Chinese men. Handwritten observations have basically filled up a regular-size notebook.

Procedure

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative research methods that bring the researchers into the field to understand people's thoughts and feelings of lived experiences are suitable for describing and learning a subject area that lacked substantive knowledge or an extensive data. Data collection proceeded in two stages and lasted approximately 11 months. This was the time frame during which the primary investigator stayed in China. The first stage of data collection started with the *Masculinities Survey* (see Appendix B). The *Masculinities Survey* (see Appendix B) was constructed in English first based on the literature review of Chinese masculinities. In order for Chinese participants to understand, the survey was translated into simplified Chinese by an acquaintance who is fluent in speaking, reading, and writing Chinese. A Chinese colleague from a university in Beijing who is fluent in speaking, reading and writing English and Chinese was asked to translate the Chinese translation back into English for any inconsistency in the translation. The set of questions on the survey was used as guiding questions in the in-depth interviews, which took place during the second phase of data collection. Before

the actual data collection started, a pilot study was conducted to determine if the questions constructed made sense to the participants. Six Chinese men in Beijing were asked to complete the survey during the pilot test and offered feedback on the questions. The primary feedback was on the length of the survey. All six participants thought there were too many questions on the survey and the questions were too wordy. Beside these two major complaints, the questions made sense and were understood without any problems by the participants. The researcher then trimmed the questions to fewer words. The newly condensed surveys were distributed for the official data collection.

The first phase of data collection was to gather empirical data from as many participants as possible using the *Demographic Survey* (see Appendix A) and *Masculinity Survey* (see Appendix B). Respondents were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix C). Responses from the initial data collection allowed the primary investigator to modify the same set of questions on the survey and for the in-depth interviews.

At the same time, the primary investigator started field observation of Chinese men in her daily life. From Monday to Friday, she would make mental note of the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of her Chinese male college students during class throughout the day, and wrote her observations whenever she has access to her notebook. Whenever the primary investigator traveled around the city (usually during the weekends), she would pay close attention to Chinese men in various public locales. Interesting incidents were recorded when noticed.

The second phase of data collection started when the primary investigator began to conduct in-depth interviews with participants in person. After the primary investigator recruited participants through a snowball sampling technique, she contacted participants to set up interview time and place. The interview was conducted at a place of participants' choice. The

Interview Introduction (see Appendix D) was used to familiarize participants with the purpose of the study. Participants were asked to sign a consent form whenever possible (see Appendix C). Participants were also asked to complete a *Demographic Survey* whenever possible (see Appendix A). The interview started when participants were ready. The primary investigator asked questions on the *Interview Guide* (see Appendix E) and followed up with probing questions for clarification. Three interviews were audio-recorded. Data analysis proceeded after data collection came to an end. Responses from the *Masculinity Survey* (see Appendix B) were analyzed first. Responses from the in-depth interviews were transcribed and analyzed. Finally, the same analysis was applied to the field notes taken by the researcher.

Analysis of Data

Three interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed while seven others were recorded via fieldnotes as the researcher listened to the participants talking about Chinese masculinities. Many Chinese participants expressed apprehension when seeing an audio-recording device. The transcriptions/notes were put in a binder and separated by dividers between each participant's responses. In the beginning stage of analysis, the primary investigator conducted a "microanalysis," a process in which detailed reading of the transcription was necessary to locate themes that were emerging from the reading of the text (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Once a theme has been identified, the primary investigator placed the same color post-it note next to passages that reflected the same theme. The next step was to look for new themes that were different from the previous theme and give it a different name. Such was the constant comparison method for discovering new themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The same procedure was done with the open-ended questionnaires as well as the handwritten observation notes. The detailed examination of the data was repeated until no new themes could be found. The lack of new themes signaled to

the primary investigator that the analysis has reached theory saturation. The emerging themes were named after the analysis. All themes were recorded on papers and corresponding passages were listed for data management. One additional analysis done with the survey responses was quantitative in nature. For each survey questions, the researchers tracked the frequencies that each theme was mentioned and tallied the total. In this way the researcher knew the most and least popular answers for each question. The frequency counts allowed the researcher to report the data in a quantitative manner if necessary. Furthermore, the primary investigator tried to draw links between the themes and the literature. Meanwhile, the primary investigator also looked for negative cases, responses that differed greatly from the others. Negative cases might offer telling insight into the phenomena being examined. These analyses were used to explore answers to each of the research questions. The results are reported in the next chapter.

Results

Introduction

The main purpose for this study was to explore modern Chinese masculinities in the 21st century as perceived by Chinese men. The research explored factors impacting the making of the male identity and concepts that were related to Chinese masculinities. What this research found was a picture of an abstract mosaic. There was no one way to look at modern Chinese masculinities. There was no one identity that would be able to describe Chinese men living and working in Beijing, the capital city. This study yielded a rather contradicting montage which made the task of sketching modern Chinese masculinities a difficult one.

Furthermore, Chinese culture added a layer of difficulty to finding modern Chinese masculinities. According to Hall (1976), world cultures could be divided into high and low context cultures. The hallmark of a high context culture was that meaning or what people want to express did not reside in the number of words said. Meaning or the actual message often has to be extracted from the context of the relationship and the environment. Chinese culture is an example of a high context culture. Chinese people usually did not engage in long-winded conversations with each other, especially with a stranger. And when meeting a stranger, they tend to be frugal with their spoken words. The same phenomenon happened on the surveys and during interviews. Chinese people were not accustomed to writing long sentences. Answers were usually given in a few words rather than in sentences. Thus data collection was not as fruitful as I would have hoped because rich and detailed descriptions were not obtained. Daily observation was often mundane and routine. Some insightful data appeared after a lengthy analysis process. Luckily, a few unexpected incidents occurred to bring clarity but at the same time cause more

questioning on modern Chinese masculinities. Results from survey data, interviews, and field observations are presented in order of the five research questions.

In addition, some background information about the researcher, me, and her unique cultural standing would provide a frame of reference of how the results were presented and interpreted. I, the researcher of this study, am a Taiwan-born Chinese woman who immigrated to southern California at the age of 10. I am the only child. Before age 10, I grew up in a traditional Chinese society of Eastern culture. Both of my parents worked and I was taken care of by a nanny for 10 years. I completed 4th grade in a private elementary school in Taipei before moving to the United States. I am fluent in speaking, writing and reading Taiwan Mandarin. Since then, I received schooling solely within the United States. Although parts of me remain Eastern, I am also influenced by Western culture as well.

An important piece of information about Taiwan would be helpful for the readers of this dissertation to understand part of my personal bias towards mainlanders from China. Most people from Taiwan were immigrants from mainland China in the 1940s. They followed General Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan after being defeated by the Communist government. Consequently, they held a rather negative view of the mainlanders. I grew up with the understanding that these people had the hope to return to China and take over the land they lost to the Communist government. Taiwanese media also often portrayed the mainlanders under a negative light. We from Taiwan often think of the mainlanders as country hillbillies who can only understand the simplified version of Mandarin. That stereotype, to my understanding, has diminished since tourism and more direct contact between the two political entities have increased dramatically in the last decade.

Up to 2001, I traveled back to Taiwan three times to visit my paternal grandfather. I also traveled to various parts of China in five trips before working in Beijing from 2007 to 2008. To collect sufficient data for this study, I originally decided to stay in China for a month for the task. However, I received an offer to teach at Beijing University the medical campus for a year. Therefore, I increased my data collection to a year. I arrived in Beijing in August 2007. It was hot and humid. I knew no one except for a few family members whom I had seen only a few times during my previous trips.

I lived on campus in a 6-story apartment building with other faculty members who were Chinese. I did not acquaint with any of my neighbors. I lived on the 6th floor with a balcony. I walked to my office and classrooms every day for about 10 minutes. I taught 20 hours per week. That averaged out to be 4 hours of teaching each weekday. The teaching was quite a heavy load compared to the 4 hours I had to do in the States. I was pretty much exhausted physically and mentally every week from the teaching. Still, I tried to keep running every morning to de-stress and keep fit.

My free time was usually during the weekend. I occasionally met with family members and did lunch. Otherwise, I would grab a map and explore the city's various historical sites. For most parts, I would spend time in public places making my observations of Chinese men. I did not have any friends in the first semester. So I would travel by myself. As I got to know more people, my outings would include some of my acquaintances.

Beijing is not an easy place to make friends. People are very closed off to strangers. They prefer to stay in their own clique,or they would be spending most times with their family. I had lunch every week with an officemate who speaks impeccable English. Other faculty members kept their distance from me. Although I speak Mandarin fluently, the locals were able to tell I am

not a native of China. Making friends was slow and social interactions were limited to school related matters.

In addition to not acculturating into the Beijing society and local culture fast enough, I had a difficult time with the environment. There are many people in Beijing and personal space is not honored. Coming from the West, I like my personal bubble big and spacious. In reality I often encounter people who are dangerously close to me inside various forms of public transportation and facilities. That made me quite uncomfortable in public spaces.

Another issue I had while living and working in Beijing was with people's hygiene. From most people I can smell heavy body odor. It is as if they have not taken a shower for quite a long time. Inside my classroom that was a problem as well. After spending two hours inside a classroom, the room often smelled awful at the end. The same phenomenon would take place inside a crowded bus or subway.

The last issue I had was with my safety. People and cars do not follow traffic laws. Walking in Beijing can be dangerous when cars do not give the pedestrian the right-of-way. Cars and motorcycles also drive on sidewalks designated for pedestrians. I was hit in the knee by a car backing up on a sidewalk and the car just drove off. There were other times when I almost got hit when walking on the streets. Safety was a serious issue and caused me to be angry much of the time when I was walking in public.

Data collection progressed slowly in the first semester. I was tired all the time. During the free time I had, I tried to find men to complete the survey. I started with a few acquaintances on campus. They were faculty members in school. Most men were hesitant to complete a survey that required much thinking and writing. As I got to know more students throughout the semester, I asked for their help in distributing the surveys. That method had a better turnout than my lone

effort. Upon reflection, I felt lucky to have 145 surveys returned and completed when all the questions were open-ended. However, population diversity was sacrificed.

Having been influenced by both Eastern and Western cultures, combined with the unique and sensitive sentiment Taiwan has towards mainland China, I looked at Chinese men from mainland China with mixed lenses. I see them from an Eastern perspective. I also see them from a Western perspective. I see them under a negative light. I also see them under a positive light. In reality I encountered many Chinese men who made me think the future for Chinese men is bright and hopeful. I also encountered Chinese men who made me want to use all the bad languages I know. Nevertheless, I see them as individual onions; with time and effort each layer would be stripped away and I would see more clearly what is within each layer.

In the literature review section, research questions were arranged differently. The first research question asked the impact of Confucianism on modern Chinese masculinities. The second question looked at the impact of historical and literary figures. The third question specifically focused on media's influence. The last two questions examined modernity, and wen and wu archetypes. The research questions were arranged in this way because it made sense to look at Chinese masculinities from history to present time, tracking any transformations.

In this section, results for research questions were presented in the reverse order from how they were listed in the literature review section. The reason for such reverse order was to present the most pertinent information first. The first section dealt with the archetypes of wen and wu and their applicability to modern Chinese masculinities. Ultimately, the primary goal for this study was to bring clarity to modern Chinese masculinities. Thus, it was more important to present the look of modern Chinese masculinities and examined the influences on them subsequently. The second section explored the feel and look of modern Chinese masculinities

when wen and wu did not quite capture the essence of modern Chinese men. The next two sections examined figures from literature, history, and media and their impact on modern Chinese masculinities. Finally, Confucius' main idea of the middle way and its impact on modern Chinese masculinities was presented.

RQ5: Wen and Wu Archetypes

The last but the most pertinent research question (as listed in the literature review) was to determine if the traditional archetypes of wen and wu could still be used to describe modern Chinese masculinities. Louie (2002) theorized in his book that the traditional Chinese archetypes of wen and wu might be suitable to categorize Chinese men in the modern era. His evidence was based on historical and media figures. This study was to determine if Chinese men's perception of themselves in real life concurred with Louie's proposed archetypes. If the archetypes no longer held true, then what were the emerging modern Chinese masculinities that could be found in China today. Survey and interview participants were asked to define the archetypes based on their understanding and contemplate if such archetypes were applicable to modern Chinese men. The survey data and interviews showed participants offering diverse and various definitions for wen and wu, although similarities could be spotted easily.

