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MIGRATION AND MASCULINITIES: EXPERIENCES OF RECENT CHINESE MALE MIGRANTS IN BRISBANE

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ABSTRACT

This study has aimed at tracing the effects of migration on constructions of masculinities among Chinese male migrants in Australia. As no studies of this type have been undertaken in Australia despite the waves of migrants of diverse ethnicities over the past half-century, this work will contribute to the body of knowledge on gender identities and migration. The study adopts a qualitative methodology where data collected in semi-structured, in-depth interviews were managed and analysed using the qualitative software package Atlas/ti. This package facilitated the processes of coding and memoing and the development of conceptual and theoretical networks.

These male migrants of mainly middle-class professional backgrounds have lived in Australia for various lengths of time and vary in age from 19 years to 58 years. They are part of the skilled and relatively highly educated Chinese diaspora which, despite its ethnicity, has its origins in several different countries. Several of these males are gay and single but the majority are heterosexual, married and have children either born in Australia or overseas. Most of these Chinese migrants are either engineers, importers-exporters or involved with the information technology or hospitality industries. Several are academics employed in tertiary education.

For most of these males, unlike their non-Chinese peers in Australia, gender and sexual behaviour are not central to their lives. Hard work, educational achievement, accumulation of wealth and responsibilities for family are central to their lives and important markers of manhood. Sport, recreation and leisure are secondary in their lives except as diversion from hard work or as a form of social interaction assisting in the development of business connections. These males are insular, have little knowledge of Australian masculinities except for stereotypes, are sexually conservative, and perceive the consumption of alcohol, sport participation and spectatorship and the development of large, well-muscled bodies as unimportant to their gender identities. Gay men are the exception in terms of their emphasis on sexual behaviour and the importance of particular body types and physical attractiveness.

Most of these males have not become more sensitised to sexual or gender identities since migration and have been able to protect the traditional patriarchy by remaining insular during the settlement process. In very few cases has there been a change in the domestic division of labour and most of these males prefer to be the sole provider and are ambivalent about spouses working. Even the younger males who see some economic necessity for their spouses to work have negative attitudes to this activity. Previous migration experiences, especially for those who migrated elsewhere for primary or secondary education, appear to be significant for some of the males who played sport and engaged in sexual activities with non-Chinese women. Most of these males, however, have returned to more traditional Chinese male practices in terms of involvement with Chinese women, sexual conservativeness and being the sole family provider.

Unlike Western males, these Chinese males with very few exceptions place no emphasis on gender and sexual identities and the Western concept of masculinity has little applicability for them. In most cases these Chinese men in Australia appear to be different from their Asian American peers (as reported in the North American literature) who seem to be more sensitised to sexual and gender identities.

The findings of this study of the reconstructions of male gender identity during the settlement process in Australia indicate that the markers of masculinity for Australian males have little relevance for these Chinese male migrants. The masculinities of these migrant males are reinforced in the family and Chinese social networks that emphasise hard work, educational achievement and the accumulation of

wealth. Mutual reinforcement is afforded the patriarchy by the practices of these males in their families. The results of this study clearly demonstrate that a new men's studies or a sociology of masculinities must employ concepts which display a greater cultural awareness and sensitivity, or masculinity studies will remain ethnocentric and in the morass of being applicable to less than five percent of men. Further, this new direction must be led by work that concentrates on the subjective experiences of men in the context of their lived worlds.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

....
Raymond T. Hibbins

01 Dec., 2000
....
Date

VALUES STATEMENT

While Australian culture is predominantly Anglo-Celtic in nature, the history of Australia has been influenced by waves of migrating groups which have flavoured the customs, traditions, values, beliefs, social structure and popular culture of this country. Today Australia is a multicultural society characterised by diversity, hybridity, multiethnicity and constant socio-cultural change. During its history, Australia has experienced an array of immigration policies including assimilation, integration, pluralism and multiculturalism. This history has been peppered with racism, prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusionism. The dominant political, legal, educational and economic institutions remain predominantly Anglo-Celtic despite the strong influence of waves of Mediterranean and Asian migratory groups on Australian popular culture.

From its indigenous past to its multicultural present, the history of Australian migration has sufficient depth to be characterised by generational change and inter-ethnic marriage. The majority of Australians are ethnically mixed, with some having as many as four ethnic ancestries. While demographers have collected useful objective data on these migrating groups, social scientists have been less inclined to engage in qualitative research studies using subjective data. This is particularly so with respect to the effect of migration on gender identities of male migrants. Work has been done on migrant families and internal dynamics of migrant families especially on role changes for adults, as well as on intergenerational differences and conflict. Virtually nothing is known about the influence of migration on perceptions of masculinity among migrant males and how this is manifested in work relations, in family and social relations, and at leisure. As I value the importance of extending knowledge in this area I am particularly interested in discovering relationships among these phenomena. I am also interested in extending the theoretical and conceptual aspects of this issue into applications in the

areas of counselling migrant families. This is particularly important where the changing nature of gender identity contributes to personality change and interpersonal conflict. Therefore, I value the development of theoretical and conceptual knowledge in this area as well as substantive applications.

Of equal value to me is the contribution that the rich texture of ethnic diversity makes to the interest and excitement of a multicultural Australia. This diversity I believe adds to the socio-cultural health of Australian society, and gradually reduces the worst effects of ethnocentrism and stereotyping. Ethnic diversity also encourages a reduction in xenophobia and cultural parochialism, and promotes a movement toward multilingualism. It is appreciated that such changes may well take generations to come into effect.

Much of the research work in the area of gender studies has been undertaken in North America and Western Europe. Further, much of this work has been theoretical in nature and lacked rich empirical research support. Where empirical work has been done, sampling frames have been developed in socio-cultural contexts very different from those in Australia. I believe it is important to test these theoretical and conceptual developments against Australian qualitative data. Such testing will not only improve our understanding and explanations of gender identities but also extend the "new sociology of masculinities". It is also important that this work problematise much of the Eurocentric and North American bias in gender studies.

This study uses a qualitative methodology which focuses on the lived experiences of the informants. In-depth, semi-structured interviewing techniques were used which in reality, were more like guided conversation approaches. This frequently involved exchanges of quite personal and private information between researcher and respondent. Respondents were "kept in the picture" by involving them in follow-up interviews and cross-checking of data in drafts of the analysis of data. The researcher

considers that it is important to balance the strong bias toward quantitative psychometric approaches to studies of gender identity with qualitative more "grounded" methodologies. In this way accounts of subjective experiences in the context of lived experience will balance more objective data which context strips. This study had a profound effect on the knowledge, skills, feelings and sensitivities of this researcher. Such changes are valued.

An ethnic group, which has existed in Australia in relatively large numbers since the gold rushes of the 1850's is the Chinese. The Chinese have had a significant effect on the popular culture of Australian society and have been a consistently substantial migratory group to the shores of this country. While much has been written about their history, contribution to the economy and labour force of Australia and their demographics, little is known about the lived experiences of Chinese males except in anecdotal histories. Moreover, virtually nothing is known about the effect of migration on the males in the various migratory groups to Australia. I consider this to be a fascinating area of research and it is anticipated that this study will benefit from feminist methodologies that have had a significant effect on me over the past half-decade. There is a need however for the development of a mature field of men's studies which is more than a mere reaction to feminism and women's studies, even though benefits can be gleaned from feminist theories and methodologies.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the thesis. The aim and significance of the study are explained, and the limitations outlined and discussed. Research questions for the study are listed and expanded upon, and the methodology explained briefly. Finally the chapter provides an outline of the thesis.

Overview of conceptual and theoretical issues

A study of the effects of migration on gender identity inevitably engages a conceptual and theoretical minefield. In particular, the debates over the past decade about the relationship between "sex" and "gender" must be discussed, as well as the more recent theoretical work on "masculinity" and even more recently the emergence of notions of "masculinities". Because this particular piece of research focuses on Chinese migrant males it is important to discuss the relevance and applicability of such concepts as masculinity (masculinities), which have been developed by Western academics, to this sample of men. More generally, the importance of the broader concept of gender in Chinese culture and to Chinese men in particular is examined. Such discussions must also include a recognition of the theoretical frameworks developed to explore the associations among ethnicity, gender, class and sexuality. An observation of how each of these concepts is subject to socio-cultural construction will pervade this discussion. Empirical studies which use these conceptual frameworks will be introduced and critically evaluated.

The concept of "identity" has been transformed in the academic literature over the past decade. In particular, reference will be made to the arguments which portray identity as fractured, multiple, dynamic and even hybrid. Uebel (1997:5) for example,

highlights the interchange of race, gender and sexuality in the construction of specific masculinities. Harding (in Messner, 1990:144) takes this a step further by arguing that given the fractured nature of contemporary identity it is important that no one form of social domination, for example gender or class, should be privileged over others in the development of theories.

Central also to this present research is the concept of "migration" which implies movement from one place to another – spatial mobility. The Chinese males in this study have either moved from their country of birth or some other country (e.g., USA, UK, New Zealand, New Guinea) to Australia. Some of the males have experienced multiple migration prior to taking up more permanent settlement in Australia. Duration of settlement in Australia varies from male to male. As well as spatial change, these migrant males may experience other identity changes. If, as has been suggested by Castles and Miller (1993) migrants have multiple identities, then individual migrants must negotiate and renegotiate personal identity by struggling to make internal peace among the multiple components of their selves (Anderson, 1995:128). Hearn and Morgan (1990:11) argue that men may experience subordination, stigmatisation or marginalisation as a result of their sexuality, ethnic identity, class position, religion or marital status. There appears to be a perpetual uncertainty and flux governing the construction and expression of identity (Seidman, 1996:87). For Cornell and Hartmann (1998:243) identity is largely situational, and the outcome of local conditions, needs, interests, experiences and understandings. This piece of research supports this view expressed by Cornell and Hartmann (1998) and attempts to unpack the associations among these processes and variables in the construction of gender identity among the Chinese male migrants.

Aims and significance

This study aims to establish the importance of gender identity for a group of Chinese male migrants and to gauge the effect of the migration and settlement processes on the gender identities of these men. It is assumed that these Chinese males "construct" a gender identity prior to migrating to Australia and that the process of migration has an effect on this identity which results in a "deconstruction" of the existent gender identity and a subsequent "reconstruction" influenced by the new socio-cultural environment. Further, this reconstructed gender identity will be gradually worked out in and influenced by work, leisure and social (kin and friendship) social relationship contexts, in particular.

These males are part of the Chinese diaspora resident in Australia on which little significant sociological work in the area of gender identity constructions has been undertaken. Except for historical, demographic and labour force research and some family sociology and multicultural studies, very little is known about the subjective lived experiences of Chinese people in Australia. There is a need for a much greater explicit recognition of men's migration experiences and the social construction of masculinities (Willis & Yeoh, 2000:xx). Only very recently have some broadly empirical studies and journalistic studies of an anecdotal nature been undertaken of the life histories of significant people of Chinese background in Australia (Giese, 1997; Ip, Kawakami, Duivenvoorden & Tye, 1994; Ip, Wu & Inglis, 1998a & b; Rolls, 1992; Rolls, 1996; Williams, 1998). The last few years has also seen the emergence of non-fictional life stories written particularly by Chinese women (Chang, 1991; Hong Lee & Wiles, 1999; Mah, 1997; Mah, 1999; Ye, 1997). These non-fictional works are not set in the countries to which many of the authors have migrated, but are the women's stories during the years of political and family turmoil in their countries of origin. Also, many of these authors have settled in North America or the United Kingdom rather than

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Australia. As well as this material there is an emerging development of anthologies of Chinese literature containing both prose and verse (Choa & Li-Qun, 1998; Owen 1996). Much of this literature which emanates from North America or China, provides interesting insights into Chinese characters both male and female but lacks works on Chinese who have migrated to Australia.