Defining wen and wu. Indicating consensus most survey participants agreed that the wen archetype was associated with mental ability while the wu archetype belonged to the physical realm. Participant 1wrote, "wen is knowledgeable using mouth not fist. Wu is violence and simple-minded." In this case, a positive connotation was attributed to wen and a negative connotation to wu. It was a tug of war between the knowing and not knowing. Participant 3's version was "wen is being good at everything such as game, music, book and art. Wu is having muscle, strength and be able to fight." Wen was linked to being well-rounded in the mental

matters while wu dictated the physical realm. Participant 4 had this to say "wen is the ability to read widely and understand deeply. Wu is associated with physical strength, being able to enforce justice." Intellect was equivalent of reading comprehension and that belonged to wen and wu again had the physical connection. However, wu in this particular definition went beyond the simple physical strength and was an enforcer of justice. Participant 11 wrote "wen is being articulate and able to express the self through writing. Wu is able to fight physically." Wen was associated with the ability to say what one wanted to say through writing and wu was as simple as fighting with one's body. Clearly participants made a sharp distinction between the two archetypes. Wen referred to everything mental and intellectual, like reading, writing and comprehending. Wu was associated with being physical and able to fight for justice. Although another thorough reading by the researcher on the definition of wen and wu did not indicate a distinct preference and connotation to either concept, a hint of suggestion that physical strength is simpler than intellectual matter surfaced in two of the above quotes as well as throughout the survey answers.

Interestingly, participant 14 linked wen and wu to being feminine and masculine. "Wen is of the brain, the soft and the feminine. Wu is of the strong, the heroic and the physical and masculine strength." It was interesting to note that participant 14 associated wen and wu with being female and male. The archetypes of wen and wu were not restricted by genders as both men and women throughout Chinese history have been mentioned as famous scholars and warriors, although men outnumbered women in representation. Often one heard and mentioned male figures when referring to wen and wu archetypes, as evident throughout the surveys and interviews. However, in the case of wen archetypes, a few female poets, such as Li Qingzhao, were well known for being scholarly. By nature people remembered the ones who were different

and few in numbers and linked the female poets to the wen archetype. Consequently, the wen archetype was associated more with being feminine.

A number of participants used other interesting comparisons or metaphors. For example participant 20 was particularly precise in his description, "wen is a pale-faced scholar and wu is a dark-faced warrior." Participant 20 was probably drawing a parallel between the association of wen and wu to that of scholar and warrior using opera imageries. In Chinese opera, actors who play scholars painted their face white and dark face was for warriors. Participant 23 became creative and used a computer metaphor for his description. He wrote "wen is intelligent work and wu is physical work. Wen is software and wu is hardware." This description seemed to suggest that wu was the foundation that was needed to allow wen to develop, just like the way software and hardware work together inside a computer. Participant 30 had another interesting take, "wen is individual and wu is social." Mental activities, such as reading, were often done in private and on one's own whereas physical activities such as fighting required more than one person. Thus participant 30 was saying being wen was individual and being wu required others' participation.

Other participants did not see a clear divide between wen and wu. Participant 23 wrote "there is no clear demarcation between wen and wu. Inside wen has wu and inside wu has wen." The above description sounded very much like the Chinese concept of Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang were concepts representing mutually opposite forces, for example, female and male. However, they were not mutually exclusive. In fact, they were mutually opposite but inclusive as perceived by the Chinese. This meant that within female there was an element of maleness and vice versa. Yin and Yang were often seen as a circle of black and white halves, but within each half contained a small circle of the other. Participant 31 used the same concept in his description. He wrote "Wen concentrates on the strength of thinking while wu concentrates on the strength of

valor, just like yin and yang, two mutually opposite forces complementing each other." Wen and wu, although mutually opposing, could make up for what the other did not have. Participant 80 summed it up in a very unique way, "wen requires a certain amount of knowledge. The best is to have a warrior who has a Ph.D." The traditional Chinese thinking was to respect the two mutually opposite but inclusive forces and a fine balance between the two would be ideal. Such thinking might lead participant 80 to believe that a scholar who also had the physical strength was the ideal combination of wen and wu. While some people see black and white, others may see shades of grey. Wen and wu for some participants happened to be a matter of grey.

Who are wen and wu. Participants were asked on the survey to offer examples of the wen and wu archetypes. The examples participants gave of wen and wu were reflective of a typical product of Chinese education and society. Historical figures who were brought up as examples of wen were scholars and poets. Again, participants have shown the link they made between the wen archetype and the intellectual realm. The famous figures were Laozi (philosopher), Confucius (thinker/educator), Mencius (Confucius' student), Li Bai (poet), Du Pou (poet), Lu Xun (writer), Zhu Ge Liang (thinker/strategist), and Li Qing Zhao (poet). It had to be noted that the last poet listed is a woman. Two very current examples of wen were Zhou En Lai and Wen Jia Bao. They both served as the premier in the Chinese government. And these two premieres were known to the public for their ability to think. A distinctive characteristic of these figures was that none was associated with impressive physical strength.

The examples of wu were unanimously warriors from different dynasties throughout Chinese history. They included Zhang Fei, Guang Yu, Dong Zhuo, Chen Yao Jin, Xiong Yu, Genghis Khan (a Mongol, not Chinese), Lu Zhi Sheng, Lv Bu, Jiang Zi Ya and Kang Xi. Similar

to the figures representing wen, these wu figures were known for their physical prowess and the fierce ability to fight off enemies. Intellectual ability was not linked to wu figures.

When asked to provide examples of individuals embodying both wen and wu, the respondents listed famous leaders throughout Chinese history who were known for their decisive and strategic thinking as well as their physical prowess. They included past figures like Li Shing Ming, Fang Zhong An, Yue Fei, Cao Cao, Zhou Yu and Zhu Yuan Zhang. It was very interesting to note that one participant had mentioned the Yang Family female warriors. They were women whose husbands fought for the country and died. The wives of these warriors then took over the unfinished business of defending the country from foreign invasions. Two modern figures who embraced both wen and wu were Mao Ze Tong (the mastermind behind China's infamous Cultural Revolution) and Zhou En Lai (a former premiere in the Chinese government). It was interesting to note that historical figures who embodied both wen and wu fought in numerous battles and proved themselves physically as well as strategic planners during the battles. Mao was known for fighting against Chiang Kai Shek's army and forcing it to retreat to Taiwan, thus winning China for his communist army (Time, 1937). The modern figures were known for their suave political moves, but Zhou was never engaged in an actual war. It was perplexing as to why Zhou was mentioned for being associated with the wu archetype. The only apparent association between Zhou and the wu archetype was his appointment as the deputy director for Whampoa Military Academy, the eastern version of West Point Military Academy.

Applying wen and wu. Finally participants were asked on the survey if the archetypes of wen and wu were still suitable to describe modern Chinese masculinities. Participants again offered various views on this question. Around 30% of the participants did not think there was a specific concept that is fitting to describe modern Chinese masculinities. Participant 25 had this

to say, "Present day Chinese men are a broad concept. Various ages and geographies can cause many differences. I am still inexperienced in life and can't find a suitable concept to describe Chinese men." Participant 25 was a freshman in college and acted in a humble manner when presenting his view. Most Chinese children were taught by parents to be humble when speaking, as also experienced by the researcher herself. Participant 42 had the following observation, "I personally think to simply use wen and wu to define Chinese masculinities is not the correct way to study Chinese culture. The more valuable study should focus on ordinary people's daily life problems." This answer might suggest that wen and wu were an outdated concept to use on Chinese men. Perhaps the more pertinent information about Chinese men came from an examination of their daily struggles. Participant 85 wrote "Chinese men have very distinctive personalities; there is no need to universally categorize and describe them." People in general preferred to feel unique about their identities, as with this participant. He perceived Chinese men to be unique in ways that no general descriptors could be used to describe their uniqueness. This category of participants saw wen and wu as too restrictive and limiting to describe a population of men who are diverse and indescribable through generalization.

Roughly 40% of the participants thought wen and wu were fitting descriptions for modern Chinese men. Participant 4 wrote "I don't think there is another concept that can describe Chinese men nowadays." Being either a scholar or a warrior or both was adequate enough of a descriptor for Chinese men based on participant 4's statement. Participant 7 had a positive outlook on modern Chinese masculinities, "I think both wen and wu are perfect for describing Chinese men. Chinese men are talented to do something wonderful." Having the qualities of wen and wu seemed to propel Chinese men toward a grand goal in life. Participant 5 followed with his own optimistic outlook, "Chinese men possess both wen and wu qualities.

They have strong ambitions and work hard at their job. At the same time they help out with house chores. Most Chinese family men are like that." The above participant seemed to equate wen with doing house chores and wu with achieving one's career ambition. He also believed that most Chinese men were doing both well. Participant 9 had a very positive view, "Chinese men are creative and open to new idea. They can be tender but also not losing their masculine side." In other words, Chinese men had the best of two worlds, being feminine and masculine simultaneously. Participant 20 was overflowing with optimism, "Chinese men are staying at the center point between wen and wu. The younger generations are especially full of energy and wisdom." Some of the post-80s generation males had a particularly positive outlook on their generation. They truly regarded themselves rather highly and believed in their ability to achieve greatly in life. Participant 21 summed it up with straightforward frankness, "Chinese men have both wen and wu qualities." Perhaps Chinese men did have both wen and wu qualities. The interesting question to ask is did they utilize these qualities to their advantage and build a solid identity. Possessing certain qualities does not mean people know how to utilize the qualities they have.

Around 20% of the participants felt modern Chinese men tend to be more feminine, thus possessing more of the wen qualities. The overt feminization also suggested Chinese men tend to be lacking masculine qualities. Participant 27 wrote "Chinese men are lacking manliness than Chinese men of the past and are much less masculine." Chinese men of the past generations went through rough economic and political times and were more able to endure hardship. In comparison, the post-80s generation has been well-provided materialistically and has tended to be more fragile when facing life's challenges. Participant 3 wrote "Chinese men nowadays are less masculine and more feminine. They are afraid of their wife at home and afraid of their boss

at work." This was an interesting quote because a previous quote by another participant suggested that Chinese men were capable at work and at home taking care of chores. Now this participant was saying the exact opposite. It was a startling and contradicting view of modern Chinese masculinities. Participants 12 and 14 both wrote "Chinese men have more wen qualities." More specific was participant 80 in his description, "Chinese men are better at scholarly matter than warrior matter. They tend to be shallow and careless, especially those born after 1980s." The above statement seemed a bit contradicting. Wen was associated with intellectual scholars and perceived to be of depth. However, participants 12 and 14 said Chinese men have the intellectual quality, but still could be shallow. Being shallow seemed to be contradicting the deep intellectual qualities associated with wen.

Still, about 10% participants believed Chinese men were neither wen nor wu. These participants had a rather negative outlook of modern Chinese masculinities. Participant 2 wrote "Chinese men are friendly, peaceful and persistent. But they are also an entity filled with chaos. They face enormous pressure from work, life and feminism. Chinese men are struggling to find a way out of these turbulent forces." This statement was very much in line with what the general sentiment of the 10 male interviewees. Political, economical and cultural changes have impacted men a great deal. A Chinese man in his 40s who was starting his online business felt "this is a chaotic time in China because so many new ideas are pouring in from all over the world. People are lost and overwhelmed in these new ideas." It is easy to operate with one idea. But it is not easy to have competing ideas and not knowing which idea is the one to follow. Thus, it can be confusing for Chinese men to face competing ideas and not knowing how to make a decision. The doctoral student in his 30s shared the same feeling, "Western values are competing with traditional Chinese values on how to be a man. Some men accept only Western values. Some

men totally reject Western values. Some men are caught in between and feeling lost." This participant noticed Western masculinities were competing against the traditional Chinese masculinities and modern Chinese men have made different choices as to which to follow.

Still, participants had mixed feelings toward modern Chinese masculinities and the representation in wen and wu archetypes. Participant 10 wrote "wen is theoretical and wu is the execution of the theory. Chinese men nowadays are useless and weak." Similar to the computer analogy from another participant, wen in this case was linked to an idea and wu was the means to carry out the idea. Sadly, participant 10 did not see Chinese men having an idea and being able to carry it out.

Participant 14 wrote "Chinese men are able to articulate. But their physique is smaller and they tend to use pride to cover this natural deficiency. They are however more agile and quick minded." The ability to articulate belonged to wen and the ability to express physical strength belonged to wu. Participant 14 saw Chinese men as better in wen and not wu due to the lack of a bigger physique. But the statement hinted at the fact that Chinese men could focus more on mental power to make up for what they lack in physique. In contrast, participant 23wrote "Chinese men are neither good in wen nor wu." Chinese men in the eyes of participant 23 possessed no good qualities of being a scholar or a warrior. He did not elaborate on what modern Chinese men are, if not wen or wu.

The negative view on modern Chinese masculinities continued. Participant 28 observed "This society is a bit of chaotic. A bit materialist. A bit of restless and forcing men to not being men." Societal unrest, as suggested by participant 28, might have played a role in restricting a man's capacity to fully develop his masculinities. Participant 30 felt "no characteristic is the very characteristic of males in today's China." This was a funny but sad statement. Chinese men

could not be described because there was nothing unique about them to be noticed. Participant 44 was very specific, "Chinese men can't be a scholarly warrior and a warrior-like scholar." The statement was incongruent with the traditional Chinese concept of Yin and Yang, mentioned beforehand. It was ideal to have both qualities in one entity even though they are mutually opposite but still inclusive. However, participant 44 did not see Chinese men having the ability to harmonizing the two qualities within themselves. Participant 66 attributed the lack of wen and wu to the time factor, "No wen no wu. Lacking wen and wu. This is not a time for scholars and warriors." This statement seemed to be in line with participant 28's sentiment. The current time, for whatever reason, was too chaotic to allow these qualities to come through in Chinese men. Perhaps it was the influx of Western ideas that were clashing with the traditional Eastern philosophy of living, or the economic gain that had blinded most people to seek only monetary profit and neglect one's spirituality that made people feeling chaotic and lost. Participant 129 added another factor, "Chinese men are restricted and bounded by society." Finally, participant 99 lamented "Chinese men are synonymous with responsibility and purpose, but now they are feeling lost and confused." In both statements, participants were expressing a melancholic sentiment toward being Chinese men. Society for whatever reason was restricting men from realizing their potential, thus leaving them feeling lost and confused.

Definition of wen and wu. Interview participants had similar reactions as survey participants on the archetypes of wen and wu. The ones who provided answers on this topic agreed that wen was of scholarly matter and wu of physical strength. A doctoral student in his 30s said "wen is scholar and wu is warrior." Scholars were usually associated with mental ability while warriors were linked to physical prowess. A taxi driver in his 40s said simply "wen is wen and wu is wu, that is it!" People in China nowadays are at various educational levels. The survey

data reflected the careful thinking of a student at the college level. However, most taxi drivers did not sound well educated beyond the high school level. It was interesting for the researcher to hear such an answer from the taxi driver. He obviously did not think any elaboration was needed for such common concepts in China.

Examples of wen and wu. It was not surprising the number one answer given by the interviewees for an example of a wen archetype would be Confucius. He was known throughout China to be the greatest teacher. The next in line was Libai, who was a well-known poet in China. His death was especially poetic in that it was rumored that he drowned while trying to pick up the moon from the surface of a river. Of course it should be mentioned he was intoxicated while rowing a boat on that river. The top examples of a wu archetype were Zhang Fei and Guan Yu, two warriors who happened to be good friends fighting in many battles. The infamous battles they fought were against Caocao, the embodiment of both archetypes of wen and wu. Caocao was known to be a genius of both pen and sword. He led military forces to expand East Han Dynasty and aim to unite various settlements throughout China. Interestingly, these three wu figures were mentioned again when participants cited famous historical figures representing Chinese masculinities.

In summary, survey and interview participants equated wen with scholarly and mental matter while wu was associated with physical ability. There seemed to be a more positive connotation attached to wen whereas wu was perceived to be somewhat simpler and brainless, although wen was perceived to be feminine. Still, the ideal was to possess both qualities so that a person could be whole and complete. The archetypes were thought by some participants to be applicable to modern Chinese masculinities while out-of-date for others.

There are many communication phenomena in the answers to this research question regarding wen and wu. First, various competing ideas of masculinities are being communicated through different media to Chinese men and the effect on their self identity is chaotic. They become uncertain what the ideal way to be a man is. Second, to answer this question made the participants think about the definition of wen and wu as they were the icons of past masculinities and the application of these two archetypes on modern Chinese masculinities. To do so they would have to clearly communicate their understanding of the archetypes and to examine their own self identity as communicated to them from various sources throughout their life so far. In summary, this research question involves how the ideas of masculinities are communicated to Chinese men and then the effect of the communication on their understanding of past and modern Chinese masculinities.

RQ4: Modern Chinese Masculinities

A review of the participants' answers from the survey data and the interviews on the archetypes of wen and wu yielded a mixed feeling toward their application to modern Chinese masculinities. Thus the fourth research question was to search for modern Chinese masculinities when the archetypes did not quite capture the entire spectrum. Specifically, the second research question asked what the modern Chinese masculinities were. Survey participants were asked a series of questions pertaining to the look and feel of modern Chinese masculinities. Interviewees were also asked similar questions on modern masculinities.

The ideal masculinities. First participants were asked on the survey to describe the ideal modern Chinese masculinities. The ideal image of men was what men strive to become based on various information sources they received. The ideal image of men came from the media, literature and historical figures. The impact of these sources on how Chinese men perceive

themselves will be discussed later in this section. The ideal modern Chinese masculinities fell into two general categories, physical attributes and personal characteristics.

Based on the survey answers, participants generated many attributes. The list seemed typically to describe a good looking man. The top five attributes in an ideal man's appearance were being tall, being handsome, having a healthy body, sporting a sunny smile, and finally having a deep and magnetic voice. These top qualities seemed typical to have in a man who could be considered desirable in most societies. Being tall and handsome were desirable traits admired in many societies. In general people were more attracted to people sporting a smile. A deep and magnetic voice was usually associated with men and could be perceived by some people as sexy. Thus, it was not surprising to find these attributes top the list for Chinese men.

The ideal image of modern Chinese masculinities could be readily observed from media, especially from various television shows. Consistent with my observation I saw young Chinese men on television shows in Beijing possessing many, if not all, of the qualities of the ideal Chinese masculine look. They tend to be taller than the average Chinese men, who stood at around 170 centimeters according to Gao and Smyth (2009), the online informal encyclopedia. When I asked my students, most would agree that the male actors on television shows could be considered handsome. These actors did not sport a deep and magnetic voice due to the fact they were quite young and their voice tend to be high-pitched and boyish.

The list of descriptions for the ideal male's physical appearance from participants' survey was not so close to the observed reality. In addition to what I have seen on television, my daily observation of Chinese men in various places throughout Beijing painted a different picture. Although most Chinese men from the North were taller than Chinese men from other parts of China, most men I have encountered were not particularly tall and muscular. They generally did

not sport a beard and hairy body. Having a beard and hairy body are observable signs of manliness because women in general do not have such physical characteristics. A beard and a hairy body are signs people can use not only to distinguish immediately between men and women, but also between men and boys.

One noteworthy observation of Chinese men's physical characteristic was their hygiene. Consistently in classrooms throughout the year and everywhere in Beijing, Chinese men had the smell of not taking a shower for several days. One incident in the classroom and on the subway made this observation the more memorable. One day in the winter after lunch I walked into my class. The windows were tightly shut. As soon as I walked inside the classroom, the overwhelming smell of foul odor made me want to vomit right there and then. I had to immediately open all the windows to prevent myself from vomiting. I told my students that cold air would prevent me and them from falling asleep especially after a full lunch. But in reality I needed the fresh air to thin out the foul odor from the men who sported the smell of not taking a shower in days. I also observed consistently the oily hair on my male students, which was evidence for not washing one's hair in a while. A similar incident happened on the subway. I went inside the subway one day in the winter right after having lunch. The overwhelming smell made me ran out of the subway in an instant. Modern bathrooms were mostly available to people in the big cities and there was no lack of access to showers. But still, Chinese men did not seem to take a shower on a daily basis or they would not have such foul odor. The foul odor was especially strong inside an enclosed space. It seemed that covering one's natural and/or unpleasant body odor was not an important part of doing masculinities.

Contrary to what the survey participants had described, some of these television personalities were somewhat girly looking. A trend started in Chinese entertainment industry

was the emergence of "cream" boys (Yi, 2007). This description was to describe a man who has milky white complexion without blemishes. In other words, they looked more girly than manly. This has been a trend in young television personalities in China since 2000 and female audiences seemed to be attracted to this type of men. In this regard, it was hard to say if the ideal man should look manly or girly. People's taste seemed to be changing at various times depending on the current trend.

Of the 10 interviewees, none really mentioned physical attributes when describing modern Chinese masculinities. One attribute that was mentioned was to have a healthy body so that one could carry out the responsibility of a breadwinner. Character issues were more prominent in their answers. Their answers will be discussed further in the character issue section. I believed one reason for not mentioning physical attributes was due to the age factor. The interviewees were at least 15 years older than the survey participants on average and looking a certain way was not what these men were taught to do to be a man.

In contrast to the physical attributes, participants generated more qualities in the personal characteristic category on the survey. The top ten qualities in an ideal man were to be responsible, courageous, determined, confident, authoritative, decisive, able, generous, courteous and heroic. This list of descriptions reflected the positive attributes that a particular culture deemed to be valuable and desirable. Almost all survey participants have listed being responsible and courageous as the must have qualities of an ideal man. The rest of the qualities seemed to be the supporting elements for men to carry out their responsibilities.

Interestingly, this list for an ideal Chinese man shared some similarities to the masculinities observed by Horrocks (1994) and the new masculinity known as "robopath" in the western society. Being an ideal Chinese man might require a man to possess most if not all of

these positive attributes. Realistically, the physical aspect of the requirements seemed unattainable because a person is born with certain attributes or not and there could be a lot of pressure on men to be what they were not born with. The concern with character issues seemed to suggest that Chinese masculinities were achieved more through improving one's character rather than one's appearance.

The dominant themes from the interviews were to be a responsible breadwinner and be able to provide for one's family. One middle-aged taxi driver said "what else can a man be if not to be the sole breadwinner for his family." One Ph.D student in his 30s said "what I have been doing all my life is to prepare myself to build a family and provide for my family." One recent college graduate said "my goal as a man is to find a job and provide for my loved ones." Their ideas were consistent with the traditional Chinese view of men being the sole breadwinner and a good man was someone who could provide for his family.

I am confused about my real identity. Discrepancies could be found between the descriptions of the ideal and real. The description of the ideal male looked quite different than the description of the actual males living in China. The real image of men was what men were in reality. The real image of men could be easily observed on a daily basis in the city of Beijing. Survey and interview participants also provided descriptions of Chinese men of their generation, of their father's generation and of their grandfather's generation in real life. Most of the survey participants were male college students in their early 20s (also known as the post-80s generation). Interestingly, the only description of the physical attribute was having a healthy body. It seemed to suggest that doing masculinities in real life was more focused on character issues than looks. Other descriptors would fall under the character issues category.

They described Chinese men of their generation in both positive and negative terms. The top five positive qualities included being confident, daring, open, passionate, and idealistic. The younger men, yet to be tainted by real life's challenge and thus unable to perceive their limits in life, viewed themselves under a positive light. The qualities they used to describe themselves would probably be the ones used by young people elsewhere for self-description. The negative included being very lost, irresponsible, selfish, restless, and too dependent. Looking at the negative descriptors gave a realistic insight into the young men's chaotic inside. On one hand they saw themselves possessing qualities that could enable them to succeed in life, and yet they also knew underneath there was dark current that might have prevented them from succeeding.

Contradicting adjectives were also readily observed from the descriptions for men of their own generation. While some participants perceived men of their generation to be too feminine, others saw the post 80s generation as a manly group in general. Such dichotomy was also apparent in my field observation. I saw on a daily basis young Chinese men in their teens and 20s carrying their girlfriend's purse/bag while walking on the street. Such a scenario was not observed in men in their 30s and over. Carrying a woman's purse did make these young men look somewhat girly. In addition, Chinese men tend to look smaller in comparison to Westerners because of their smaller bone structure. The average body shape in general tended to be lean and petite. Thus a small body with a big purse could make any young Chinese men look not much different than young Chinese women carrying a purse, especially when both tended to be lean and petite.

On the other end of the continuum one could see many Chinese men of any age acting in stereotypical masculine ways. I observed on the streets, in restaurants, inside school campus and on public transportation, men speaking loudly and with a deep voice. Such behavior in China

was usually displayed by men. At any given sports fields one could also spot groups of men playing sports. Playing sports was considered for men of most societies to demonstrate masculinities through physical means.

Another contradiction was the issue of independence. Some participants perceived Chinese men to be independent and some participants perceived Chinese men to be too dependent on their parents. This dichotomy was the product of the one child policy in China. Since the Chinese government implemented the one child-policy in the late 1970s, every couple could only have one child. The fine for subsequent birth was severe and unaffordable for most families. Thus the post-80s generation usually consisted of an only child. Based on my observation these kids were well taken care of by their parents and seemed to be unable to become independent. One case in point was a male student in my class. His mother would bring him breakfast every morning and take his dirty laundry home to wash. In contrast, I had many male students who came from remote villages all over China and they demonstrate independence beyond my expectation, even being the only child. In this divide, environmental factor seemed to play a determining role in achieving independence for these young men.