The theoretical and conceptual works which have been developed around male gender identities and men's studies or the "new sociology of masculinities" have their origins in North America, Australia and Western Europe. Much of the work was a reaction to feminism and women's studies and has a strong Anglocentric bias. Some of the academic work has been developed by pro-feminist men. This work lacks good empirical research to support it and in particular, has not been applied to non-Anglo-Celtic males (subaltern males) (Chen, 1999). The exceptions are readily identified (Vale de Almeida, 1996; Fine, Weis, Addelston & Maruyza, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 1994; Kleinberg, 1980, Kleinberg,1987; Melhuus & Stolen, 1996; Mirande, 1997; 1995; Pena, 1991). In Australia, Connell (1997a) has made fleeting reference to non-European males and has written a thumbnail sketch of traditional Chinese males, and made reference to the effect of globalisation on masculinities. The only other group which is investigating the "intersections" of masculinity and ethnicity in Australia are Poynting, Noble and Tabar (1997) who are concentrating on Lebanese immigrant youth in western Sydney.

The present study of Chinese male migrants is concerned to problematise the importance of gender and gender identity portrayed in the North American research literature particularly on Chinese Americans. Rather than using psychometric attitude scales developed in the Western tradition, this research uses a qualitative methodology which focuses on the lived experiences of the Chinese male respondents. Furthermore, rather than using Western variants of masculinities as benchmarks this study uses a

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grounded theory approach which inductively develops its theoretical propositions from the responses of the informants and the stories they tell. It is argued that this qualitative study will provide empirical data to extend the present theoretical and conceptual developments in the area of masculinities.

This study of the construction of gender identities among Chinese male migrants is also significant because of its use of Atlas/ti – a qualitative software program which apart from being useful for managing qualitative data, provides the facility of coding and supercoding as well as network development and memoing. The latter two processes facilitate the linking of codes and supercodes and the inductive development of theoretical propositions.

Limitations

One of the main shortcomings of this study is its relatively high dependence on the memory of the respondents. Respondents were asked to recall childhood experiences with their parents and friends and other relatives. In some instances this proved rather difficult and respondents required time to reflect on these experiences. Respondents were invited to contact the researcher after the interview if they recalled experiences upon further reflection. Some respondents availed themselves of this opportunity.

Language may well have been a problem for some respondents who requested more detail or the repetition of some questions. Where difficulties emerged for the researcher clarification was sought either during the interview or upon listening to recorded interviews. Respondents were provided with opportunities to comment in follow-up interviews or cross-checking of data. Most of the respondents had no difficulties with English and interpreters were not required. Every attempt was made to exclude technical language from questions asked in the interview. Where respondents

introduced jargon e.g., words like masculinity, clarification was sought. It was not assumed that common meanings for jargon words were held by the interviewer and the respondent.

In some instances the political sensitivity of some issues proved a problem. Where this was the case it was agreed that the data would be removed from the cassette and not used in future analysis. In other instances the cassette recorder was stopped while the respondent related the information. Ethical informed consent forms were signed prior to agreements about the conduct of the interviews, and confidentiality and anonymity were reinforced with respondents. An example of the form used is included in Appendix I.

One of the most frequent criticisms offered by positivistic, quantitative researchers concerns the size of samples used in qualitative research. Sample size is associated with capacities to generalise from the research sample to the wider population or universe. While the sample size of the forty Chinese male respondents in this research is considered more than adequate, no attempt is made at generalising from this sample to all Chinese male migrants. An assumption made by qualitative methodologists is that research findings from their research relate solely to their sample not to the broader universe.

Research Questions

This study sets out to address the following research questions:

• **What is the significance of gender identity (masculinity) for Chinese male migrants during the post-migration (settlement) process?**

Western academic literature either implicitly or explicitly indicates that gender and sexuality are important in the lives of people. This research question allows for the

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positioning of the importance of masculinity among other life concerns for Chinese male migrants.

- **To what extent is there a "deconstruction" and "reconstruction" of original "constructions" of masculinity among Chinese male migrants in Australia?**

This research question is based on an assumption that constructions of masculinity among Chinese male migrants are an outcome of negotiations among traditional socio-cultural influences and the effects of migration and settlement in a new cultural context. Such negotiations could include processes of resistance, continuity or persistence.

- **What is the influence of selected, conventional socio-demographic variables and other independent variables on these processes e.g., duration of settlement, social class (level of education, occupation), marital status (and the presence of children), rural/urban origins, age?**

Much of the theoretical and conceptual literature as well as findings from empirical research suggest a need to consider the associations among ethnicity, gender, sexuality and social class. This research question is concerned specifically with the influence of particular socio-demographic variables on constructions of masculinity during the post-migration period.

- **Does the sexuality of the Chinese male migrant influence constructions of masculinities during the settlement process?**

That literature which has problematised the heteronormativity of much of the research on gender identity has pointed to the significance of sexuality on constructions of masculinity and femininity. This research question addresses the issue of constructions of masculinities among gay and heterosexual Chinese male migrants.

- What are the major personal influences (e.g., relationships with parents), social influences (e.g., friendship networks and connections) and cultural influences (e.g., traditional Chinese values concerning the male role) on constructions and deconstructions of masculinities?

This particular research question is concerned with the micro social, institutional and sub-cultural influences on constructions of masculinities. It is based on the assumption that the construction of gender identity involves a negotiation among psychological, sociological and anthropological influences on Chinese male migrants.

- What are the modes of adaptation used by Chinese male migrants during the settlement process?

Implicit in these questions are modes of adaptation used by Chinese male migrants when they experience other representations of masculinities in the new socio-cultural context, diverse family relations in the new culture, languages that are unfamiliar, racism and homophobia, different cultural attitudes to work and leisure, and diverse customs, traditions and interests.

Methodology used in this thesis

This study uses a qualitative methodology which provides opportunities for Chinese male migrants to express in their own voices their subjective experiences of the effect of migration and settlement on their constructions of masculinities. This is facilitated by in-depth, semi-structured interviews which are more like guided conversations characterised by reciprocity between respondent (informant) and interviewer. While it does depend on the memory of respondents and on their reflective capacities it does add a new dimension to existing literature by focussing on the lived

experiences of Chinese men as they reestablish their lives in a new culture which is ethnically diverse. Unlike much of the research work from North America which focuses on sex roles or uses reductionist and atomistic trait approaches based on responses to psychometric scales, this study attempts to penetrate the "insiders" views of their changing gender identities. While it is not concerned with capturing a "true" Chinese masculinity, it does assume that gender and sexual identities may well be individual experiences which have meaning only within particular social contexts. Patterns which emerge across individual experiences will be identified, but any generalisations about Chinese male experiences of gender identity changes in Australia will be inevitably tentative and circumspect. Through the voices of the Chinese respondents this study reports on the very personal accounts of these male migrants as they negotiate their gender identities in a non-Chinese socio-cultural context.

A debate with epistemological and ontological implications

One of the influential debates informing this present research was that between Frank Chin and Maxine Hong Kingston. In that interchange Chin argued that Kingston's autobiographical fiction or ethnic autobiography used in her book *"The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts"* does not portray the experience and history of Chinese Americans (Nishime, 1995:71). Kingston argued that her account was a personal one and that she was not attempting to recount some generalised or true version of the Chinese-American experience. This debate raises questions about objectivity and subjectivity, the general and the particular, as well as truth and falsehood. These are the canons which inform debate between positivistic social scientists and qualitative ones. More specifically, the debate between Chin and Kingston raises the question of the extent to which empirical research on constructions

of masculinities among Asian-Americans or Chinese-Americans is applicable to or generalisable to Chinese male migrants in Australia.

In writing about Kingston's "*China Man*" and "*The Warrior Woman*" Nishime (1995:75) argues that Kingston negotiates between a fixed, complete, "pedagogical" definition (objective) of Chinese-American culture and her lived experience (subjective) of national identity, an identity that is continually being defined, redefined and "performed". According to Outka (1997) Kingston is seeking a viable identity, one that is dynamic, creative and even unstable and therefore in her intensely personal negotiation incorporates both essentialism and constructionism. On the other hand, Outka (1997:449) argues that Chin (1991) ignores the fantastic, chaotic and even fragmentary forces in identity formation, because he is seeking a more unitary, coherent and universal Chinese-American self. Outka (1997:448) believes that Chin's arguments represent a reductive cultural essentialism that is dismissive of the validity of Kingston's own experience which is lived and subjective.

A further dimension of the debate between Kingston and Chin focuses on cultural stereotypes of Chinese as feminine and Americans as masculine. This raises the question of whether Chinese immigrant males attempt to model themselves on the masculinities that exist in the new context or persist with a Chinese variant of masculinity or move toward some hybrid of the different ethnic variants during the settlement process. Nishime (1995:75) finds that a spectrum of gender appropriateness can be constructed along which there are varying shades of "Chineseness" or "Americanness" and where individuals can be situated according to their at-homeness in the adopted land. Nishime raises the point of Chineseness being equated with the private sphere and feminine, while Americanness is linked with the public and the masculine. This argument appears to be too black and white and misses the complexity and fluidity of the issue, and the opportunities for border crossing (Grossberg,1996).

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According to Nishime (1995:75) the claim in Kingston's *China Man*, to a Chinese-American identity and history necessitates a move from the feminine private sphere into a masculine public discourse. Superimposing Wong's (1992) arguments about the enthnicising of gender and the gendering of ethnicity over the views expressed by Kingston in *China Man*, Nishime (1995:75) contends that because American identity means masculinity, the assertion of the place of the Chinese in America is, by definition, also a move towards confining Chinese-Americans' masculine "Americanness". This seems to miss much of the ambiguity that pervades negotiation of identity and resistance. Nevertheless Nishime (1995) contests that the irony of aspiring to a masculine ideal that ultimately traps Asian American males cannot seem to overcome the immediate appeal and power of that ideal.

While it is implied that there may well be a hegemonic variant of masculinity in American culture, the arguments presented by Nishime miss the complexity and heterogeneity of masculinities as well as the ambiguities and complexities in gender identities adopted in diverse socio-cultural contexts. While in theoretical terms hegemonic masculinity may be pervasive and even coercive, it requires thorough empirical research to provide data which might support or refute or even modify this view. The extent to which hegemonic, subordinate or marginalised variants of masculinities typical of Chinese-Americans or Asian Americans in American culture can be generalised to Chinese immigrant males in Australian culture is indeed questionable. Hence, the need for empirical research into the subjective accounts of the lived experiences of Chinese males who have migrated to and settled in Australia. A further caution drawn from these debates concerns the danger of using Eurocentric models as benchmarks for measuring the complexities of gender identities among Chinese male migrants. Such comparisons lack a recognition of the dynamism of gender identities and their complex associations with socio-cultural contexts. By

respecting these cautions and drawing an awareness of the dangers outlined above, this study will make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on the effects of migration on gender identity.

Thesis outline

This introduction is followed by Chapters 2 and 3 which review the literature particularly on the major concepts of this study: gender identity and migration, the "other" and hybridity, gender and sex, masculinity(ies) and sexuality, and critically evaluate the various theoretical approaches to masculinity(ies). The theoretical approaches used in this study are discussed in Chapter 3, after an overview and critique of existing theories.

Chapter 4 discusses the research on migration, migrants and masculinities with particular reference to Chinese migration to Australia. Socio-demographic profiles of the Chinese in Australia are included and their relevance to this study emphasised. Some reference is also made to the historical research and more anecdotal research on the Chinese in Australia.

Chapter 5 discusses the research design and the epistemological and ontological assumptions underlying the methodology adopted in this study. The nature, type and size of sample in the study are also discussed, as are the issues of qualitative data analysis and the qualitative software and data management system used. An overview is also given of the semi-structured interview schedule.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the data collected in the semi-structured, in-depth interviews of the Chinese male migrants. This chapter discusses the core ideas and major themes that were inductively developed through various levels of coding, memoing, constant comparison and conceptual networks. Throughout this chapter the

voices of the respondents are used to support the themes. The central core ideas of Chineseness, gender identity and their relationships with other themes are discussed.

Chapter 7 discusses the central ideas of migration, strategies of adaptation used during the settlement process with particular reference to insularity, the Chinese male migrants and other males.