Chinese men were perceived by participants to be shallow and simple thinking and scholarly simultaneously. This divide was likely the result of the Cultural Revolution. In the 1960s when the Cultural Revolution took place, books of the past were burned. The new vision was to move forward, and not look backward. Schooling was stopped for everyone. Instead of cultivating one's mind, the goal was to cultivate one's physical strength which stymied the mind so the government could easily control its people. Education did not restart until the 1980s. Thus, the post 80s generation was the first generation to receive higher education in contrast to their parents' and grandparents' generations.

This next description was a bit confusing to interpret. While some participants described modern Chinese men to be immature, although I am not sure in what aspect, some participants also saw themselves as more sexually mature. It was difficult to speculate what the original meaning of immature by participants who gave that answer on their survey. I would interpret it as being dependent on someone to take care of life's routine and details. In this scenario being dependent was a choice rather than the lack of skill. In other words, these young men were smart enough to carry on with daily chores. However, they chose to depend on their parents to take care of that for them. Therefore, it was not a lack of skill, but a conscientious choice to leave that for their parents to take care. In contrast, these young men all have access to the internet and could obtain information quickly and easily. Thus, it was likely they could have obtained information about sex from online sources which made them think they were more sexually mature than the previous generations of men. Again, this was a product of choice rather than inborn ability.

Another conflict dealt with life direction. Chinese men were both self-aware and at the same time seemed to be without a goal and aimless. Being more educated than the previous generations made the post-80s generation more aware of what was happening. However, so much was happening that it made them feel more lost than found. An interviewee still in college told me "before it was getting into Beijing University and finding a job. Now the world has opened up. We have the options of staying in China or studying and working abroad. It is so hard to decide what to do with one's future." This participant seemed torn between the options that were available to the younger generations. Having choices seemed to be harder for young Chinese men than to have only one goal. Another interviewee still attending college concurred. He said "before it was simple. Attend college and get a job. Marriage and family will follow.

Now the world is your playground. How do I choose?" Again, having more options posed more of a problem to these young men than not having many choices.

Modern Chinese men were also perceived as both strong and weak at the same time, although it is not certain if such qualities belong to the physical attributes or character issues. Simultaneously, Chinese men were described as very tired but also energetic. My interviews with several Chinese men also confirmed this final contradiction. A taxi driver in his 40s expressed to me that "being a Chinese man now is very tiring because men are still the sole breadwinner in the family. However, it is very difficult to maintain a family with just one income. I am feeling very, very tired." With the rising standards of living, having one income to support the family could make anyone feel tired.

The post-80s generation was also perceived to be daring to dream/idealistic but at the same time realistic. One very interesting contradiction, by the participants' exact words, was the "sense of justice and the lack of sense of justice." One particular incident at a fast food restaurant made me wonder if positive qualities of masculinities were lacking in Chinese men, as many Chinese men have expressed this concern to me. I was standing in line to order my food and several male college students were standing behind me. Right before I was served, a middle-aged man tried to cut in front of me. I stared at him while informing the server this man was trying to cut in line. I was served before the man who tried to cut in front of me. After my turn, the man tried to repeat the same trick. I turned around and said to the college student standing behind me "this man is trying to cut in front of you." He replied "that is ok." The middle-aged man was able to cut in line. Based on the participants' description, an ideal man should have a sense of justice and not be afraid to enforce it. To me his lack of action indicated a fear of making a scene was more prominent than enforcing justice.

Finally, some perceived the post-80s generation to be the fortunate one, yet they were also the lost generation. The post-80s generation was born under the one child policy. Being the only child, they would receive all of the parents' attention and caring. Thus this generation has enjoyed the fruits of previous generations' harvest. However, because the parents took such wonderful care of these only children, they often did not know what to do with their lives without their parents' instruction. Consequently, they performed well with instructions and not so well when instructions were not given or offered.

I am not like my father and grandfather. Survey participants generated a long list of adjectives to describe men of their generation. However, less was written to describe their father's generation. The top five descriptions participants wrote of their father's generation were responsible, hardworking, conservative, poor and frugal. Even less was written of the grandfather's generation. The top five adjectives used to illustrate their grandfathers were traditional, hardworking, poor, frugal and oppressed. From my interviews with several Chinese men over the age of 50, I learned of the hardship people had to endure two generations ago. These descriptions truly reflected two generations of hardship. The fathers and grandfathers of the post-80s generation lived through The Cultural Revolution when people had nothing to eat but still had to work hard for the country. A Chinese man in his 50s told me "they had to be frugal because they were extremely poor. They were hardworking because they had to."

Several interesting findings were discovered when comparing Chinese masculinities of different generations in the survey data. In general, participants wrote similar descriptions for their father's and grandfather's generations. Fathers and grandfathers shared thirteen qualities altogether. They were hardworking, cautious, ignorant, oppressed, conservative, traditional, moderate, frugal, simple, financially poor, loyal, chaotic, and influenced by Mao and lived a life

determined by politics. Many of the adjectives used to describe the father's and grandfather's generation seemed to be what the younger generations would describe of the older generations in many societies. Times in the old days were harsher and people were perceived to be different. This notion was especially true when the older generations did experience a horrific historical event, The Cultural Revolution in China. Quite often the older generations were perceived to be more conservative, hardworking, ignorant, and cautious when compared with the younger generations. It was also interesting to note that there was not one adjective that was used to describe all three generations of Chinese men. In other words, the younger generation of Chinese men saw themselves very differently than their fathers and grandfathers.

Post-80s as the ideal man. Comparison between the ideal masculine male across the descriptions of three generations of Chinese men yielded notable results. Descriptions used to describe the ideal masculine Chinese male did not appear on the description list for father's and grandfather's generations. This result suggested that the participants did not see their fathers and grandfathers as having the qualities of the ideal masculine Chinese male. Another way to interpret the result was the ideal male image has changed from generation to generation. Perhaps the younger generation did not see the previous ideal as suitable for them to follow.

However, participants listed twelve qualities for themselves that also appeared to describe the ideal masculine Chinese male. In other words, participants saw themselves as more closely resembling the ideal Chinese male than their fathers and grandfathers. These qualities included being confident, courageous, daring, open, having a healthy body, idealistic, charismatic, energetic, manly, having a sense of justice, responsible, and independent. Note that the qualities listed for the post-80s generation and the ideal male image were all positive in nature; no flaws could be founded in these descriptions of the two groups of men.

Too girly to be man. More than half of the survey participants observed an overt feminization of the Chinese male population in modern China, which caused many to question what was wrong with Chinese masculinities nowadays. The overt feminization did not manifest itself much in the physical aspect of masculinities, according to participants. It did, however, relate to character issues. Participant 3 wrote that "Chinese men nowadays are less masculine and more feminine. They are afraid of their wife at home and afraid of their boss at work." This participant attributed being afraid as a feminine quality and thus useless when a man possessed such quality. Participant 10 took the extreme route to say that "Chinese men now are useless and weak." The description seemed to suggest that Chinese men of older times were not as useless and weak, as described by many participants. Participant 21 wrote that "Chinese men are lacking a sense of justice that is necessary of being masculine." Clearly, this statement was in line with many participants' link between having a sense of justice and masculinities. Participant 27 noticed the feminization when comparing current Chinese men with the past generations. He expressed the thought that "Chinese men are lacking manliness than Chinese men of the past and are much less masculine." Many participants have expressed the sentiment that Chinese men now paled in comparison to the past generations. Being weak and useless seemed to be common characteristics of many Chinese men now. Perhaps the harsher environment of the past made men more enduring of the harsh life circumstance, but that might not be an essential quality Chinese men of previous generations possessed naturally.

A real life observation I had at a park on a December night provided a counter argument to the feminization of Chinese men. A couple was walking by while I was standing in front of a Starbucks café with a female friend around 8 pm waiting for another friend. The man was probably in his 40s and the woman in her 30s. As the couple walked by, it was apparent they

were having a verbal fight; the man suddenly slapped the woman in public without any facial expression right in front of me. This incident was a real life observation of Chinese man exerting his power over his woman through physical means. Indirectly he was also demonstrating to her and perhaps onlookers his maleness by putting his woman in her place. It was not difficult to observe people's facial expression in reaction to the behaviors although nothing was said directly of the behaviors. Both men and women nearby had surprised looks on their faces, just like I did along with my friend. Although no one said anything, the air felt tense at that moment as people clearly heard the loud slapping.

Another consistent observation throughout Beijing of Chinese men that might contradict the feminization of Chinese men was their high voice volume in public spheres. On the streets, inside a subway station, on a bus, inside a restaurant, and in many other public places one could hear Chinese men speaking at a volume that would be annoying to others around them. This usually happened when men were drinking. Many times as I frequented local restaurants, I ran into groups of men drinking and talking loudly to each other without regarding others' presence. Some people nearby looked annoyed as I did. But again no one made any remarks. The norm in China when faced with annoying situation, as I found out later, was to let it be. Such an attitude was very much in line with survey participants' description of Chinese men lacking a sense of justice. Speaking loudly was considered and regarded manly because men in general should be careless and exhibiting powerful physical qualities, such as speaking loudly to demonstrate an above average lung capacity. Reacting physically and speaking loudly in public places were perhaps two ways Chinese men displayed their masculine side, but these behaviors were perceived negatively.

Modern Chinese masculinities in trouble. The attack on modern Chinese masculinities kept on coming. An overwhelming number of participants commented negatively on the modern Chinese masculinities and were forthcoming about the threats to Chinese masculinities. Participant 129 believed that "Chinese men are restricted and bounded by society." Some factors in society seemed to put a limit on Chinese men nowadays to become fully realized. External attribution seemed to be a common practice among my participants. When facing hardship, they tend to blame external factors. Participant 99 stated "Chinese men are synonymous with responsibility, purpose, and being lost and confused." Although Chinese men knew their main responsibility and purpose was being the sole breadwinner in the Chinese society, participant 99 had the sense that Chinese men were feeling ambiguous regarding this role. Participant 80 observed that "Chinese men are better at scholarly matter than warrior matter. They tend to be shallow, careless, especially those born after 1980s." While most post-80s young men commented positively about their own generation, this participant perceived no depth in these young men and that they could only master the intellect without possessing any physical strength.

Critical assessments of Chinese men saw no end. Participant 76 added "Chinese men are driven neither by mental (wen) nor physical (wu), but only by benefit." This statement was a common sentiment shared by many who lived in China nowadays. People, both men and women, seemed to be driven by economically gains than anything else in life. The constant topic of conversation was about money and money-related issues. Participant 76 noticed such shared characteristic in Chinese men in particular. Participant 39 commented "Chinese men are all talk and no action." The above statement was a harsh criticism aiming at Chinese men for not doing much, excepting engaging in lip service solely. Participant 30 took on a sarcastic approach to Chinese masculinities. He wrote "No characteristic is the very characteristic of males in today's

society." This participant seemed to suggest that Chinese men now were so ordinary that no unique qualities stood out as representative of this population of men.

Interviewees were divided roughly half and half in their outlook of modern Chinese masculinities. It was interesting to note that the more well-educated ones had a more positive outlook of modern Chinese masculinities than the less-educated ones. One doctoral student in his 30s said, "Chinese men are at a unique time and place. They are restricted by the environment but at the same time enabled by the environment to achieve much more than the previous generations." What he meant was there were still limited chances for men to be what they want to be. Most people's income was still just enough to make the ends meet. However, educational and career advancements were much more available than for men before their time. Men nowadays have more choices than the men of older times. Another doctoral student also in his 30s concurred: "We are the lucky generation in which education development is reaching its peak and I am the lucky recipient of such development." Obviously this person had enjoyed the developing educational system in China and benefited intellectually from it.

The other half of the interviewees disagreed. A taxi driver in his 50s had a different view "times are hard and it is harder and harder to be the sole breadwinner. And what else is man if not a sole breadwinner?" This man had the traditional view of man being the sole breadwinner, and he seemed to have a hard time living to that traditional view because of certain limits at current time. A self-employed man in his 40s had this to say, "I struggle to be the man I want to be because the government sets so many limits in society and I can do what I want to be the kind of man I want to be. China is not the place for a man to be who he is" It sounded like this man was blaming the government for getting in the way of men coming to realizing their identity, especially his own. Various factors kept Chinese men from realizing their manhood.