Chapter 8 links the analysed data and themes that emerged in this study with existing literature on migration and constructions of masculinities. Reference is made to the central question and the research questions where applicable to the analysed data collected in the in- depth interviews. Conclusions that emerged from this synthesis of existing literature and the analysed data are introduced together with suggestions for future research directions in men's studies.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES ON MASCULINITY

The purpose of this chapter is fourfold:

- to provide a critical analysis of the existing conceptual literature on masculinity and masculinities, the sex-gender debate, sexuality, the pluralising of masculinities, "markers" of masculinity with reference to the body, sport, work and sexual relations, types of masculinities;

- to link issues of the sex-gender debate and sexuality with the broader concepts of gender identity, the "other", hybridity and migration;

- to discuss the cultural assumptions of conceptual work on masculinities, and general strategies of investigating gender and masculinity(ies);

- to critically analyse a number of empirical studies of the relationship between migration and gender identity.

This literature review and discussion of concepts will develop a conceptual framework which supports the research questions and is closely aligned to the selection of the sample, data collection methods and analysis strategies used in this study. These research questions provide direction for the content of interview questions and establish flexible parameters on the direction in which analysis will proceed

Introduction

Any discussion of masculinity must commence with an overview of concepts like gender, sex and sexuality and make explicit the theoretical assumptions which underpin them. Other important concepts with particular relevance to Chinese masculinity include other, difference, hybridity with their theoretical underpinnings will be explored as they apply to gender identity. The usefulness of the concept "masculinity" for researching non-Western cultures will be explored, together with a

brief discussion of the "end of masculinity" or "limits of masculinity" debate. Two large-scale empirical studies will be critically evaluated to support the view that studies of gender identity among non-Western males require the application of culturally sensitive concepts. Inevitably, this review will introduce a brief history of masculinity and include a discussion of its links with feminist theories and the influences of major socio-cultural changes particularly at the global level. Finally several empirical studies that pertain to migration and male gender identity particularly with non-Western samples will be discussed and evaluated.

Gender, sex and sexuality

We are reminded by Hawkes (1996:7) that the words "sex, "sexuality" and "gender" are used in a confusing variety of contexts and with an ease that suggests that their meaning is fixed, shared and unproblematic. Such thinking is conceptually dangerous because it frequently omits any consideration of the epistemological underpinnings of the ideas. It may well be that biological *sex* is allocated by the possession of definitive physical and physiological "markers" and their respective biochemical supports but, argues Hawkes (1996:7), the meanings given to these anatomical distinctions have a social origin.

Similarly, gender is a process, a practice organised in terms of, or in relation to, the reproductive divisions of people into male and female (Connell, 1987:140). For Connell, the "process" is strictly social, and gender a phenomenon within sociality. Connell's notion does not imply social dichotomy and he suggests that gender might be organised in terms of three, or twenty, social categories (1987:140). In fact, Connell (1987:140) sees gender as a linking concept which is about linking of other fields of social practice to the nodal practices of engendering, childbirth and parenting. Thus *gender* is relational (Gilmartin, Hershatter, Rofel & White, 1994:1). The normative

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nature of gendered identity and relationships is raised by Gilmartin, Hershatter, Rofel & White (1994:1) in reference to how they are enforced by family, religion, medicine, state authority and a variety of other institutions. For them, gender provides some of the language and categories through which family, state and other social arrangements are articulated and justified. Gendered identity therefore, is more than a personal or individual matter. It is an outcome of a dialectic.

For Hawkes (1996:8) *sexuality* is both a fiction and a reality, an artificial creation and a lived experience. While Hawkes appears to support the social construction element in the concept of sexuality, she warns it is important not to reify the concept by omitting consideration of agency and exploration of individual subjectivities as well as dimensions of power. Hawkes (1996) emphasises that in addition to the conjoining of genitals for a purpose, i.e., "having sex", there is the important element of affective involvement, i.e., desire and performance. The performative dimension of *gender* is emphasised by Butler (1990:138) where she defines gender as an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylised repetition of acts. This notion of gender is reinforced and extended by Berger, Wallis & Watson (Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995:3) who refer to Butler's idea that gender rather than merely constructed is performative, unfurling as a series of "performed" operations that render complex meanings about the normative standards that we cannot escape, the choices we can make, and the means by which we represent them. In this view then, women and men are condemned to conform to binary sexual differences that appear to be inevitable, even natural (Berger et al, 1995:4). Butler appears to be guilty of bias here by reifying notions of masculine and feminine and implying they are unitary and inevitable. There is little allowance for agency where there is an appearance of inscribing onto gender a coercive sexuality, that is socially sanctioned heteronormativity/heterosexuality (Berger et al, 1995:4). Most of the

conceptual frameworks used to theorise human relations rely implicitly upon a naturalised heterosexuality (Richardson, 1996b:1).

While there are those who argue that *sex* is biological and *gender* is socially performed (Cheng, 1996c:xii) or that gender is the sets of cultural meanings and prescriptions that each culture attaches to one's biological sex (Kimmel, 1996:2; Gilmartin et al, 1994) or that gender is materially and culturally produced - a cultural, practical accomplishment (Hearn, 1992b:13), others emphasise that sex is practice (Dowsett, 1996:8). Still others (Jackson, 1996:52 in Richardson) argue that we have reached the limits of understanding gender as a social construction based on the biological category of sex. For Jackson, as with Connell (1989) biology is also a social construction. Instead of examining the way gender affects social interaction, i.e., reifying it into a category, we need to study the ways that gender is constituted in social interaction (Jackson, 1996:52). By denaturalising gender in this way Jackson (1996) believes we are released from the idea that there are two and only two sexes/genders. Once more agency is admitted into the equation, this expands the possibilities of exploring issues of power and resistance.

Like Connell (1989), Hawkes (1996:144) refers to the constraining elements of structure. According to this argument the fragility of heterosexual hegemony, and the binary with its supporting structure, depends as much on enabling human agency as it does on constraining structure (Hawkes, 1996:144). Thus Hawkes places emphasis on the dialectic between agency and structure. To assist him understand this dialectic, and what he calls the constitutive nature of sex and sexual relations in the lives of homosexually active men, Dowsett (1996:259) employs a structure of sexuality. He refers to a sexual milieu to describe the early sexual activities of boys and youths, their collective nature and their ritualistic character; the sexual community, a terrain covering more diverse and (dis) orderly sexual possibilities; and a third domain of gay

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community, a self sustaining and generating sociocultural field of practice, sexually constructed/ive and shaped by a rapidly evolving reformulation of homosexual practice and sexual subjectivity.

The contextual nature of sexuality, its multiplicity and its variety of patterns is taken up by Weeks and Holland (1996). While Weeks and Holland (1996:6) argue that there are certain hierarchies of power and domination in our culture which both shape the form of sexuality and limit its various expressions, they suggest that it is lived in many diverse ways. For them, sexuality is as much about self-making and self-invention as it is about dominant forms of regulation. They believe with Foucault (1978) that resistance needs expression as much as structures of power and domination.

The problems of reification of the concepts of sex and gender for cross-cultural analysis are raised by Henrietta Moore (1994b). Moore (1994b:14) suggests that our understanding of *sex* within Western discourse is something which differentiates bodies, while *gender* is the set of variable social constructions placed upon these differentiated bodies. She believes this obscures cross-cultural analysis of sex, sexual difference and gender. For Moore (1994a:14) gender differences are internal to all bodies and are part of the process through which bodies are sexed. It is far from apparent, therefore, how we should distinguish sex from gender, and even more problematic, it is unclear exactly to what gender a concept or category refers.

Two important issues are raised by Moore with regard to how experiences of race, sexuality and class as well as other forms of salient difference transform the experience of gender, and what bearing social and cultural discourses have on individual experiences of gender, the body and sexual difference. It is important to recognise however that race, sexuality and class are themselves important social constructions, i.e., they are not pre-social. As Lamphere, Ragone and Zavella (1997:3) argue, sexuality and gender are intimately connected to the social construction of race

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and political economy. Gender for Lamphere et al (1997:4) is bound up with inequalities not only in the often dominant relation of men to women but also to those of class and race. Cheng (1996c:xii) argues however, that women themselves can perform masculinity and women who are successful managers can perform hegemonic masculinity. Women as a group then, are an internally differentiated group, as are men. Lamphere et al (1997:3) correctly point out that relationships between gendered/sexed and racialised individuals are all part of powerful cultural constructions that shape human interaction.

After considering the tensions which are the outcomes of academic and political developments within gender and sexuality, i.e., liberation vs radicalism, reformism vs revolutionism and sexual politics vs the politics of sexuality, Edwards (1994:11), arrives at a conclusion that there is a need to address the social construction of gender and sexuality by simultaneously unpacking their connections (1994:156). He believes that gender and sexuality are connected conceptually and in practice (1994:156). For Edwards, there can be no adequate theory of sexuality until constructions which are equally psychological, economic and political can be connected to the "social". There is, he believes a profound need to address the social construction of all sexualities (Edwards, 1994:157) and, in particular, heterosexuality or rather the heterosexual hegemony (Hawkes, 1996:138). This challenges the assumption of heteronormativity in the gender-sex debate.

It is in recent works by queer theorists that the fictionality of the parameters of heterosexuality have been emphasised (Hawkes, 1996:137). In particular, queer theory has critiqued unitary identity politics by arguing that identities are always multiple or at best composites with literally an infinite number of ways in which "identity – components" (e.g., sexual orientation, race, class, nationality, gender, age, able-ness) can intersect or combine (Seidman, 1996:11). More importantly, any specific identity

construction is arbitrary, unstable and exclusionary (Seidman, 1996:11). It is capable of silencing differences, eliciting opposition or resistance and being regulatory. Work by gay and lesbian writers exposes these processes as well as breaks the connections between heterosexuality and biological sex, gender and sexual desire. Further, with the help of people of colour and sex rebels, queer theory demonstrates how identity constructions function as templates defining selves and behaviours and therefore exclude a range of possible ways to frame the self, body, desires, actions and social relations (Seidman, 1996:12). This has important implications for research on non-Western groups.

In the following section specific concepts like sex, gender and sexuality discussed earlier are linked to broader concepts of gender identity, the "other" and hybridity. Interwoven with this linkage is a discusion of migration and its effects on identity in general and gender identity more specifically.

Gender identity, the "other" and migration

In this section several of the concepts and underlying theoretical constructs which are central to this study will be introduced briefly. In particular the concepts of identity, gender, the "other", difference and hybridity will be introduced. Further, the potential or actual cultural biases in such concepts and their appropriateness for empirical research on non-Western socio-cultural systems will be explored.

In a study of Vietnamese migrants to Australia, Mandy Thomas (1999:xiii) arrives at a conclusion that migration highlights the relational, contextual and fluid nature of identity. For Thomas, diaspora identities, rather than being situated in a place of the past or moulded into a utopian future, are enmeshed in the constraints and the opportunities of the present. The construction of migrants' identities may well be dynamic, developmental, multiple and dependent on context. As Thomas (1999:xiii)

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suggests, cultural identities, representations and space are locked into an inseparable knot, primarily because identity is related to the representation of the self, and definitions of the self are grounded in space. In the case of the Chinese male migrants in the present study, it is argued that the past and cultural tradition cannot be discounted. While custom and history may not be paramount, they do have a dialectical relationship with influences in the present social and cultural contexts on identity formation. Agency does have a past as well as a present and probably, a future.

It has been argued (Westwood & Williams, 1997:35) that identities are constructed in relation to other identities, to "the outsider" or in terms of the "other", that is, in relation to what they are not. Kimmel (in Brod & Kaufman, 1994:120) in supporting Connell (1987) suggests that we come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of "others", e.g., racial minorities, sexual minorities and, above all, women. The "other" may well be what Kimmel calls "hyphenated" e.g., Chinese-Americans, Australian-born Chinese, Gay Asian-Americans – a group which have historically been cast as less than manly or, simultaneously, hypermasculine, sexually aggressive, violent, rapacious beasts against which "civilised" men must take a decisive stand and thereby rescue civilisation (Kimmel in Brod & Kaufman, 1994:135). Gender then, is a relational concept and in this present piece of research the Chinese migrant males are provided with opportunities of expanding on their perceptions of representations of other Chinese males and females and non-Chinese males and females. What needs to be guarded against here is that some of these constructions may well be stereotypes which become naturalised and a substitute for the complex realities they seek to describe (Westwood, 1990). Westwood recommends that all stereotypes need to be dismantled to allow movement to a much more shifting terrain in which identities are not seen as fixed but positioned within histories, cultures, languages, community and class (Westwood, 1990:57).

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While identities can be viewed as dynamic so too can gender be perceived as a shifting and contextual phenomenon (Butler, 1990:10). Gender, according to Butler (1990) is a relative point of convergence among culturally and historically specific sets of relations. The category "woman" and arguably man for example, Butler (1990:13) argues has an essential incompleteness and serves as a permanently available site of contested meanings. Butler introduces a performative notion of gender, as opposed to an essentialised, reductionist version, by suggesting it is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stabilised repetition of acts.

Meanings associated with gender and more particularly masculinity, are subject to cultural borrowing (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994:12). This raises the issue of the appropriateness of using concepts developed in the West in investigations of gender identities in for example, Chinese culture. Further, it suggests that phenomena like gender may be given low priority in the life concerns of members of some cultures. The issue of the inappropriateness of Western dualist thinking being applied to non-Western cultures is raised by several commentators. In writing about women's sports in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), Brownell (1995:220) for example, argues that to apply lists of opposing terms like male/female to non-Western symbolic systems may be unsuitable. In such systems Brownell (1995:220) suggests that sex-linked symbols may well be secondary to other more fundamental principles of moral and social life. Gender is situated within a broader network of social relations that take precedence over the dyadic sexual relation. It is embedded in a larger construction of personhood where key landmarks include class, generation and kin relations (Brownell, 1995:219). In similar vein, Bulbeck (1998:52) suggests that dualistic thinking is not as marked in non-Western cosmologies as it is in Western philosophy. Further, Grewal and Kaplan (1994:6) warn that researchers must be careful not to overlook multiple, constructed identities that cannot be accounted for by dualistic thinking and binary oppositions.

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This discussion points to the difficulty and perhaps inappropriateness of applying concepts and themes developed out of empirical research on Western socio-cultural systems to for example, Chinese culture. This notion will be discussed at several points in the thesis.

Hybridity and gender identity

Attempts at dealing with notions of the binary and the "other" as well as the associated problem of power have been undertaken by postcolonial writers who suggest the idea of hybrid or mixed identities. Bulbeck (1998:54) points out that the idea of hybridity is a shorthand for the connections between us, connections which challenge the notion of Western dualisms. This conceptual celebration is short lived in the eyes of Grewal and Kaplan (1994:7) who argue that the postmodern celebration of hybridity often retains the "us" and "them" paradigm that stems from modernist modes of description and representation. These writers (1994:7), believe that what seems to get *theorised* in the West as "hybridity" remains in the gaze of the West. Further, they suggest that what does not get recognised in this form of new colonial discourse is that Western culture itself is, as is every cultural formation, a hybrid of something (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994:8). Critics have accused postcolonialism of playing down the power relations between cultures. Stuart Hall (in Terry 1995 in Bulbeck, 1995:53-4) for example, suggests that power always tends to gravitate back to the binary. The binaries do not go away because hybridity is around or because we make a theoretical critique of them.

The complexity of such concepts as binary, other, identity, difference and hybridity is presented in a discussion of identity and difference by Grossberg (1996:91) where reference is made to the notion of *fragmentation* which emphasises the multiplicity of identities and positions within any apparent identity. For Grossberg

(1996:91), identities are always contradictory, made up out of partial fragments. Fragmentation theories can be applied to either individual identities, or to the social categories within which individuals are placed, e.g., gender, sexuality, class or to some combination of the two. This view presented by Grossberg, points to the importance of including social categories like ethnicity, class and sexuality in interpreting the effect of migration on gender identities.

As well as the discussion of fragmentation and its effects on identity, Grossberg (1996) adds several dimensions to the concept of hybridity. In particular, reference is made to the "*third space*", *liminality* and *border-crossing* as three different images of *border* existences which appear to characterise hybrid identities. While these concepts are usually applied to issues involving coloniser, precolonial subject and variants of post colonial subject, in this present study they assist in interpretations of possible changes in gender identity that are influenced by migration and settlement processes. The "third space" as developed by Bhabha, suggests a unique identity for the migrant person, while liminality refers to the migrant living on the border between some original identity and identities dominant in the host culture. The notion of border-crossing allows for a greater dynamism and flexibility of agency, where the migrant person moves back and forth between traditional and former identities and newer representations. Grossberg (1996:92) argues that constant border crossing is accompanied by mobility, uncertainty and multiplicity. While each of these images has been criticised for not adequately analysing the fragmenting and fracturing effects of power differentials and local politics, it is possible to argue that any combination of these images could exist in any one place at any point in time.

Considerations of power, coercion, consent and local socio-political situations seem to be included in the idea of "scattered hegemonies" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994:7). This concept appears to include awareness of the effects of dynamic socio-cultural

settings where there is the potential for changing centres and peripheries as well as their proliferation and multiplicity. This seems to be the case in those settings which are multicultural and experience constant socio-cultural change with new migrant waves. In these instances immigrant groups could, at any point, be a hegemonic centre in relation to other immigrant groups or a subordinate or marginalised periphery in relation to other groups or a dominant majority, at another point. Further, within the one immigrant group there could be hegemonic centres with marginalised or subordinate peripheries, which are fluid across space and time.

In a discussion of women's magazines in Singapore and India, Bulbeck (1998:165) refers to the seductive power of media and Western images of sexuality on the one hand, but also to the ways in which Western forms of sexual identity and expression are derided, devalued or transferred. The influence of age and generational differences may well be central. Bulbeck (1998:165) discusses the persistence of indigenous styles of fashion and beauty, and commitment to kin connections rather than the exclusive love dyad and to rational calculations in sexual exchanges rather than helpless romanticism. Within a diaspora therefore, it might be possible to witness such persistence and resistance but at the same time it might be possible to see oppression and subordination as well as a complete openness to cultural change. This argument supports the view that it would be dangerous to homogenise a diaspora wherever it was situated (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994). Our identities according to Rutherford (1990a:19) can only be understood on the intersection of our everyday lives with the economic and political relations of subordination and domination. Neither the dominant nor the subordinate is homogenous, however. As the margin invades the centre with its own difference (Rutherford, 1990b:23) so it too is opened up to its own internal differences.

These differences and the heterogeneity of centre and periphery are summed up well by Hall (in Rutherford, 1990a:234) where he argues that the diaspora experience is

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defined by a recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite difference; by hybridity. For Hall, diaspora identities whether they be gender, ethnic, class or sexual identities, are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and differences. This view is supported by Anderson (1996:199) who argues that the "centred subject" needs to be problematised and critiqued by highlighting the contradictory, multidimensional and strategic quality of identities.

The concept of masculinity

This section will explore the various constructions of the meaning of masculinity and associated terms "manliness" and "manhood" and the assumptions which underpin them; trace the developments toward pluralising the concept; overview the discussions of various types and classifications of masculinity with particular reference to hegemonic masculinity (ies); consider the adequacy of the concept in cross-cultural studies, particularly non-Western; and finally, discuss the critiques of the usefulness of the concept with particular reference to the end-of-masculinity and limits-of-masculinity debates.

The meaning of masculinity

Without committing himself to an actual definition Brod (in Brod & Kaufman 1994:120) suggests that manhood is socially constructed, created in culture and means different things at different times to different people. Brod argues that we come to know what it means to be a man by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of "others" – racial minorities, sexual minorities and, above all, women (1994:120). To be a man then, is to be not-woman, not-gay, not absorbed back into a mother/son relationship (Holland, Ramazanoglu & Thomas, 1996:251). This view is similar to that

presented by Connell who in his earlier work (1987) counterposes hegemonic masculinity to the "other" who were women, children and other men, subordinate and marginalised masculinities. For both Brod and Kaufman (1994:124) and Connell (1987) cultural definitions of gender are played out in a contested terrain and are themselves power relations. Brod and Kaufman (1994) like others, believe that the standard in the dominant culture against which other men are measured is the white, middle-class, early middle-aged, heterosexual male. This is what Brod refers to as a "marketplace masculinity" (Brod & Kaufman, 1994:124) which he indicates describes the normative definition of American masculinity. As well as being homophobic, masculinity is a homosocial enactment (Brod & Kaufman, 1994:128). Manhood is then a continuous test of heroics in the presence of other men, and the aim is not to appear sissy. This latter fear dominates cultural definitions of manhood (Brod & Kaufman, 1994). Men themselves are therefore under pressure in relation to a dominant conception of acceptable masculinity and to maintain their own social reputations (Holland et al, 1996:244).

A similar position is taken by Berger et al (1995:3) who argue that masculinity should be seen as always ambivalent, always complicated, always dependent on the exigencies of personal and institutional power. For Berger, masculinity involves an interplay of emotional and intellectual factors that is mediated by other factors, including race, sexuality, nationality and class. So manliness is contingent on race, class, gender and sexuality. Messerschmidt (in Cheng ,1996a:32) sums this up by arguing that masculinity must be viewed as a structured action – what men do under specific social structural constraints (e.g., social situation, class, race, sexual orientation). Supporting this, Mercer and Julien (in Chapman & Rutherford, 1988:99) reiterate that masculinity is one of the key points at which race, gender and the politics of sexuality intersect.

Masculinity then, is relational (Connell, 1987; Roper & Tosh, 1991) in the sense that it is incomprehensible apart from the totality of gender relations; but it is also shaped in relation to men's social power (Roper & Tosh, 1991:2). Masculine and feminine identities are parts of a political field whose relations are characterised by domination, subordination, collusion and resistance according to Roper & Tosh (1991:8). It is important however, that these processes be seen as active within each of the categories masculine and feminine which are heterogeneous, as much as between. These processes are best explored historically, to understand the mutations of social dominance (Roper & Tosh, 1991:7) in relation to class, race and ethnicity.

One of the most comprehensive definitions and unpackings of the concept of masculinity is provided by Connell (1996). Masculinity, for Connell, (1996:56) is a configuration of practice around the position of men in the structure of gender relations. By referring to configuration of practice, Connell is emphasising action rather than expectation or imagination in an historical context. Like Roper & Tosh (1991) Connell is, through the words "position of men", referring to the relational aspects and to masculinity as bodies, i.e., among other things as having muscular tensions, positions and physical skills and ways of moving (Connell, 1996:56). Finally, in his reference to "a structure of gender relations" e.g., face-to-face interactions, Connell is emphasising the micro and macro social, political and economic structures in which masculinity is embedded. Connell (1996:56) suggests that gender relations include relations among men which can be relations of dominance, marginalisation and complicity. Like Connell, Kimmel (1992) argues that masculinity is changing because the foci around which it has been constructed, i.e., wealth, power and status are changing. Segal, using the work of Davidoff, broadens this idea of change by arguing that "masculinity" and "femininity" are constructs specific to historical time and place, and categories which are being forged, contested, reworked and reaffirmed in social institutions and practices

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as well as a range of ideologies (Segal, 1993:625-41). Similarly, Edley and Wetherell (in Cheng 1996a:106) concur that manliness is a contested territory, an ideological battlefield. "Being a man" for Vale de Almeida (1996:141) is never reducible to sexual characteristics, but rather expandable to a whole set of attributes of moral behaviour, which are socially sanctioned and constantly re-evaluated and negotiated. In sum, he suggests that they are in a constant process of construction.

In a comparison of structural perspectives on gender behaviour and more drammaturgical approaches, Coleman (in Hearn & Morgan 1990:194) argues that neither persons nor activities should be seen as gendered independently of the "gender-producing work" in which they are implicated. For Coleman, maleness is an occasioned matter in which masculinity is either constructed and sustained by hidden, but discoverable forces, discourses, ideologies and structures, in which case it is a contingent and moment-to-moment unconscious accomplishment or is constructed *bricoleur*-fashion, by the actor and sustained by conscious monitoring and impression-management. Coleman's points of view raises awareness of the diversity of conceptualisations of masculinity as well as the variety of theoretical perspectives on masculinity. These will be taken up in Chapter 3.