Survey data, field observations, and interviews have yielded a confusing and contradicting mosaic of modern Chinese masculinities. Chinese men perceived masculinities through two routes, the ideal and the real. Both routes consisted of two categories: physical attributes and character issues. The ideal masculinities included mostly positive qualities a person should possess and were valued by the society. The real masculinities of three generations of Chinese men included both positive and negative traits and characteristics. The youngest generation (post-80s) described themselves as closest to the ideal masculinities while grouping their father and grandfather together as the undesired masculinities of the past.

A new emerging Chinese male identity. Despite the harsh criticisms toward modern Chinese men and masculinities, there were a few participants who looked on the brighter side of this issue. Many felt hopeful of a new Chinese masculinity emerging from the post 80s generation. Participant 2 had the following observation "Chinese men are friendly, peaceful and persistent. But they are also an entity filled with chaos. They face enormous pressure from work, life, and feminism. Chinese men are struggling to find a way out of these turbulent forces." While Chinese men possessed positive qualities within, they nevertheless faced external influences that made them feeling ambivalent about themselves. Participant 9 seemed to be from the same camp of thought, "Chinese men are open to new idea and creative. They can be tender but also not losing their masculine side." This participant seemed to say Chinese men could be soft as scholars would be but still retained the manliness in them.

Various sources of data presented here have come to the same conclusion on the look and feel of modern Chinese masculinities: they were diverse and varied. Chinese men looked realistically and ideally at what a man should be and arrived at different destinations. The ideal embodied all positive qualities cherished by the majority and the real included the not so

desirable traits Chinese men possessed. The younger generations of men saw themselves as closer to the ideal male image while finding many faults from the older generations of men and dismissing them as the role model for manhood. The post-80s generation also saw a confusing reflection of themselves. They perceived the men of their generations to have many contradicting qualities which suggested they were confused about their own identity. While some participants saw an over-feminization of modern Chinese men, others were very hopeful of the men and their future. All in all, there was no one look and feel of modern Chinese masculinities. The look and feel of modern Chinese masculinities were as scattered as the stars across the sky.

This research question looked at the effect of communication of masculinities from generation to generation and found a diminished effect. What grandfathers and fathers knew to be the ideal masculinities is not shared by the younger generations. Being frugal and the sole breadwinner are not how the younger generations see as the way of being a man. New ideas of the ideal masculinities are being communicated among the peers and that image reflects more closely what is portrayed in the modern media. Creamy boys are more popular than a hardworking breadwinner. Being open-minded takes precedent than being conservative. The images of the ideal masculinities looked very different from generation to generation.

RQ3: Media and Chinese men

The media were partly responsible for creating an ideal male image for public consumption. Participants reported on the survey and during interviews the use of these media for their sources of information: internet, newspapers, magazines, television, bulletin boards, broadcasts and cell phones. Again the male images observed in the media can be described by physical attributes and character issues. However, the extremely good and bad images were reported by participants. On the positive physical attributes, Chinese men in the media were

handsome, tall, strong, sporty, and dressed to bring out the self. These positive qualities were often found in men who possessed the aesthetic appeal. A tall, handsome man who can dress to kill is an image that often grazed the pages of magazines, movies and television screens.

The positive character issues included responsible, loving, caring, knowledgeable, classy, rich, influential, mature, masculine, courageous, like a father figure, persistent, gentleman-like, disgusted with injustice, self-confident, able to handle pressure, decisive, charismatic, devoted, career oriented, self aware and not pretentious. Repeatedly Chinese masculinities have been linked with responsibilities. The way to do Chinese masculinities, ideal or real, was to have the ability to handle responsibilities. To be able to handle responsibilities, one should have the following qualities: mature, self-confident, persistent, able to handle pressure, decisive, knowledgeable, devoted and courageous. Being loving and caring seemed to go hand-in-hand with being like a father figure, at least in common perception. A gentleman certainly should be charismatic and classy. Preferably, a gentleman who is self-aware would be non-pretentious and disgusted with injustice. Finally a man who is career-oriented might someday become rich and influential. All these qualities contributed to the perfect male image that could only be attained in the media world where things are made up. In the real world, no one person is able to possess all these positive qualities.

On the negative physical attributes, Chinese men in the media were known to drink and smoke excessively, and being feminine looking and chubby. Traditionally in Chinese society, only men could smoke and drink. Women who drink and smoke were perceived to be bad women. These two activities were the hallmark behaviors that distinguished men from women in the past. However, it was interesting to observe that they were frowned upon nowadays as not the ideal way to enact manhood. Of course, no real men would want to look like women.

Nowadays with the conglomeration of media worldwide, Chinese culture seemed to adopt the idea that being overweight is not an appealing physical attribute. Similar to the Western media, one could readily see celebrities who are bone-skinny appearing in front of the camera in the Chinese media. Only on rare occasions one could spot a body figure that does not look underweight and that figure is usually of a comical or supportive nature.

Character flaws included being psychotic, gossipy, feminine, childish, pretentious, perfect but fake, and nerdy. It was interesting to find the idea that stereotypical feminine qualities were qualities men should not have because they have a negative connotation in men. Looking at the first four adjectives, they could often be associated with being female. Women were perceived by some to be psychotic, especially during their menstrual cycle when the hormone level was unstable. In common perceptions women were perceived to be the carriers of gossips. Obviously most people would assume being feminine as a quality possessed by females, rather than males. The stereotype of women being more emotional put women closer to being a child because children are the ones who can't adequately mask their emotion when the occasion calls for self-control.

The various male images the participants saw in the media had impacted their perceptions on modern Chinese masculinities. These reactions fell into three general categories. The first reaction was that male images had no impact whatsoever on teaching men about being a man. Participant 23 offered his opinion "I will follow my way. Typical model is only for the society." This was a common reaction from the survey and interview participants. They differentiated between reality and what was seen on television and knew well the media's norms did not work in real life.

While some participants felt indifferent toward the male images portrayed in media, some saw positive effects. Participant 2 wrote "it encourages me to reach that ideal way of being a man." Some people did use media figures as role models for themselves, trying to copy the role model's behaviors. Participant 7 concurred "it has a positive influence in that it serves as the role model for being a masculine man." Often people would imitate role models' behaviors and for some these role models could teach men a thing or two about being masculine. Finally participant 15 added "it made me think deeply about the current societal values. Jet Li taught me to conquer our problems with courage and not with fear. He also taught me to face life with positive energy and never give up." Media role models could be influential if the viewers identified with the role models. This participant seemed to be enamored with actor Jet Li and wanted to follow in his footsteps. Li's onscreen persona was that of a hero who fought injustice with wit and martial arts. Perhaps participant 15saw much injustice in his society and wanted to fight it the way Li did in movies.

The last group of participants did not share the same positive view. Participant 1 had the following insight, "the male images I see in media have a huge influence on my judgment of my life. They made me less confident and will lead to lower self evaluation and confidence." Figures in media were often packaged to be flawless, in both personality and looks. When ordinary people viewed these flawless figures, they felt unable to measure up to such high standards and it impacted their self esteem in negative ways. Participant 3 wrote "it leads me to stay away from the ideal way of masculinity and confuses other men of the ideal way to be masculine." When people could not differentiate between the real and ideal standards, confusion might occur and cause people to not know which standards would be attainable. Participant 5 believed that "it would cause envy in other men and thus forcing them to work toward that ideal." Viewers who

could not achieve such high standards would feel jealousy and might even work harder toward that high bar, quite often unrealistic.

Participants provided many examples of masculinities from literature, history and media. These examples were well-known figures learned from textbooks of history and literature. They also shared their perception of the impact these figures had on their perception of doing manhood. Some saw very little to no effect of these figures on modern Chinese masculinities. Others viewed these figures as role models and a few felt these role models decreased their self-confidence by being unobtainable.

This research question looked at the communication source, the media, and its impact on communicating a certain image of men to the audience. The audience has three varied response to the communicated image in the media: positive, negative and no effect/neutral.

RQ2: History/ Literature Figures and Chinese Masculinities

Who taught me to be a man. This study was also interested in finding out factors that influenced men on their perception of modern Chinese masculinities. In other words, the study wanted to explore the sources of information from which a man learns to be a man and the weight of influence of those sources. The second research question asked what literary and historical figures have impacted men's perception of Chinese masculinities. It was very interesting how the choices came down to a few individuals who were well known throughout Chinese history.

Men in literature and history. Part of the ideal male image came from the Chinese literary world and history of the past and present. These figures from literatures and history were only mentioned for their character issues and no mention of their physical attributes surfaced. Well-known war heroes such as Zhang Fei, Guan Yu, Yue Fei, Cao Cao, Gou Jiang, Emperor Qing, Li

Shi Ming, and Xiang Yu were noted for being courageous, persistent in fighting the enemy, responsible to a large degree for reviving their country, fearless, ruthless, and revolutionary.

Although the great teacher Confucius was mentioned by a few participants, his middle way approach did not seem popular among the participants. The diminished effect of Confucianism on the current Chinese culture and society has been observed. Many young participants could not state clearly what the Confucian teaching was. Although Confucius Temples were erected throughout various parts of China, his effect might very well be an influence of the past and did not permeate into the present.

At the extreme end of the spectrum was the unfavorable male image. Literary figures like Xu Xian, Jiao Bao Yu and Pang An were noted for their overtly feminine demeanor and woman-like appearance by the survey participants in their responses. These figures received condescending remarks from participants for their feminine qualities. The three young male characters in famous Chinese literary works were known for their literary talent in writing and composing poems. However, their literary strength prevented them from developing their physical strength. When faced with problems, their only strategy was to hide from troubles. For example, Xu Xian, as the protagonist in the famous legend of The White Snake, married the white snake who transformed herself from a snake to a human being. A monk knew of this incident and wanted to kill the snake because he thought she was evil. As the monk came to Xu Xian's home and began fighting with the snake, Xu Xian did not protect his wife. Instead, he went hiding. He was condemned for acting like a coward without courage.

Other sources of masculinities. Survey participants also provided other sources from which they have learned the way of being masculine. The most frequent answer was a father or a father figure. That would be naturally true because for most men their primary role model would

be their father or a father figure who showed them how a man is suppose to behave. The next answers in line were their peers, followed by teachers/counselors. As young adults they did spend most of their time in school. In school they were closest to their friends who were usually among their peers. They tend to learn from and copy their peers' behaviors in order to fit in. From the teachers and counselors in school, they received more formal education on proper etiquettes and manners a desirable person should have exhibited. Finally, the media were one huge source of information for the post-80s generation to learn anything and everything. The relationship between media and Chinese masculinities will be explored in the next section.

Literary and historical figures served somewhat as role models for modern Chinese men to learn the behaviors of an honorable man. These figures were war heroes who persisted until the very end to gain victory. They were known for their courageous and extraordinary effort to accomplish their intended goals. Still, some figures from literature served as the antithesis of the desired masculinities. The negative role models lacked valor and behaved in a cowardly manner. Participants also provided other sources from which they learned to do manhood. These sources included a father, a father figure, peers, teachers and the media.

This research question looked at the effect of other communication sources on modern Chinese masculinities. It found that history and literature have little effect on the understanding of masculinities while fathers and father figures have a stronger effect on communicating ideas of masculinities.

RQ1: Confucius and Modern Chinese Masculinities

Defining the middle way. Media, literature and history certainly contributed their part in creating modern Chinese masculinities. This research was also interested in determining if Confucian teaching still had its influence on this very important issue for Chinese men. The last

research question centered on Confucian teachings and their impact on Chinese masculinities. The reactions were varied from participants. Most participants simply perceived Confucian's middle way approach as a lifestyle that avoided the extremes, without understanding the complexity of the Confucian teaching. According to participant 3, the middle way was "not overly expressive and not overly silent." One should know when to speak and be silent when required. Participant 7 offered his definition "middle way is not too hard and not too soft. It is being well rounded and smooth all over." The middle way, in other words, was to round off the rough edges and be flexible. Participant 8 had the following sentiment "not good not bad. Not high not low. Not better not worse. Always take the middle road." As the name suggested, middle way was exactly being in the middle. Participant 4 best summed up the middle approach, "it is an approach to anything that is not too extreme." Middle way approach was understood by many as simply avoiding the extremes and taking the midsection of the extremes.

Chinese society was one that has been deeply rooted in the Confucian teaching. Thus it was not surprising to find some participants believing that Confucian teaching had positive effects on modern Chinese masculinities, although very few in numbers. Participant 19 wrote "it is a way of unifying opposing forces. Reasonable application of the middle way will help men to develop their masculinity." In line with the concept of yin and yang, middle way was the ideal to include opposing forces and cultivate them in ways to enhance a man's manhood. Just like yin and yang, wen and wu are opposing forces. As mentioned before, Chinese did not view opposing forces to be mutually exclusive. People could possess opposing forces within because they are viewed as mutually inclusive. Wen could help men to cultivate intellectual matters while wu could keep men physically fit and agile. If used properly, these forces could complement rather than oppose and diminish each other's strength.