An issue central to this present study which is raised by Connell is the cultural bias in definitions and constructions of meaning of masculinity. He refers to the startling ethnocentrism of most of the English-language literature (Connell, 1991b) and argues that discourses of masculinity are constructed out of the lives of at most, five percent of the world's population of men, in one culture area, at one moment in time. Further, he emphasises that much of the literature displays a class and race bias (1991b), often because the conceptions of masculinity as a psychological essence, particularly in biological, sex role and psychoanalytic perspectives, obliterate questions about social structure and the historical dynamics of gender relations (Connell, 1993:597-623).

Support is offered for this view on cultural bias by Uebel (1997:2) who maintains that categories such as whiteness and masculinity have no single "notional" or "objective" standing beyond the culture in which they originate. In a discussion of the notions of theorising-from-above and theorising-from-below, however, Uebel (1997:3) argues that it is important to cross and uncross the central issues of race by the heterogeneity of masculine sex/gender interests and class/ethnic identities. The opposition between identity-from-above and identity-from below he believes is false (1997:3). This view expressed by Uebel, addresses the inadequacy of the epistemological assumptions as well as cultural biases in many theoretical perspectives on masculinity.

The pluralising of masculinity to masculinities

Recognition of the psychological differences and diversity among men, on the one hand, and emphasis on the importance of the reciprocal interrelationships of masculinities in the context of hegemonic masculinity on the other, by Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) have been seen as the norms for the pluralising of masculinity to masculinities (Hearn & Collinson, 1994:105). Certainly the emphasis on subordinate, marginalised and hegemonic masculinities by Connell and others appears to have given a major fillip to the differentiating of masculinities or even hierarchicalisation of masculinities. None of these is homogeneous and there can be several hegemonic, subordinate and marginalised masculinities in any temporal and spatial context. Nixon (1996:13) puts this slightly differently when he refers to the conception of the field of gender relations structured around polyvocal forms of power, rather than divided along the lines of universal masculine domination and feminine subordination. For Nixon (1996:13) not only is there not one singular, totalising version of masculinity, but the masculinity of individual men in itself is potentially plural.

The plural nature of masculinity is emphasised in a definition by Uebel (in Stecopoulos & Uebel, 1997:4) when he argues that masculinity becomes not the defining quality of men, of their fantasies and real experiences of self and other, but one coordinate of their identity that exists in a constant dialectical relation with other coordinates. Further, Uebel (1997:4) suggests that the term masculinities brings into play the recognition of the profound multiplicity and conditional status of the historical experience of male subjects. He calls his perspective a dialectical constructionist view of racial and gender subjectivities (Uebel, 1997:4). Similarly, Nixon (1996:13) argues that plural subject positions of men are regulated interdiscursively by what Foucault called "social hegemonic", by common attributes and characteristics of recurrent positionalities.

Some writers like Hearn (1996) are not so certain about the advantages of treating masculinity as plural. An emphasis on variety and difference he argues (Hearn, in Mac an Ghaill, 1996:210-11) might see a possible retreat to relativism and remove attention from the interrelations of the unities of men, and the differences between men. Further, he maintains that a concentration on diversity may well undermine attention to the way that, despite differences between men, they are bound together as a gender class in power relations with women (Hearn, 1996:211). This view is also expressed by Wearing (1996). Hearn (1996:211) is also concerned that relativistic approaches to masculinity do not adequately deal with the relationship of unities and differences between men to other social divisions and oppressions, such as class, race, disability. In emphasising the importance of concentrating on the dialectic among gender, race and class, Uebel (1997) seems to be suggesting a way out of Hearn's dilemma in the analysis of empirical data. Finally, Hearn argues that engaging with this multiplicity or multiplicities of masculinity subverts the whole enterprise of a particular sociology of masculinity. Ultimately, for Hearn (1996:211) increasingly complex differentiations of

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men lead towards epistemological questions, including the case for anti-foundationalism. His real concern here is that by concentrating on questions of this type there will be a deflection away from issues of power, domination and oppression (Hearn, 1996:211). These arguments appear to add up to a conclusion offered by Collinson (in Mac an Ghaill, 1996:65) that multiple masculinities interconnect with multiple sites and that these overlap with each other, and that there may well be significant interstices between them which might reinforce their complex and ambiguous nature.

"Markers" of masculinity

In the existing literature on masculinity, several definers have been discussed as central to what it is to be masculine. These definers or "markers" are many but only four will be discussed in this section. These are sport, the body and work and sexual relations and behaviour. Throughout this discussion linkages among several of these definers will be expanded upon. For Connell (1995:54) sport became the leading definer of masculinity in mass culture. True masculinity, maintains Connell (1995:45) is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies, and sport provides a continuous display of men's bodies in motion (1995:54). For Connell (1995:54) the embodiment of sport involves a whole pattern of body development and use which differentiates men by degrees of force and power as well as skills. Further, the institutional organisation of sport embeds definite social relations which promote competition and hierarchy among men, and exclusion or domination of women (Connell, 1995:54). Even in the workplace, according to Connell (1995:55) manual workers have used a masculinity of industrial labour which emphasises strength, endurance, a degree of insensitivity and toughness, and group solidarity, to survive exploitative class relations and as a means of asserting superiority over men. With increasing consideration of the work and changing

technology in the workplace, these manual labourers and their gender displays are increasingly vulnerable. In a discussion of labour in the working class, Donaldson (1991:17) argues that labouring men are preoccupied with their bodies because if they malfunction the repercussions are dire. Here is another example of the vulnerability of this type of gender identity.

Contrasting sociological approaches are underpinned by the language of biological science which views the body as a natural machine which produces difference (Connell, 1995:45) or by the notion of the body from a social constructionist position as a more or less neutral surface or landscape on which a social symbolism is imprinted (Connell, 1995:46). For Wearing (1996:68) the body is engendered – inscribed with gender specific meanings that reflect the social, cultural, economic and political milieu of its experience. This view of the body according to Shilling (in Woodward, 1997a:78) explains the significance of the body by concentrating on social factors and rejects the idea that biology can provide an explanation for social relations of domination and subordination. Connell (1995:52) concludes that social processes may elaborate on bodily difference, may distort, contradict, complicate, deny, minimise or modify bodily differences, and may define one gender or a whole spectrum of fragments, variations and trajectories. Whatever the case, there is an intricate interplay of the body and social process (Connell, 1995:53). In particular, bodies are substantively in play in social practices such as sport, labour and sex.

What this literature implies, especially in its more social and cultural constructionist orientations, is the cultural specificity of the importance of sport, work and the body as well as sex. Definitions and constructions of each of these are filtered by socio-cultural contexts. Connell includes a temporal dimension by indicating that the exemplary status of sport as a test of masculinity which we now take for granted is in no sense natural but produced historically. This universalising of the importance of

sport is obvious in the work of Messner (1992:8) who argues that sport participation offers young men a way into a world of masculine values, rituals and relationships. As an institution it offers great status and power to all males but in the end, delivers much to only a few (Messner & Sabo, 1990a). Sport reflects all the contradictions in masculinity.

In referring to the work of Michael Kimmel, Klein (1993:278) indicates that the only certain thing about masculinity is its uncertainty. This uncertainty he maintains propels men to choose one or another path in order to quell the gnawing, unclear sense that for all their efforts they are no closer to a genuine understanding of their place in society or what it is to be a man. Without wanting to traverse the path of the "poor-boy syndrome" (Wearing, 1996), it is a fact that sport is one of the paths that men use in an effort to legitimate their gender identities, suggested by Klein in his work on body-building. For Cole (in Seidman, 1996:289) professional sport is one of the most prominent sites for the production of the prototypical masculine body. Cole maintains that a (hyper) heterosexual masculinity is displayed through a series of practices embedded in a "politics of lifestyle" marked by the semi-public sexual exchange of a conspicuously displayed network of adoring, supportive female fans. It is a masculine lifestyle which appears to be appropriate to the black body which is seen as closer to nature and as hypersexual but not for the body of the Asian man (Cole, 1996:281). Cole (1996:289) admits that the relationship between sport and masculinity is complicated by race.

Another important definer of masculinity is work. One of the most predominant and pervasive ideological notions connected with gendered social relations is the division of labour preferred by workers where the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the housewife (Livingston & Luxton in Donaldson, 1991:66). Work is more than just an ability to do a job however. Donaldson (1991:10) argues that for young

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working-class men work is associated with manual labour and the social superiority of masculinity involving strength, activity, hardness, danger, difficulty and courage. This is contrasted with mental labour which is associated with the social inferiority of femininity and weakness, passivity, softness, timidity and domesticity (Donaldson, 1991). Non-manual work is regarded as effeminate, "sissy" and it is performed by "poofters" and "wankers" (Donaldson, 1991:10). Even those manual workers who work in boring, repetitive, unhealthy and self-destructive jobs appear to experience a feeling of pride in having withstood what the world does to them (Donaldson, 1991:10). Many of these manual workers are now experiencing even greater difficulties as technology replaces them and unemployment becomes a feature of life.

With the changing nature of national and international economies, affirmative action policies, significant shifts in international markets and labour and increasing female participation in the labour force, many males have had to redefine traditional views of masculinity associated with the breadwinner role and associated power and changes in the division of labour in the household. Further, increasing unemployment decreases a man's ability to provide for himself and his family, and affects the way he spends his time (Morgan, 1992). Unemployment, at least potentially, provides a challenge to traditional masculine identities (Willott & Griffin, 1995:77). As with gender, sex and sexuality and constructions of the body, meanings associated with manual and non-manual work and non-work as well as unemployment are socio-culturally specific. As with masculinity, constructions of the meaning of work cannot be presented uncritically as a monolithic and unitary entity (Willott & Griffin, 1996:79).

A fourth marker of traditional masculine identities focuses on sexual behaviour and sexual relations. Men's sense of power and control is maintained through the sexual division of labour in the household according to Game and Pringle (1983:22-3). It is through sex itself however that male identity is constructed and sustained

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(Donaldson, 1991:26). According to Segal (1990) much of the popular and accessible feminist writing emphasised how male sexual dominance was at the heart of all other power relations in society. In a warning about the need to tease out the connections between the nature and significance of many layers of sexual and bodily experiences for both men and women, Segal (1990:209) makes the important observation that consideration must be given to the cultural ideas and values surrounding sex; the social contexts allowing or forbidding sexual expression; as well as the medical and other social practices applied in the body. All of these must be seen in the wider context of gender hierarchy. It is also important to recognise that within the ideological structure of patriarchal culture, heterosexual masculinity has traditionally been structured as the normative order (Berger et al, 1995:2). This order is promoted in the insistently masculinised public culture – in peer groups, schools, workplaces, sporting organisations and media (Connell, 1995:147). Homophobia has been perceived as an outcome where transgressions of this socially and culturally constructed order are observed.

Types of masculinity

While it is important to recognise the important criticism of "categorialisation" presented by Connell (1987) it is equally essential to introduce those classifications that most commonly occur. There is no desire to proliferate classifications of manliness, manhood or masculinity. One of the most central classifications of masculinities devised by Connell (1987) is his use of power and domination as a means of differentiation. Connell refers to hegemonic, subordinated and marginalised masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity he argues is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women (Connell, 1987:183). Hegemonic masculinity is a culturally ascendant form of masculinity based more

around consensus and complicity than coercion. For Connell, ascendency is achieved through a balance of forces (1987:184) and hegemonic masculinity is very public (1987:185). Further, achieving hegemony may involve preventing alternatives gaining cultural definition and recognition as alternatives, confining them to ghettos, to privacy, to unconsciousness (1987:186). Contemporary hegemonic masculinity is heterosexual and homophobic (Donaldson, 1993) while subordinated masculinity is homosexual.

Connell however, makes only fleeting reference to marginalised masculinities. He maintains (in Patton & Poole 1985:7) that this type of masculinity is marginalised by a process of social change that undermines its cultural presuppositions. He purports that the case of the patriarchal masculinity of migrant men from Mediterranean countries in Australia is illustrative. However, Connell (1985/6) later emphasises the interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race and he suggests further that hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, and marginalisation/authorisation on the other, could provide the basis for an analytic framework of masculinities (Connell, 1995:81). The youth gang violence of inner-city streets is a striking example of an outcome of marginalised masculinities (Connell, 1995:83).