Participant 32 went even further to say "it is the defining philosophy of traditional Chinese masculinity." Confucius' middle way was the hallmark of Chinese philosophy/teaching even until today. The researcher has traveled to many parts of China and she found a Confucian temple in most places she has traveled throughout China. This was evidence that Confucian influence was still felt in China. The middle way's approach certainly had its charm for men nowadays to consider its utility in doing manhood.

Participant 31 had nothing but praise for the Confucian teaching "it is to teach people how to conduct themselves, focusing on the whole and balance. The most courageous guy is useless without utilizing the middle way. A real man is someone who understands the middle way." To be a real man was to truly understand Confucius' middle way. Middle way to participant 31 was to reach equilibrium. He believed a man with only courage would be of no real utility until he learned to use his courage properly and that would involve brain matter. Participant 5 concurred "if a masculine man can practice the middle way, he will be a perfect person." Middle way was perceived to make a man more masculine. More masculine in this case meant a balanced approach to physical and intellectual strength.

Finally, an interesting observation by participant 39 described Confucian teaching as a "different kind of masculinity. It is to use stillness to combat restlessness." One could be masculine in many ways. Practicing the middle way offered a unique kind of masculinity, one that helped men find peace in this restless world. Being masculine in this scenario was to remain sturdy and stable, not swayed by the temptations of the sensory world.

Confucius confused me. While roughly 60% of the participants showed favorable reactions to Confucian influence on modern Chinese masculinities, 40% of the participants condemned and reacted negatively to its influence on Chinese men. Participant 13 was adamant

about the negative effect of the Confucian teaching, “it is the worst kind of thinking and a roadblock to progress.” The hallmark of the Confucian teaching centered on the middle way approach. The middle way approach asked people to behave in a moderate and balanced manner. Perhaps participant 13 believed that at times to see progress one has to behave differently. Thus moderation may hinder one’s ability to progress. Participant 15 had harsher words for Confucian teaching, “the middle way polishes people’s rough edges and makes them unable to speak their mind when time calls for. The result is a materialistic and pretentious society that will not see much progress. It definitely hinders the development of masculine qualities.” To be moderate was interpreted by participant 15 to not have rough edges. People being moderate would be unable to speak their mind, especially when they had extreme opinions to express. However, not speaking truthfully might result in a society full of pretentious people because their expression was incongruent to their true feelings.

More attacks on the Confucian teaching and its effects on modern Chinese masculinities were offered. Participant 23 described the Confucian teaching as “ the synonym of having no opinion.” This male has equated being moderate as the same as having no opinion. Participant 26 thought the Confucian teaching “is an excuse people find for not insisting on their belief. It diminishes a person’s masculinity.” Taking the middle way approach, perceived by participant 26, served as an escape for people who were not brave enough to stand up for their belief. To be in the middle is to be with the majority and following the majority often is a safe route.

Participant 30 wrote “it is self pity for those whose ambition and ability do not match.” Perhaps men with ambition did try their own route to success and realized further down the road their ability could not support their ambition. Thus, afraid of failure men began to confirm to the middle way which allowed people to stay inside a comfort zone where being in the middle was

not an individual endeavor, but a collective effort and responsibility. Those who found safety in numbers would chose the middle approach for its comfort. Participant 44 had this blunt view, "it is trash. It is like the effect of a woman taking birth control pills on pregnancy." The above statement was quite perplexing for me to interpret. After much thought, the statement was interpreted in the following way. Pregnancy was seen as the beginning of a sprouting life. To use birth control pills were a means to stop life from progressing. In other words, the Confucian teaching was seen as having the similar effect of birth control pills on pregnancy in that they both stop life from growing. Participant 80 had this to say, "it is well rounded, pretentious and describes people who always use the backdoor approach. I don't think the middle way is a good thing. Men should have their own personality. Being too well rounded may not yield to a good result." This participant equated taking the middle way as being too well rounded and consequently leading to taking the backdoor approach. People with rough edges might have the courage to take the route less traveled and avoiding the safe middle ground. In contrast, people who took the safe middle ground might be well-rounded to avoid the bumps in life's road and taking the backdoor approach could certainly be helpful in eliminating some of those bumps.

More neutral reactions came from the interviewees on Confucian teaching. The ones who offered answers on this issue did not detect much influence of Confucian teaching on Chinese masculinities or society. The self-employed man in his 40s said "Confucius is old school. No one is paying attention to that stuff anymore. Now for men it is most important to earn money to sustain a living in this society." Confucius seemed to him to belong to a time way in the past. At this point in time making money was a top priority for men to exercise their masculinities. A taxi driver was candid "I did not study his teaching at all and had no idea. To me he has no influence on me. I see my dad and I know that is how a man should behave." A father in this case seemed

to have a more impact on a son's perception of masculinities than the great thinker Confucius. Finally, a doctoral student shared his sentiment, "Confucius is known as one of the greatest thinkers in China. However, his teaching is no longer fitting for the current society. He will be remembered, but his ideas will not be practiced." While Confucius could be a memorable figure, his ideas might not be suitable for men to survive in the current society.

Participants offered more ways in which the middle way may have negatively impacted Chinese masculinities. Participant 2 thought "most men who practice the middle way may be perceived as less masculine." Being moderate perhaps lessened the roughness and toughness that would be considered manly in men. Participant 4 said, "to be masculine is to be decisive. Taking the middle way may weaken a person's decisiveness." To make a decision at times required determination. Determination often required extreme strength, which contradicted the moderate approach to life. Participants 3 was very generic about his comment, "the middle way hinders progress and limits a man's masculinity." Perhaps this participant perceived being moderate prevented Chinese men to not advance because to advance might require men to take some extreme measures. Participant 37 had the last word, "the middle way causes men to not have aspirations because it taught men to let it be." When one chose to be moderate or be in the middle, one lost the drive to move forward.

Participants defined the famous Confucian idea of the middle way and offered their thoughts on Confucianism and its impact on modern Chinese masculinities. Some viewed the middle way as having positive effects on modern Chinese masculinities, teaching men how to be moderate and modest. Others criticized the middle way approach as being too pretentious and denying men of their true nature and personalities.

Often the effectiveness of a teacher's teaching is assessed by how effective the teacher's messages are received by the students. The last research question looked at the effectiveness of Confucian teaching on modern Chinese masculinities. It was obvious Confucian's idea on the ideal masculinities did not stand the test of time. Younger generations of Chinese men are least impacted by his idea in comparison to other sources of information, such as a father or a father figure.

In this section I presented findings from the data in five major sections answering each of the five research questions. The first section included survey and interview participants' definitions of wen and wu and figures they thought to represent the two archetypes. The applicability of these two archetypes onto modern Chinese masculinities was discussed in details. The next section presented data on Chinese men's perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities, from real life and in an idealistic manner. The next two sections examined the impact of historical, literary and media figures on Chinese men's perceptions of enacting masculinities. Finally, the infamous Chinese teacher Confucius and the influence his teachings on modern Chinese masculinities were scrutinized. The next chapter presents a discussion of these findings and their implications for communication scholars.

Conclusion

The Study

The main purpose of this explorative study on modern Chinese masculinities was to accurately capture the male identities of modern Chinese men in the capital city of Beijing. The Chinese concept of wen (scholar) and wu (warrior) served as the theoretical guidance for research direction. Louie (2002) theorized that these two traditional Chinese archetypes could describe modern Chinese male identities. His data came from historical, literary and media figures. He provides no evidence that 21st century Chinese men actually fit into the two archetypes. The first step then was to determine if the masculinities of real Chinese men could be fit neatly under the two archetypes. If not, then the quest for modern Chinese masculinities might take a different direction than expected. The new direction would be to (re)discover modern Chinese masculinities based on the data gathered, which might serve as a basis for future theorizing of modern Chinese masculinities. The new task was to bring into focus the look of modern Chinese masculinities based on interviews, written surveys, and field observations.

This study also looked at various sources that impact the way Chinese men enact their masculinities. Literature reviews suggested that historical figures, literary and media figures, along with Confucianism might impact Chinese masculinities in various ways. Past research used mainly these four sources to create the looks of modern Chinese men. Thus this study explored in depth of the impact of these four sources on Chinese men and their enactment of Chinese masculinities.

Written surveys, interviews, and observations offered data for this study. A written survey consisted of open-ended questions on wen/wu archetypes, the look of modern Chinese masculinities, the impact of historical, literary, and media figures, and the impact of Confucius.

These surveys were administered to 149 participants in Beijing. Ten interviews of various lengths were conducted, although most were not recorded due to participants' apprehension. Interview participants were asked similar questions to that on the written surveys about modern Chinese masculinities. Daily observations of Chinese men enacting Chinese masculinities were made and recorded whenever noteworthy incidents occurred. Three sources of data were analyzed and provided the jigsaw pieces to the puzzle of modern Chinese masculinities. Data generated some consistencies in certain areas while showing contradictions in others. Possible explanations were offered when contradictions happened. Three sources of data provided some insights to the five main research questions asked in this study. The results were surprising and expected at the same time.

Summary of Results

Survey data, interviews, and field observations on modern Chinese masculinities yielded interesting and new findings in the following areas: wen and wu archetypes, the look and feel of modern Chinese masculinities, the impact of historical, literary, and media figures on modern Chinese masculinities, and an understanding of the perceptions of Confucian teaching of the middle way and its effect on Chinese men. While the data are not complete and extensive to provide a precise image of modern Chinese men, they do offer an initial expedition into the murky pathway to a relatively underexplored area of knowledge.

Participants first defined the concept of wen and wu and then offered their thoughts on the applicability of these two archetypes on modern Chinese masculinities. Consistently wen was defined as having the ability to master the intellectual realm, such as reading and gaming. In contrast, wu was perceived by most as possessing simple physical strength. Consequently, a more positive tone was attributed to being wen whereas wu was frowned up by about 10% of the

participants due to its perceived mindless nature. Still, others saw wen and wu not as opposing forces but coexist interdependently. Together they complemented each other and provided different strengths.

Less than half of the participants saw the wen and wu archetypes fitting for their perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities. Participants thought modern Chinese men were neither scholars nor warriors. Those who did not see the archetypes fitting current understandings tended to cast a shadow on modern Chinese masculinities. They saw a feminizing trend of modern Chinese masculinities, which to that 20% of participants meant Chinese men belonged to wen rather than wu. Although wen qualities were associated with brainy matters and positively perceived by most, it was nevertheless also frowned upon because of its hinted association with being feminine, which diminished the masculine side of men. Those participants who saw the archetypes as fitting for modern Chinese men tended to look at modern Chinese masculinities with optimism. They believed Chinese men were able to enact both wen and wu archetypes, possessing both scholarly and physical strength. Still a few participants did not see Chinese men neatly fitting into any categories. In other words, the uniqueness of Chinese men was indescribable.

Although less than half of the participants felt that wen and wu captured their perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities, a comparison and contrast between the ideal and real images of Chinese men of different generations provided a different vista point. The ideal image of men looked a lot like the ideal image observed in the media. Being tall, handsome, and healthy were always considered positive and ideal traits in men. The ideal man should be responsible was the most frequent answer given by Chinese men of doing manhood. It would not hurt if this ideal man could also be courageous, confident, authoritative, and able.

Chinese men in reality indeed do possess certain qualities of the ideal man, and the post-80s generations saw themselves as more closely resembling the ideal man than their fathers and grandfathers. The post-80s youngsters perceived themselves as possessing many of the positive qualities of the ideal man. Yet at the same time they also felt confused about their own identity, resulting in quite a few contradicting descriptions for themselves. They saw their fathers in the same light as their grandfathers. Both generations of older men were responsible, conservative and frugal. Those qualities were nowhere close to the younger generations' ideal male image.

Various sources of information have served as means through which Chinese men learned to enact manhood. Famous historical and literary figures offered insights to what were the desirable and undesirable masculinities. Men, such as war heroes, displayed a certain aura of masculinities that was preferred over the feminized men of literary works who could not even make a minor decision in life.

Although historical and literary figures provided a general guideline of what to be and what not to be, their impact was minimal. Other sources served a stronger role in teaching Chinese men of how to do manhood. A father or a father figure was the main influence in a man's life as the way to develop one's masculinities. The next two major influences in a man's life in developing masculinities were peers and educators. The post-80s generation is the first generation to have the opportunity to attend college after The Cultural Revolution. Having spent so much time in the school setting with one's peers and educators, it is easy to see their consistent influence on modern Chinese men. Simply put, they showed Chinese men the way to be a man.

Media have always had a certain impact on people's perceptions. In this case it was no different for Chinese men. Many types of masculinities could be readily and easily observed in

the Chinese media and they impacted Chinese men in different ways. Masculinities of extreme positive and negative kinds were noticed by participants. On one end of the spectrum, participants observed the well-packaged ideal masculinities in various forms of media. The ideal man is tall, handsome, and dresses to impress. In addition, his primary trait is to be responsible and carry on with the duties of a man. It would not hurt if he can exert his authority and still be a gentleman. In contrast, the extreme negative images involved men being gossipy, feminine, and pretentious. Being overweight and a smoker added to the demise of manhood. Most participants did not feel the media images of males had any impact on their performance of masculinities. Only a few saw the positive effects of media figures acting as role models for modern Chinese men. Another handful felt the media images actually hurt their confidence because they thought it would be impossible to measure up to the ideal image they saw in the media.

Chinese society was deeply rooted in Confucian thinking. Thus it is natural to speculate that Confucian teachings would somewhat impact perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities. That did not seem to be the case now. A handful of participants believed the Confucian teaching of the middle way approach would educate men how to be complete. To them the middle way enabled men to be well-rounded and moderate and avoid extreme measures that tended to yield to undesirable outcomes. In contrast to this view, most participants believed the Confucian teaching to be outdated and unable to serve as guidelines for enacting masculinities. Many saw that being moderate meant one has to hide one's true feelings and thoughts and thus becoming more pretentious and fake. In the present day China having a distinct self image to the post-80s generation was more cherished than to be modest and moderate.

Discussion

A Chinese proverb said "out of one kind of rice sprouts many different people." This is certainly true applying to the results of this study. Chinese men living and working in Beijing are eating and drinking a similar type of food and liquid. They are also bonded by the same cultural and societal norms. However, they have dissimilar and varied views of modern Chinese masculinities. Transgenerational differences seemed most apparent. Older generations of Chinese men were perceived very differently than the younger generations. Most participants saw the older generations of Chinese men as being able to handle hardship better than the younger generations. Being thrifty and conservative were also hallmarks of masculinities in the older generations. Most importantly, the older generations' way of enacting manhood was perceived as outdated by the younger generations. Younger generations of Chinese men perceived themselves as closer to the ideal masculinities of possessing good looks and being more educated. The media played a role in transmitting this ideal image of masculinities. The trans-generational differences in perceived masculinities suggested that masculinities have morphed throughout time and the concept of masculinities is not a stable, but a constantly contested one, depending on time and context. The masculinities that were practiced by grandfathers and fathers were no longer the ideal for the younger generations.

At this particular point in time, modern Chinese masculinities are chaotic and contradictory. Men of different ages see masculinities as completely different entities, each trying and doing his own in a world of competing ideas of how to be a real man. Grandfathers and fathers came from a harsh time period during which alternative ideas of masculinities were not abundant. Thus it is easier for the older generations of Chinese men to follow a certain way of being man. However, new ideas from all over the world have flooded into China more recently due to advanced communication technology. Younger generations of Chinese men are

faced with so many choices on how to be a real man. It is easy to do something when there is only one way. When presented with multiple choices and options, decisions can be complicated by overthinking. Decisions are especially difficult when contradictory ideas are contradictory. When the Chinese media present an image of creamy boys and the West shows the hard body of Arnold Schwarznegger, which to follow becomes confusing.

Another related implication is that masculinities are very much a social product rather than an individual one. A man does not learn how to be a man alone in a vacuum. Rather, he soaks up the environmental influences at any given time and acculturates himself to the prescribed norms. The participants have listed various sources from which they learned how to behave like a man. These sources included a father (figure), peers, educators, and various media sources. No one has listed himself as the source to learn about masculinities. These answers indicated masculinities are a result of social learning, rather than an inborn skill without acquisition. Masculinities thus carry on a social and collective nature.

The study also offered insights to modern Chinese men's conflicting view of self identity. The post-80s generation expressed conflicting self images. Their perceptions of their contradictory self image might lead to confusion over one's masculinities. For example, the "creamy" boys in the media might give the post-80s young men the idea that to be a desirable man is to sport a feminizing look with flawless skin. However, some participants expressed discontent with the wen ideal because it is feminizing. "Creamy" boys seemed to exhibit the wen archetype rather than wu. Some men might subscribe to the wu masculinities, but under the constant exposure of the media, one might become confused as to what is the way to do manhood. The older generations of Chinese men seemed less swayed by the media images of

the ideal man. They seemed to maintain a more consistent view of themselves as the responsible breadwinner. Such consistency was shown in the older participants' responses.

Based on this data set practical knowledge can be extracted in the areas of intercultural and interpersonal communication. Global communication is ever increasing based on the interdependence of nations economically, politically and academically. One of twelve people in world population is a Chinese man (International Data Base, 2010). To have a better understanding of Chinese men's self identity would enable a better grasp of their communicating style and thus enhance the communication outcome. For example, if I had the understanding of modern Chinese masculinities as I did when I was teaching in Beijing, I would have experienced a better communication outcome with my male students. At the time, I perceived most of my male students as lacking manliness because they are soft-spoken and unable to give a decisive answer in and out of the classrooms. But if I were to know that they are feeling rather chaotic about their masculinities, I would have been more sensitive to them. Likewise with interpersonal communication, knowing more about Chinese men's view of self would greatly equip those around Chinese men to have adequate information in order to interact with them. As an old Chinese proverb says, "know thyself and know the other, you can win every battle." In the communication process, having information about the other would help the communicators to adapt each interaction based on the knowledge beforehand.

The applicability of wen and wu onto modern Chinese masculinities remained an unresolved matter. Louie (2002) employed the traditional Chinese concept of wen and wu to theorize concerning modern Chinese masculinities. His data were grounded on the media images, historical and literary figures. Perhaps those images might have fallen neatly into the categories of wen and wu. However, data in this study did not suggest each of the archetypes of wen and

wu could adequately describe modern Chinese men. While Chinese men may very well possess qualities and traits associated with these two archetypes, they are not enough to capture the entire spectrum of descriptors that can be used to theorize modern Chinese masculinities.

One reason to account for the inadequacy of wen and wu archetypes lies in the conceptualization. Louie (2002) and some participants saw these two concepts as opposing and mutually exclusive. This means that they perceived that a man can either be a warrior or a scholar, but a man cannot be both simultaneously. Such a conceptualization of wen and wu is dichotomous and restricting. Presumably, under the Western influence of dichotomous thinking, Louie saw the archetypes as opposing forces that were mutually exclusive as many did from the surveys and interviews. It excludes the possibility that a man can be both a warrior and a scholar simultaneously.

However, I realized after going through the data analysis and writing the results section of this dissertation that there was the possibility that the wen and wu archetypes might not be so outdated to describe modern Chinese masculinities as some participants have suggested. On the other hands, quite a few participants saw wen and wu as opposing but not mutually exclusive. This means a man can have both qualities and the expression of them will depend on the context. The coexistence of opposing but interdependent forces resonates with dialectical tensions. Dialectical tensions refer to two opposing forces in a constant state of fluctuation, with one force being more present at any given moment (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). There is no desirable state of being and no definitive end as to which force will eventually dominate the other. This concept seems to describe how some participants perceive the two archetypes of wen and wu and how they work within a person. Wen and wu are by nature different and opposing. Yet they can

coexist at the same time without a preferred and definitive outcome to their existence within an entity.

Perhaps this insight from my data calls for a need to reconceptualize wen and wu and their application toward modern Chinese masculinities. The traditional Chinese symbol of yin and yang reminded us that forces that are opposing can still coexist interdependently. Perhaps the new concept of wen and wu looks rather similar to that of the well-known yin and yang diagram, a circle made of half white and half black. Within each half, a small circle of the other color exists within. This new look means a person may have a dominant trait of either wen or wu, but can still possess recessive trait of the other archetype. For example, a man with a dominant warrior archetype may be decisive and aggressive, but can also at the same time be sensitive to others, which is a wen quality. Thus, a man does not have to belong to either the wen or wu archetype. He can possibly belong to both archetypes with one more apparent than the other. Thus wen and wu perhaps still can be applicable to modern Chinese masculinities, and Chinese men do not simple have either wen or wu. But within each Chinese man a combination and ratio of wen and wu is present. Each combination and ration simply differs from man to man. This new look of wen and wu resembles dialectical tensions as discussed in the previous paragraph.

Although Chinese men could not come to a consensus on wen and wu, they did converge on certain qualities a man must possess. Such finding may pave the road to future theorizing of modern Chinese masculinities if somehow wen and wu still fail to capture the complete essence of modern Chinese masculinities. These qualities transcend generations, occupations, and life experiences. Being responsible no doubt had its cultural dominance in doing manhood in the Chinese society, despite the fact that some of the post-80s young men perceived their peers as somewhat irresponsible. The precise definition of being responsible shared by generations was to

provide for one's family. After all, the key role for a man in the Chinese society seemed to be that of a sole breadwinner. Many interviewees and survey participants have expressed this view. To them being the breadwinner is the sole purpose of being a man.

Various sources of information provided the blueprint of masculinities for modern Chinese men. While Louie (2002) based his theory of modern Chinese masculinities on historical, literary, and media figures, these three sources did not have the expected effect on Chinese men's perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities. Among the three, though, media figures may have exerted more influence than the other two sources of information on modern Chinese masculinities. The heavier weight of influence from the media may be contributed to the relative easy access and the constant exposure to which younger generations subjected themselves. Interesting, the participants expressed on the written survey that they rely more on their peers, educators, and father figures for learning the way to reach manhood. Peers, educators, and father figures had a greater impact on Chinese men's perceptions of enacting manhood perhaps due to behavior modeling on a close, personal, and consistent basis.

Some participants made it rather clear that they are well aware of the difference between reality and ideal. What is taught in history and literature and is advocated in the media did not resemble real life. They realized at the current time there is no war to be fought. The chance of becoming a heroic warrior is not readily available. To become a great scholar and/or poet does not seem practical in a time when financial success is paramount. Media figures, as most noted, are packaged for media consumption. It is without a doubt many are aware of the distance between reality and ideal.

Such a finding is consistent with Chinese's collective and high-context culture. Chinese people place high value on the importance of close group relationships much more so than

impersonal ones (Hall, 1976). Thus people within the in-group will exert more influence than illusionary historical, literary and media figures. Learning is more likely to take place through behavioral modeling than listening to a how-to talk. High-context cultures do not rely much on spoken words to share information. Rather, information is extracted from the context and relationship.

This finding is noteworthy for intercultural practitioners because the notion of high- and low-context has persisted over time. It will impact intercultural communication practice a great deal. Miscommunication may take place when high- and low-context cultures meet and mingle. When one person relies on spoken words while the other is looking for clues in the context and relationship, one will be perceived as speaking excessively while the other is perceived to be cold and aloof for not speaking much. Recognition and understanding of cultures on the continuum of high- and low-context will help to prevent cultural miscommunication.

Another disagreement raised from the participants' responses was in the phenomenon of feminized males. Chinese literary works were not short of feminized male characters. Feminized males were not a novelty. It was not surprising that the participants noticed this issue; it was the nature of feminization that was noteworthy. Feminization dealt not with appearance, interestingly, but more of behaviors. Although a surge of "creamy" boys have sprouted in the Chinese media, the participants were not so concerned with the look of men becoming feminizing. The participants noticed the behaviors of men were feminized. Chinese men were perceived to be listening to their parents, teachers, bosses, and wives, but not themselves. Such inability to listen to oneself and being indecisive contradicted the quality of being decisive that the participants had listed as a masculine quality. Along with the observable behavioral feminization of Chinese men, the notion that negative male media images were noticed for their

perceived "feminine" qualities that took on a negative connotation. Being gossipy, pretentious and the obvious quality of acting feminine were the top three negative attributes displayed by negative male images in the media.

An insight into doing Chinese masculinities emerged while I was contemplating the data on the feminization of modern Chinese men and its implications for doing manhood. The most interesting but unexpected finding from this study was the notion that no matter how a man does manhood, the one prominent rule is to avoid being feminine. I realized that no matter how modern Chinese masculinities are enacted, that particular underlying principle is paramount. A man can be perceived as irresponsible, immature, having conflicting views of oneself, and any other negative traits and he is still a man. The participants noticed the negative traits, but did not seem concerned about them. However, once an association with the feminine has been established, the outcome was more noticeable and a negative connotation was assigned. The feminizing qualities of modern Chinese men were the issues of debate in the participants' responses. But the more telling evidence was the negative media male images possessing qualities that were stereotypically attributed to females. Essentially the message is to be a man is not to be a woman.