Kimmel (1992) refers to the outcome of stigmatised gender identity and compensation for insecure gender identity as hypermasculinity. Like Connell (1995) he refers to the many urban social pathologies which result from this angry masculinity. In earlier work, Pleck (in Brod, 1987:31) indicated that the concept of hypermasculinity (exaggerated extreme masculine behaviour) was a defence against the males unconscious feminine identification. The other type of masculinity related to hegemonic masculinity is "protest" masculinity defined as those instances of extreme sex typed behaviour on the part of some males who are in conflict about or who are insecure about their identities as males (Addelston & Stirratt, quoting Broude in Cheng,

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1996a:57). Connell argues (1995:242) that the realisation of oppositions among masculinities in social life differs according to the interplay of gender with class relations, race relations and the forces of globalisation.

Like Cheng (1996a), Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:20) argue that rarely will there be only one hegemonic masculinity operating in any cultural setting. They believe that in different contexts, different hegemonic masculinities are imposed by emphasising certain attributes, such as physical prowess or emotionality, over others. Different hegemonic masculinities will, therefore, produce different subordinate variants and an extension of this would be different marginalised variants. Kaufman (in Brod & Kaufman 1994:152) provides some examples around the issue of differential power and privilege experienced by men based on a range of social positions and relations. The social power, for example, of a poor white man is different from a rich one so is a working-class black man from a white man, a gay man from a bisexual or a straight man, a Jewish man in Ethiopia from a Jewish man in Israel (Kaufman, 1994:152). Regardless, all men appear to have greater power and privilege relative to women (Wearing,1996).

Like other commentators before him Messner (1997:8) argues that men are not considered equal under patriarchy. Fung (1995), Fong-Torres (1994) and Leong (1996) indicate Asian men are good examples when they are stereotyped as small, wimpy, unattractive, yet highly intelligent in "unscrupulous" and untrustworthy ways. Similarly, black men often invoke an imagery of oversexed bodies with low intelligence, while Asian men are representative of undersexed bodies with an overabundance of cunning intelligence. Messner (1997:69) thus demonstrates how the imposition, manipulation and contestation of (white), heterosexual images and identities has become a key battleground in struggles between men and race and class hierarchies, and how they become phallic wars between men (1997:69). Yet, little is known about

how subordinated and marginalised groups of men resist the various forms of oppression that they face within the hierarchies of male dominance. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (1994:207) argue that a critical/feminist sociology of men and masculinity would best describe and problematise hegemonic masculinity by proceeding from the standpoint of marginalised and subordinate masculinities.

Cultural assumptions of masculinity(ies)

In illustrating the cultural specificity and the Eurocentric notions of "masculinity", Mirande (1997) suggests that the case of Chicano/Latino culture is instructive. Mirande (1997:147) maintained that superheroes such as Rambo, Superman, and Batman best epitomise the image of white masculinity. In Chicano/Latino culture, however, it is both permissible and desirable for men to be emotional, to show their feelings, and to kiss, hug, and be affectionate with male children. In other words, Latino men can at once be warm, loving and tender and self-reliant, self-sufficient and willing to take a stand. Mirande maintains Latino masculinities, are not a subpart of the dominant masculinities and that they are as complex and varied as Euro-American masculinities.

Nevertheless, Evans (1997:28) in writing about women and sexuality in China, suggests that the absence of a specific linguistic category for gender in contemporary Chinese language is indicative of the prevalence of an essentialist conflation. Further, she maintains that the notion of sexuality is equally problematic in Chinese. If, as Foucault believed, sexuality is culturally variable rather than a timeless immutable essence (Parker, Russo, Sommer & Yaeger, 1992:4), for Evans (1997), as with Butler (1990) and Moore (1994b), the insistence on binary sets of gender characteristics attached to two different kinds of bodies serve to reinforce the hegemony of reproduction and heterosexuality. She emphasises that this approach to gender and sex

does not allow recognition of biology and nature as culturally defined categories, nor does it explain how and why gender differences are so fixed in the physical body that the distinction between sexed bodies and socially constructed genders is collapsed together.

While Connell (1995) argues that Western masculinities are not cloned in the periphery, he acknowledges the globalisation of hegemonic masculinity, particularly manifested in multinational, international corporate board rooms, stockmarkets and business corporations (1997a). Similarly, Vale de Almeida (1996:169) finds that Western notions of gender and gender analysis have also generated redefinitions at the local level, creolisation and global models as reflected by the multi-ethnic town in Portugal where the body, gender and sexuality are mobilised for defining and redefining ethnicity, class, consumption habits and personal identity. This raises the question if some varieties of hegemonic masculinity are more hegemonic than others, or simply if there is a hierarchy of hegemonic masculinities. While the notion of hegemony may indeed be portable, the concept of hegemonic masculinity may not articulate as well across cultures. Connell does suggest that the Western concept of masculinity seems to be a fairly recent historical product, and its cultural definitions are often taken for granted (Connell, 1995:68). In his view, all societies may have different cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the same concept of "masculinity" (1995:67).

Probably Hearn offers the most comprehensive criticisms of masculinity or "masculinities" (1996). He is critical of problems with the concept of masculinity. The indiscriminate use of the concept as a shorthand and as a primary concept to explain gender matters, often essentialising and reducing the term to a binary categorisation of man (male)/woman (female). He also rails against the heavy dependence on biological and psychological measures omitting cultural considerations in defining gender/sexuality as well as biological characteristics. In other words, Hearn questions

whether masculinity as a gendered form is generalisable from culture to culture (1996:205).

In this context, Hearn (1996:211) questions the multiple differentiations over the nature of difference/differance/deferrals, and raises doubt over whether there is a concrete foundation to the concept of masculinity in general. Bulbeck, on the other hand, echoes a counter sentiment (1998:4) when she insists that women's studies does not and cannot dissolve into endless differences and that patterns must be sought and lines of distinction drawn. Many postmodernists might beg to differ on this line of argument. Using ethnographic and anthropological evidence, Hearn argues that the presence of "multiple gender ideologies" (Miegs, 1990), "the third sex" and "the third gender" (Herdt, 1981) and the deconstructive movement beyond the "heterosexual matrix" (Butler, 1990) are reflective of the attempts to investigate specific gendered arrangements rather than the single assumption of any pre-existence of masculinity (Hearn, 1996:213).

Nevertheless, in Hearn's view (1996:214) it is also important to distinguish between the "material" and "discursive" practice of masculinity, that is, the conceptualisation of men in terms of the ways they are "masculinised" and the assumption of some independent substance of masculinity itself. This clarifies men's political positions and it is also critical of mere discursive practice.

Notwithstanding, MacInnes (1998:152) insists that in debating masculinity our "real" choice is between a politics of identity which imagines the self to be purely socially constructed, and a radical politics of equal rights which embraces the full consequences of universalism in the public sphere but explicitly refuses to embrace the personal, which accepts that there are aspects of the self that are not socially constructed. This issue will be taken up in Chapter 3.

General strategies of investigating gender and masculinities

Mac an Ghaill summarises the debates succinctly (1996:4). He argues that masculinity is a field of study attempting to develop complex theories but fails to connect them with individual experiences of masculinity, which are frequently elusive, fluid and complex in modern societies. Masculinity is thus a crucial point of intersection of different forms of power, stratification, desire and subjective identity formation that needs more empirical research in comparative socio-cultural settings.

Strategies of investigation have been suggested in social sciences (Connell, 1995:68). The first one is to develop an essentialist definition that defines the core of the masculine upon which accounts of men's lives are attached. The major weakness with this approach is that the definition of the essence is quite arbitrary. An additional problem is that the quality chosen is frequently biased toward Western cultures.

The second strategy, which is positivistic aims to discover patterns of masculinity using variables usually measured psychometrically. However, this approach frequently takes for granted its typologies of gender and categorisation, and disregards the possibility of hybridity i.e., when men are labelled "feminine".

The third strategy offers normative definitions (Connell, 1995:70) that is, in recognising gender differences, a standardised form of masculinity is offered as norms to conform to by men. The problems with this are not only how high the standards are set but also what norms are chosen and by whom. For Connell, few men actually match the requirements of the "blueprint" and it is thus difficult to determine who is, in fact, masculine. Moreover, when this strategy is based on semiotics, the fourth strategy which defines masculinity through a system of contrasting symbolic difference where masculinity is defined as non-femininity (Connell, 1995:70), it is based more on discourse than practice (Connell, 1995).

Nevertheless, Morgan warns us of the problem of false universalism as well as over-individualising masculinity as in the notion of "all men are different" (Morgan, 1992:42). His point is that when the term "masculinities" is used theoretically and politically, we should be aware of the ideological and epistemological assumptions which underpin their constructions. In Chapter 3, the theoretical perspectives on masculinity are discussed and these assumptions are made more explicit.

Empirical studies of perceptions of characteristics of masculinity are frequently plagued by the conceptual problems outlined above. This is particularly the case where groups being compared include Western and non-Western males. Two of these studies which are longitudinal and psychometric in nature are evaluated and critiqued in the following section.

Lessons from longitudinal/empirical studies

One of the most extensive and longitudinal positivistic studies of qualities of masculinities (Harris, 1995) was conducted over a seven-year period during the 1980's in North America. Respondents were required to react to a list of 30 different messages contained in a questionnaire. These messages were reported by men, during pilot phases of item development, to have been received by them from their culture. The questionnaire was gradually reduced from 30 to 24 messages, and a second scale added which required respondents to indicate how the influence of the messages had changed since they were 18 year of age (a time the author argues is important in life transitions). Harris (1995:10) defined gender identity as biology, e.g., sex typing of physical characteristics; plus cultural norms, e.g., masculinity is a diverse and dynamic concept which is culturally constructed; plus subcultural influences, e.g., membership in working class or ethnic groups; plus unique circumstances, e.g., social environments in which the boy was raised.

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Only those findings from this longitudinal study which are relevant to the present research will be reported here. The study established that most elders and men in most Asian societies are given higher status, even though by the third generation men from minority groups have assimilated White Anglo Saxon Protestant values of appropriate male behaviour (Harris, 1995:170). Further, Asian children tend to honour and obey their parents and the pressure on them to succeed academically is very strong. Many Asian men, Harris concluded, experience cultural stress of cultural adaptation. Unemployment for Asian men is associated with a decrease in status and increased feelings of powerlessness. It was reported that many feel their values are being eroded (Harris, 1995). In the case of generational differences older males tended to emphasise "breadwinner", "law", "warrior", "tough guy", "be like your father" messages. Younger men stressed "scholar" and "rebel" messages. Harris (1995:166) argued that younger men appear to be rebelling against traditional male values and forming new forms of masculinity. In relation to community of origin, boys raised in rural areas had more classical views of masculinity compared to those raised in the suburbs who emphasised self reliance. In the case of class differences, Harris (1995:168) concludes that class backgrounds do not provide great differences in terms of male messages that set expectations for how men ought to behave. The dominant notions of masculinity appear to overpower class differences. In an important summary statement, Harris (1995:181) concluded that an individual will construct his own unique gender identity that contains characteristics acquired from the dominant culture, from his subculture, and from his own unique experiences. Harris (1995:181) uses the metaphor of the marketplace to represent male behaviour in any country. This is very much like the drammaturgical notion of the *bricoleur*, where the individual constructs bits and pieces of identity based on experience to suit the socio-cultural context.

Unfortunately in this study, Harris (1995) appears to use a reductionist, atomistic approach based on respondents' reactions to preestablished items about which the reader is uncertain of the extent of cultural sensitivity. In some respects items or "messages" like those used in the questionnaire tend to universalise masculinity. There is some confusion as well about the extent to which Harris was able to disaggregate the dominant images of masculinity by important variables like class. Using a positivistic methodology like this, Harris will inevitably context strip and it is difficult to ascertain those aspects of the lived experiences of these men, especially subcultural, which most influenced their constructions of masculinities. It is also difficult to ascertain if Harris is reporting on the findings of the longitudinal study or those of other research. These are important conceptual-theoretical and methodological lessons from the Harris report for the present study. In particular, the reader is never certain of what Harris means by "White Anglo Saxon Protestant values of appropriate male behaviour". Appropriate male behaviour is implied in items used in the questionnaire, and this has a strong Western bias. This work points to the difficulty of using Western concepts in cross-cultural comparative work.