This notion interestingly is very much in contradiction with the traditional Chinese belief in opposing forces that can still be interdependent. The ideal state is to possess both yin and yang and utilize them to one's advantage. But the data suggested otherwise in real life. Although men mentioned qualities that were traditionally considered feminine as desirable to possess in their open-ended responses, they also for the most part frowned up the feminization of men and attributed a rather negative connotation to those feminine qualities, especially when seen in

media figures. In other words, they perceive that to be a man is simply not to be a woman. Men and women are not only opposing, but also mutually exclusive entities.

Strengths and Limitations

The prominent strength of this paper was the fact that data were collected from Chinese men living in the capital city in the present time. The past studies of Chinese masculinities found their data in the media and historical documents (Desser, 2005; Fu, 2003; Chen, 2002; Louie, 2002). While these data provided valuable information of Chinese masculinities, they could be outdated and misrepresent the perceptions of modern Chinese men. Although art may have imitated reality, art can also distort reality. Data from Chinese men of the current time offered a more well-grounded insight into modern Chinese masculinities from Chinese men's own perspective. Data were current and came from the direct source of Chinese masculinities. However, due to time and resource constraints, the researcher was only able to collect data within the capital city, Beijing. If any meaningful theoretical application is drawn, it is only adequate to describe the Chinese men working, studying and living in Beijing.

Sample size was one of the limitations of this study. A total of 149 survey participants and 10 interviewees might not seem to be a sufficient number. However, consistent themes and patterns did emerge from the data which suggested that the number was sufficient to reach adequate theory saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Representation might have been another concern with data collection. Data collection was completed in the city of Beijing. However Beijing as the capital of China is known as the immigrant workers city. Many workers from all over China came to Beijing for the hope of a better job and financial future. Looking at the demographics, the participants represented various ethnic minority backgrounds coming from

various parts of China. In other words, participants were not as homogeneous as originally thought by the researcher.

The survey and interview questions were broad and general for this initial search for modern Chinese masculinities. Breadth was reached on the sacrifice of depth. Many questions did not delve into enough depth on the different aspects of modern Chinese masculinities. In addition, field observations were made within the city limit of Beijing, in classroom settings and at various public areas. Enactment of modern Chinese masculinities was not observed in personal settings, such as inside a home. This study only offered the public side of modern Chinese masculinities while the personal and private face remained hidden.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study is truly an exploratory one in an attempt to piece the puzzles of modern Chinese masculinities together. It has uncovered a few of the jigsaw pieces, while many pieces remain unknown. For instance, data came from Chinese men living, studying and/or working in Beijing. Pieces were missing from Chinese men in other parts of China and with different socioeconomic status. Thus to obtain breadth in studying modern Chinese masculinities, future researchers should venture out to various geographic locations of China to collect data from various male populations. For example, participants for this study may have represented various geographic and ethnic groups across China, but at the time of the study they all lived and worked in this cosmopolitan city. It would be interesting and necessary to collect data from men living their entire lives in rural or suburban areas to determine if perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities differed by locations and socioeconomic status within China.

Also, the majority in the present study tend to be the post-80s generation. If data can be collected from various age groups, an interesting comparison can be made across ages and

generations. In this study trans-generational differences in perceptions of modern Chinese masculinities were present. Future research can provide further evidence to the trans-generational differences and investigate more in depth the qualitative and quantitative differences among generations. Furthermore, a very interesting comparison would probably emerge if a comparison is made across various socioeconomic statuses. The participants in this study can be considered as very well-educated, taking into the fact that the post 80s generation is the first generation after The Cultural Revolution to obtain a college education. Most people before and during The Cultural Revolution have obtained a nine-year mandatory public education. My family in China is a classical case of the educational difference among generations. Thus it would be fascinating to collect data from men whose education level is considered low and discover if any discrepancy in perceiving modern Chinese masculinities would be affected by one's educational level. Economic status is closely associated with one's educational level. Thus, future research should also include one's economic status.

The survey and interview questions were guided by issues discovered from past research on Chinese masculinities. Time has changed and perhaps new issues have risen to impact modern Chinese masculinities. Specifically, some participants have noticed a feminizing effect of modern Chinese men. But it is yet unknown the factors leading to such perceptions of feminization and ways in which the feminization manifests itself, other than the manifestation was more in the behavior than the look. It would be of great interest and utility for future research to discover the phenomenon of feminized males in modern Chinese masculinities. Future research should really delve into the ways feminizing is taking place and the leading factors for the phenomenon. Answers to these issues may break the typical stereotypes of Chinese men acting like a sissy.

Another issue worthy of attention was the impact of various sources in a man's life on one's doing masculinities. Data in this study showed contradiction in the participants' responses. Many have said that a father or a father figure was the main source of learning masculinities. However, young participants have also expressed the attitude that they are not like their fathers and grandfathers. If that was the case, one would have to wonder how much influence a father or a father figure has on a young man learning his way to manhood. The participants have also said their peers and educations were their main source of enacting masculinities. It would be worthwhile to study how other sources of information influence the way a man enact his masculinities and the proportion of influence of each source. Historical and literary figures did not seem to have much influence based on the participant's responses. Confucianism exhibited a diminished effect on modern Chinese masculinities. Media figures certainly had its influence on how men perceive masculinities. But the parameter of influence was still unclear. Future studies can certainly getting into more depth of each of the sources of influence and determining the scope and ways of impact on modern Chinese masculinities.

Final Words

The search for modern Chinese masculinities has taken me through a journey that was intellectually and personally fulfilling. Because of this genuine curiosity to discover the essence of a group of people whose self identities have been misrepresented and misunderstood, I lived and worked in another country to gather information. I encountered many intercultural and personal obstacles throughout this journey before arriving at a vista point where I got a clearer view than my starting point. Of course, the journey is far from being finished.

I conversed with Chinese men. I questioned their manhood on a written survey. I observed them in various environments while they put their masculinities on display for the

unsuspected spectators like me. What did I find out after relentless probing? For the older generations, masculinities are in the doing. Taking on the responsibility of a breadwinner defines a man and his manhood. The lack of resources, education, and career opportunities and an extremely harsh reality during The Cultural Revolution pushed Chinese men of older times to focus mainly on survival matters.

In contrast, younger generations of Chinese men are having a harder time grasping their self identities. History and literature showed them brave war heroes and indecisive scholars. Media introduced them to feminized "creamy" boys. Their peers and educators have their own ideas of doing manhood. Their fathers and grandfathers had the simplistic goal of being the breadwinner. Confucius, the great teacher of China, confused them even more with his moderate approach to life's everything. The infinite possibilities of masculinities lost the chaotic souls of these young men already experiencing the impact of information overload. They are neither a straightforward warrior nor a scholar. They have not figured out their masculinities. Although I got a clearer view of my participants since my starting point, I still see them appearing and disappearing through a thick layer of smoke screen, similar to the heavy smog that seems to constantly overcast the Beijing sky. Certainly more is to be discovered about these chaotic and ever-evolving souls. For now, I am content standing at my current vista point.

Appendix A

Demographic Survey

Age: _____

Marital Status: _____

City of Birth: _____

Original Residency: _____

Education Level: _____

High School Attended: _____

University Attended: _____

Occupation: _____

Religion: _____

Hobbies: _____

Social affiliations: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Duration of Stay in Beijing/Shanghai: _____

Appendix B

Masculinities Survey

Chinese Men and Masculinity

1. What does it mean to be a man? Is this your idea or the society's notion of being a man?
2. Is there a ideal way to be a man? If so, what is the ideal way?
3. How did you learn to be a man?
4. Has the idea of how to be a man changed in the past 5 years? 10 year? 15 years?
5. How would you describe the modern Chinese man?

Chinese Men in Media

6. How are Chinese men portrayed in Chinese media?
7. How do Chinese media's portrayals of Chinese men differ from your image of being a man ?
8. How are Chinese men portrayed in Western media?
9. How do Western media's portrayals of Chinese men differ from your image of being a man ?

Chinese Men in Literature

10. Who from the Chinese literary works would best portray the masculine image?
11. Why does this literary figure best represent masculinity?

Wen (scholar) and Wu (warrior)

12. How fitting do you find the concept of Wen/Wu in describing modern Chinese men in China? in Taiwan?

13. If Wen/Wu are not suitable descriptions, what concept would be best used to describe modern Chinese men?
14. Is this the same concept you would use to describe yourself? Why or why not?

Appendix C

Consent Form

Project Title: Chinese men and masculinity

Researchers: Advisor M. J. Smythe, an associate professor of Communication at UMC

Student investigator Annie Yang, a doctoral student of Communication

Purpose: I will be conducting a study using interviews to look at how culture defines masculinity. The focus is on Chinese men living in China or Taiwan

Time: Participation should take between 30 to 60 minutes, depending on what you have to say. Interviews will be audio taped.

Voluntary: Your participation is voluntary. You may quit at any time and you may refuse to answer any question.

Risk: There is minimal risk involved with the study. There is no more risk than you would experience in your daily interactions.

Benefits: The results of this study may help communication and gender study scholars to better understand the concept of modern Chinese masculinity

Confidential: Neither your identity or the identity of the organization will be revealed in transcripts, written documents, or verbal presentation of the data. The following steps will be taken to protect your identity and confidentiality.

1. Consent forms will be separated from the data

2. Personal identifying info will be eliminated from the transcripts and any reporting of the data

3. You can refuse to answer any question asked

4. Audio tapes will be kept in a locked cabinet

Member Check: You will be invited to participate in member check of the results. When the investigator has written the result, you will be asked to read the written result and verify the investigator's interpretation. This member check

procedure will take between 10 to 30 minutes, depending on how much you have to say.

Contact: If you have any questions, feel free to contact the student investigator, Annie Yang, at 626-678-8481. You may also email her at ayy3kf@mizzou.edu. You may also contact Dr. M. J. Smythe at smythem@missouri.edu

Questions: If you have any question about your rights, contact Campus IRB:
Office of Research
483 McReynolds Hall
Columbia, MO 65211
(573) 882-9585

Thank you for your participation

Annie Yang

Doctoral Student

Signing this consent indicates that you understand and agree to the conditions mentioned above

_____ _____

Signature Date

Appendix D

Interview Introduction

Hi, My name is Annie Yang and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Communication at the University of Missouri-Columbia. My friend/acquaintance suggested that I contact you about a study that I am conducting on the modern Chinese men and masculinity. You will be asked to participate in an interview that will last between 30 to 60 minutes, depending on how much you have to say. I will be asking you questions related to masculinity in China. The interview process will be tape recorded.

Before we start the interview, I will ask you to review the consent form and for your signature on the consent form. You can take one copy of the consent form with you. Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time during the interview. If there are questions that make you feel uncomfortable, you should know you have the right to not answer them. Before we start the audio-taped interview, I will ask you to complete a demographic questionnaire to obtain some background information from you.

Appendix E

Interview Guide

1. How would you define masculinity?
2. What does it mean "to be a man"?
3. How would you describe the modern Chinese men?
4. How are the modern Chinese men different and similar from the traditional Chinese men?
5. How are Chinese men portrayed in the Chinese media?
6. How are Chinese men portrayed in the Western media?
7. Who in the Chinese and/or Western media would best portray the masculine image? For what reasons?
8. If you were to pick a male figure from Chinese literary works, who would best portray the masculine image? For what reasons?
9. How fitting do you think the concept of Wen/Wu is to the modern Chinese men in China? in Taiwan?
10. If Wen/Wu is not fitting to describe the modern Chinese men, which concept do you find fitting? For what reasons?

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VITA

Annie Yen Ning Yang started her world traveling adventures at the tender age of two. Due to her strong curiosity of finding out what the world is about, she pursued a journey of both intellect and physical. Her intellectual curiosity led her to three universities before earning a BA in Journalism from Washington State University.

Annie worked as a technical writer for a website before finding her way back to school for another chance at self discovery. She earned a MA in Psychology. From there she worked as a personal assistant to a immigration lawyer, a PR/journalist at a local television station in southern California and a ISO technical writer for a manufacturer company.

Still feeling unsatisfied from a variety of jobs she worked at, Annie applied for a Ph.D program hoping she would eventually find her calling. Sure enough she got the break she was looking for. She found her career calling as a college professor. Her passion for human interaction, especially in an intercultural environment, was fulfilled. Annie looks for every opportunity she can to practice interpersonal and intercultural communication.

Physically Annie tries to develop herself as well. She has involved herself in races and hikes on the Yellow Mountain and Machu Pichhu. Her next challenge is to hike to the base camp of Mt. Everest.