Another large scale, cross-cultural comparative study is the IBM International Attitude Survey reported by Hofstede and Bond (1988). This was a positivistic study of 116,000 persons in 53 cultures, concerned with measures of power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and Confucian dynamism. Using psychometric approaches the researchers used attitude scales which respondents were required to rate. The study showed that masculinity of males in Hong Kong and Australia tended toward the assertive and competitive "masculine" pole while that of Taiwanese males was characterised by nurturing and modesty, the "feminine" pole. Again the authors, resort to dualistic thinking. Employees in Hong Kong and Taiwan were more likely to be strongly collective compared with Australian employees who

were individualistic. Australian employees indicated less expectation of and acceptance of the hierarchical nature of organisations and power than did their Taiwanese and Hong Kong counterparts. The degree of comfort with unstructured situations, e.g., novel or unknown, was much less among Taiwanese and Australian employees than among Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysian employees.

In their conclusions, Hofstede and Bond (1988) make the point that an overemphasis on protecting one's face could detract from getting on with business and too much respect for tradition could impede innovation. Both of these are traditional Chinese values. Further, Hofstede and Bond (1988) indicate that neo-Confucian countries (e.g., Hong Kong) generally score fairly high on Power Distance, low on Individualism and mid-range on Masculinity/Femininity (except Japan, which scores quite high on masculinity).

As with the Harris study, this study adopts a reductionist, trait approach which uses scales which appear to contain strong Euro-American biases. It appears that Hofstede and Bond assume that there are particular universal traits in multinational corporations, but they never make these clear. In many respects the study is normative and the authors place interpretations on the data which assume Western models of organisation, and Euro-American value systems.

These two studies are typical of those described by Connell (1995) as normative, essentialist, reductionist, and dualistic. They are typical of most of the objective, psychometric empirical studies which adopt a set of masculine traits which are universalised, uncritically applied and never problematised. The present study which adopts a critically constructionist approach to the accounts of subjective experiences of Chinese male migrants obviates such shortcomings. The next chapter situates this theoretical approach into a much wider theoretical context.

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In the following section some empirical studies of the relationship between migration and gender/sexual identites are introduced and critically analysed. Further, the broader relationships of gender, ethnicity and class together with sexuality are discussed. The section concludes with an expansion on six key issues which underpin the research questions in the present study.

Migration and gender/sexual identities – some empirical studies

The effects of migration on gender identities particularly among males has not received the same attention as the influence of migration on sex roles and changes in power relations, or the differential effects of migration on different generations within families, or the effects of migration on family dynamics. The following section is a brief introduction to the empirical research in the area to explore how the concepts introduced earlier have been woven into these studies.

Research work which is discussed in this section focuses particularly on: the importance of considering the intersection of gender, class and ethnicity in studies of identity (Seidman, 1997); the diversity of diasporic subjectivity (Sun, 1997-8); the effect of migration in changing relations between men and women (Shahidian, 1999); the "nerd" stereotype and Asian-American men (Cheng, 1999a; Kendall, 1999); changing constructions of masculinity among Asian-American men (Chua & Fujino, 1999); notions of hegemonic, subordinate and marginalised masculinities (Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Vale de Almeida, 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner, 1994); conceptions of "macho" and hypermasculinity (Melhuus & Stolen, 1996; Mirande, 1997); sexuality and sexual identities (Almaguer, 1993; Wong, 1992); immigrant work and unemployment (Seidler, 1992a; Brah, 1996) and subaltern males (Chen, 1999).

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Identity needs to be conceptualised in a multidimensional social space (Seidman, 1997:137). If this is done it is important then to embed the self in institutional practices and dynamics, as individuals experience sexual and gender orientations in particular class, race, and socio-cultural contexts. However, it is important to avoid the temptation even for intellectual and/or practical reasons to homogenise meanings of particular groups of individuals of the same gender, sexuality, age, ethnicity and social class interacting in a particular socio-cultural milieu. It follows then that the Chinese diaspora is a remarkably complex and diverse group and that the migration experience is characterised by heterogeneity and diversity. For Sun (1997-8) any inquiry into Chinese diasporic subjectivity must start by looking at the multiple processes by which Chineseness is imagined and constructed (Sun, 1997-8:144). This construction according to Sun (1997-8) operates on the intersection of categories such as race, gender, class and geography, which it is argued render as irrelevant a singular master narrative of diasporic subjectivity (Sun, 1997-8:144).

It has been contested (Sun, 1997-8:144) that Chinese migrants like other migrants, migrate for a variety of reasons including political, economic and personal, and under a multitude of different conditions and circumstances. For Sun (1997-8) it is important to consider the intersection of race, nation, class and ethnicity in negotiations that individuals make as they are subject to movement and displacement in an intensified transnational capitalist world. Sun (1997-8:144) contends that deterritorialisation rather than locality is the essential condition in the individual's negotiation of a plural and fragmented existence. Central to the migrants' subjectivity is the creative tension between questions like "where are you from?" and "where are you at?" (Sun, 1997-8:144). While Sun does not extend this work into an empirical study of the effects of migration on perceptions of gender, the theoretical work points to

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an important intersection among postmodern, post-structural and critical theoretical perspectives. These perspectives will be introduced in Chapter 3.

A central feature of much of the quantitative positivistic work on migration and its effects is its concentration on the use of traditional independent variables e.g., age, sex, level of education and socio-economic status to explain particular effects of migration on individuals. In general, this work points to the fact that migration is a tangled web of conflicting changes, some of which increase women's control over their lives, some of which create additional barriers before them (Shahidian, 1999:191). There is also some strong evidence that migration effects profound changes in the relations between men and women (Shahidian, 1999). There are changes in sex role behaviour, division of labour and orientations of different generations to the new environment among the migrating groups. In particular, generational differences may become obvious in orientations to for example, family, work, education and leisure as well as religion and popular culture. For Shahidian (1999:191) immigrants construct their communities on the basis of a reservoir of cultural and social patterns "transported" from home. Further, Shahidian (1999:191) argues that migrancy may not necessarily be a traumatic experience of marginalisation, of being incomplete, it may rather be having double (or multiple) identities and being able to constructively manoeuvre among them. This is a conclusion similar to that reached by Sun (1997-8).

In an empirical study of immigrant Iranians in Canada, Shahidian (1999) suggests that one of the most significant aspects of the alteration that occurs with migration particularly as it applies to gender and sexuality, is a changing focus of reference from the community to the individual. According to Shahidian (1999:191) the increasing significance of individuality especially among the upper middle-class causes a chasm between real and ideal behaviour and expectations. Further, while immigrant communities offer their members a "vocabulary of values" to help them construct their

identity and rootedness, being an immigrant offers new possibilities (Shahidian, 1999:191). Therefore, for the individual migrant neither the ethnic community nor the host community is all constitutive or all restrictive (Shahidian, 1999:191). The migrant is exposed to a diversity of social milieu through which they must weave their social and cultural identity in the new environment. According to Shahidian (1999:192) immigrant men and women selectively mix and match "traditional" norms and values with "modern" options to improve their position in the contested domains of gender and sexuality. In this selective choosing or weeding out process there is a constant essentialising and mystifying of both home and host societies as points of reference (Shahidian, 1999:192).

Research work in the USA on Asian-American and Asian men who are migrants of long standing or recently arrived, addresses the issues of stereotypes and notions of hegemonic, subordinated and marginalised masculinities. According to Cheng (1999a) Asian and Asian-American men are often stereotyped as nerds. He argues also that class comes into play in the nerd attribution toward Asian and Asian-American men and this is associated with their over representation in technical fields. For newer immigrants this could be explained by the need for lower levels of English language skills and fewer requirements for knowledge of Euro-American culture in the technical fields (Cheng, 1999b:306). Figures from the USA indicate that older Asian-American immigrants also go into the technical fields, but also into accounting, engineering, and computer science because they believe this will decrease the chance of being racially discriminated against (Baron & Newman, 1990; Featherman & Hauser, 1978; Shenhav & Haberfeld, 1992).

The nerd stereotype, it is argued by Kendall (1999) includes aspects of both hypermasculinity (intellect, rejection of sartorial display, lack of "feminine" social and relational skills) and perceived feminisation (lack of sports ability, small body size, lack

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of sexual relationships with women). Further, according to Kendall (1999:356) the nerd is one among many types of "subordinated masculinities", including "wimp, milksop, nerd, turkey, sissy" (Connell, 1995:79) but is also compliant with hegemonic masculinity. The profile of the nerd as described by Kendall (1999) includes the following characteristics: usually a male Euro-American (may also be Asian-American), heterosexual (more likely asexual) who is a high achiever in education (especially math and science), highly skilled with computers and has a high IQ, but who is socially inept, collects objects associated with knowledge (especially computers), is a science fiction fan, has poor personal hygiene, wears uncoordinated clothing and whose home is decorated in a haphazard manner.

The marginalisation of Asian and Asian-American men as nerds is an example Cheng argues, of the complex intergroup relations between sex, gender, sexuality, race, religion, coloniality and class (1999b:305). This marginalisation is exacerbated by the typical representation of Asian American men as physically smaller than Euro-American men. Cheng sees this as an example of the inferiorisation of Asian men by hegemonic masculinity, using physical size as a measure. In the case of sexuality, Asian-American men are depicted as asexual. Moreover in a bipolarised gender role culture asexuality is regarded as highly deviant, even more "deviant" than homosexuality (Cheng, 1997:305). This is another example of how hegemonic masculinity uses "difference" in a way that dominance is retained. For Cheng, attributions by Euro-Americans that Asian-American and Asian men's gender performance as inferior have been internalised by many Asian and Asian-American men.

Historically, US institutional practices have rendered Asian-American men as simultaneously hypermasculine and emasculated (Chua & Fujino, 1999:391). Further, for these authors (1999:391) the feminised Asian-American male has been emasculated

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today by the model minority myth and asexual media representations. In an analysis of survey data, Chua and Fujino (1999) found that unlike white men, Asian-American men did not view their masculinity in opposition to their femininity. Further, some Asian-American men, especially the US-born, appeared to be creating a new, more flexible masculinity – one free from male dominance (1999:391). These US-born men linked their masculinity with certain caring characteristics and were the only men's group willing to do domestic tasks. Chua and Fujino (1999) concluded that Asian-American men are negotiating their contradictory positions as members of a privileged gender group and subordinate racial group. According to these researchers, most white men consider masculinity as a highly important component of who they are whereas this is not so for US-born Asian men and less so for immigrant Asian men. For Asian-American men, the masculinity issue is about who one is and how one relates to family and relatives, loved ones, emotional partners, close friends and acquaintances (Chua and Fujino, 1999:393). Moreover, it is also related to the ways one presents oneself to the world at the workplace, at school, in leisure situations, and other public gatherings.

In their conclusions, Chua and Fujino (1999) outline that Asian-American men hold the view that maleness can contain elements of masculinity and femininity – a more flexible masculinity; that Asian-American men are attempting to negotiate new forms of non-hegemonic masculinities; that US-born Asian men rely on their ability to garner economic power; that Asian-American men construct a social representation of an apparent contradictory masculinity in which power, attractiveness and caring are combined; and that Asian-American masculinity is fluid and dynamic. The authors warn against overgeneralising the results but emphasise that the study highlights economic status as a key in understanding Asian-American masculinity, especially for middle and upper-middle class men.

After a review of research work in North America on Mexican immigrant men and ethnographic research on Mexican immigrant communities, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (1994:215) conclude that by focussing on subordinated and marginalised masculinities, hegemonic masculinity would be removed from centre stage. Further, they argue that such a refocussing would require the deployment of theoretical frameworks that examine the ways the politics of social class, race, ethnicity and sexuality interact with those of gender. Such frameworks would need to be sufficiently flexible to assist in explanations of changing gender identities among immigrant males, to encompass the heterogeneities in gender identities among immigrant males and to handle the bigger issue of the way gender identities (variants of masculinities) change with socio-cultural context. Brod and Kaufman (1994) also refer to the need to decentre and problematise hegemonic masculinity by proceeding from the standpoint of marginalised and subordinate masculinities. In previous research on migration trajectories, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992:393) argues that patriarchy is neither a monolithic nor a static construct. That research suggests that alterations in patriarchal behaviour are attributable to arrangements induced by the migration process. In particular, power relations, status and sex role characteristics change to the benefit of women where males migrate leaving spouses and children behind. Migration for Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) becomes a gendering as well as a gendered process as it affects masculine and feminine behaviour differentially.

Vale de Almeida (1996) completed an anthropological study of masculinity in a Portuguese town in which he was attempting to establish how masculinity is reproduced in daily life and interaction. He concluded that being a man in that town is not the same for those who follow the social norm of heterosexuality as it is for those who have bisexual or homosexual identities (1996:143). Further, he suggested that a similar conclusion could be reached if sexual orientation was replaced with social-class

affiliation, ethnic identities, religious beliefs or any other level of social identity that may cut across gender or be cut across by it (1996:143). This complexity was attributed by Vale de Almeida, to two conceptual issues. The first of these is concerned with the exclusive use of one paradigm to study masculinity and the other concerns the conceptual confusion among gender, sex and the body. In relation to this present study, the latter issue is exacerbated even further when the research moves outside the Western intellectual tradition and Western culture, to Chinese culture where sex, gender and the body are conceptualised very differently and given different cultural priorities.

In an investigation of the gendering of ethnicity in an Indian peasant community of Quimsa in Equador, Crain (in Melhuus & Stolen, 1996:152) suggests that rather than a unitary self characterised by attributes that remained constant in all settings, Quimsenas fashioned diverse styles of self representation which they tailored to particular audiences. They could mimic dominant stereotypes as subordinates to achieve their goals with hegemonic elites or play quite different roles in their own families. Crain (1996:152) summarises her research with the view that women's (and men's) identities are historically produced, multiple and shifting, rather than being either hermetically sealed or existing in a pure, uncontaminated state. This was particularly so for those Quimsenas who migrated from rural to metropolitan areas where they came into contact with the non-Indian world and with ethnically heterogeneous groups (Crain, 1996). Crain (1996) concluded that this spatial movement allowed for partial deterritorialisation and reshaping of identities away from dominant and traditional elites.

In an exploration of sexuality in Chinese immigrant literature Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (1992:113) suggests that this literature is particularly apt to uncover the constructedness of gender and ethnicity. She argues that when cultural boundaries are crossed the provisionality of previously naturalised, smoothly functioning categories

becomes suddenly visible. Wong (1992) believes that a coalescence of new configurations between gender and ethnicity will emerge as the immigrant characters are shown groping for symbolic means to encode, enact and eventually come to terms with the conflicts generated by relocation. It is to sexuality that Wong (1992) turns to understand how the immigrants ethnic identity is understood, experienced and structured, away from an ethnically homogeneous setting. For Wong, the descriptions of emigration and resettlement for Chinese-Americans deconstruct the natural products of historical particularity. Masculinity and femininity prove to be contingent, mutable, provisional (Wong, 1992:117). Of particular importance in Wong's work is the inclusion of sexuality in the analysis. Much of the work in gender identity assumes a heteronormativity. The extent to which the specifics about gender and ethnicity crossed with sexuality established among Chinese Americans is applicable to Chinese migrants to Australian culture is an important empirical question.

While Chicano gay males to America may not have immigrated for the same reasons or in the way the Chinese-Americans have that Wong has studied, they do nevertheless negotiate the acceptance of a gay identity differently from the way white American men do (Almaguer in Abelove, Barale & Halperin, 1993). This is attributed to cultural and structural factors of this racial minority in the USA. Chicano gay males are at the subordinate ends of both the class and racial hierarchies, and in a context where ethnicity remains a primary basis of group identity and survival (Almaguer, 1993:264). As well as a family life which requires allegiance to patriarchal gender relations among these gay males, factors such as gender, geographical settlement, age, nativity, language usage, and degree of cultural assimilation further prevent, or at least the acceptance of a gay or lesbian identity (Almaguer, 1993:264). How they came to define their sexual identities as gay, straight, bisexual or in Mexican/Latin American terms, argues Almaguer (1993) is not a straightforward or mediated process. It appears

then that issues of ethnic minority status, class and acculturation are all important in this process. Almaguer (1993:269) relates that it is yet to be fully explored how the complex process of integrating, reconciling or contesting various features of both Anglo and Chicano cultural life are experienced by Chicano gay males.

In a review of research literature on machismo and Mexican/Latino masculinity, Alfredo Mirande (1997:17) comes to a conclusion that Latino men do not constitute a homogeneous, monolithic, unvarying mass. Further, Mirande (1997:17) argues that there is not one masculine mode but a variety of modalities and masculinities that are not only different, but often contradictory. In citing the work of Gutmann (1994), Mirande (1997:17) notes that generic terms such as "Mexican men" or "Latino men" mask important regional, class, age, and ethnic differences that exist throughout Mexico, Latin America and Spain. In his own research, Mirande conducted in-depth personal interviews with Latino men (specifically, fathers with at least one child between the ages of four and eighteen living at home) from four geographical regions and from a broad cross-section of the Latino population: working and middle-class, foreign-born and native-born. His findings (Mirande, 1997:145) challenge the modernisation/acculturation hypothesis and point to the presence of a distinctive Mexican cultural ethic surrounding manhood, masculinity, and the father role, an ethic that appears especially strong among poor and working-class men. Mirande (1997:145) established that this ethic dictates that the success of a man or father is measured not so much by external qualities such as wealth, education or power, but by internal ones such as being honest, responsible, and hardworking, sacrificing for one's children and, most of all, not being selfish. Importantly, Mirande (1997:146) concluded that machismo and masculinity are horns of a dilemma or choices faced by Chicano/Latino men. Further, he argued that there is not one but various masculinities, so that a man is evaluated

according to the extent that he is seen as being responsible or irresponsible, honest or dishonest, *egoista* or selfless (Mirande, 1997:146).

One of the most significant observations made by Mirande (1997:146) is that the findings from his research question the assumption that social class is a key determinant of masculine attitudes and that traditional, patriarchal values are more prevalent in the lower classes. This assumption is associated with the modernisation/acculturation hypothesis which proposes in part, that traditional gender roles will be discarded as individuals acquire more education and better-paying jobs (Mirande, 1997:146). Working-class respondents were often found to be more egalitarian and less traditional. One warning that emerges from this research on Chicano/Latino males is that the relative influence of race and class on constructions of masculinity or the practice of traditional or even changing masculine behaviours, is difficult to separate (Mirande, 1997). Of even greater significance is the conclusion that what is assumed to be universal in the study of gender roles and masculinity and femininity is particular and culture specific (Mirande, 1997:147).

This particular point raises the issue of what constitutes "markers" of masculinities in specific individual cultures and whether there are common markers across cultures. One area of life that appears central to negotiations between traditional demands and features involved with migration and settlement processes in the new socio-cultural context is that of work. Given that men define themselves in terms of their positions in the public world of work (Ochberg in Brod, 1987:190) and that our sense of ourselves as men is drawn from our achievements within the public realm of work (Seidler in Nardi, 1992:115) unemployment must have severe consequences for immigrant men. This is particularly so for Chinese males who are expected to be the family's head and provider (Hartley, 1995:80). According to Hartley (1995:93) the frustration of unemployment or underemployment are likely to cause considerable

personal, marital and family stress. She argues that this is a consequence in particular of real or threatened reversal of sex roles. For Donaldson (1991) a deeply entrenched and pervasive ideological notion connected with traditional gendered practices contributes to a division of labour where the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the housewife. So rigid is this expectation in working-class men in the West, in particular, that it has contributed to "breadwinner suicides" and despair in unemployed men (Donaldson, 1991:66).

It has been argued (Brah, 1996:57) that unemployment for Asian men brings into sharp focus the centrality of the wage as an affirmation of masculinity. The lack of a job according to Brah (1996:57) may reduce or delay the securing of a suitable marital partner. The importance of work to Asians is also supported by Tomlinson (in Fleming, 1988) who indicates that they prioritise work and education well ahead of sport as life priorities. He suggests that they have very instrumental attitudes to work as a means to fulfil their economic needs. Asian parents emphasise the importance of education over "frill activities" like school-based sport and involvement in extra curricula clubs and societies. Educational achievement motivation and career motivation take precedence over sport which is ascribed very low status. According to Hartley (1995) and Fleming (1988) this can contribute to confusion and conflict among Asian children who need to negotiate and reconcile contradictory values between school and home. The issues of sport and work raise the important question of judging the "other" (non-Western males) by the implicit yardstick of culturally ascendant (hegemonic) discourses of masculinity. This is particularly pertinent in the case of non-Western immigrant male minorities. Willot and Griffin (in Mac an Ghaill, 1996:80) argue that hegemonic definitions are constructed in a complex and constantly shifting relationship to whatever the definition excludes. Connell (1995:30) also warns that the exemplary status of sport as a test of masculinity is in no sense natural but was produced historically.

Research questions and key issues from the literature

The discussion above raises several key issues which are central to the present study and underpin the research questions outlined in the following section. Firstly, is the appropriateness of the application of theoretical and conceptual frameworks developed in the Western intellectual tradition to investigations of constructions of masculinity among Chinese men. Central to this issue is the question of whether masculinity in particular or gender in general is of any real importance to Chinese male migrants. Secondly, is the relationship among constructions of masculinity, social class and age. Associated with this issue are the effects of level of education and acculturation on perceptions of gender identity. The central question here is whether level of education, duration of settlement, and previous migration experiences have any effect on constructions of masculinity. Thirdly, is the effect of sexuality and sexual experience on constructions of masculinities and perceptions of gender identity. Central to this issue is the question of whether a Chinese male migrant's sexual orientation e.g., homosexuality, heterosexuality or bisexuality effects the way he constructs his masculinity. Furthermore, there is a need to examine the extent of importance of sex and sexual experiences to constructions of gender identity. A fourth issue concerns the significant "markers" of masculinity among Chinese male migrants. In particular, this raises a question which focuses on the life concerns and priorities of Chinese male migrants which seem to influence constructions of masculinities. For example, the importance of work and family needs to be gauged. Consideration of the importance of perceived stereotypes e.g., nerd, on constructions of masculinities is the fifth issue. Of importance here is the migrants awareness of stereotypes of Chinese males by other Chinese or non-Chinese people. Further, the influence of the perceptions of these stereotypes on constructions of masculinities is significant for this present study.

A sixth issue is the change in emphasis given to individuality compared with the collectivity (the community of kin) and its influence on gender identity and sexuality. Previous empirical work also focuses on the influence of social class on this process. A seventh key issue raised by North American literature is the changing nature of masculinity among Chinese-American and Asian-American men. Of concern in this study is the relevance of these findings to Chinese male migrants in Australia. An eighth and final issue which underlies many of the others and is central to this present research is the importance of gauging the subjective experiences of respondents compared with having them react to existing and often, culturally biased psychometric measures of sex roles or gender traits.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MASCULINITY

The purposes of this chapter are:

- to introduce the various theoretical assumptions which underlie a variety of perspectives on masculinity and to offer critiques of each;

- to present and justify theoretical perspectives used in this study.

The strategies of studying masculinity are indicative of the competing theoretical perspectives, and their philosophical, ideological and political assumptions, that have been offered over the last few decades in social sciences. They include: sociobiological, psychoanalytical, mythopoetic, sex role, dramaturgical, social constructionist, critical, post-structuralist, and post modernist perspectives as well as a variety of feminist approaches.

Sociobiological approaches

The sociobiological approach was particularly fashionable in the 1970's. It is based on the belief that men's bodies are the bearers of a "natural" masculinity produced by the evolutionary pressures that have borne down upon the human stock. This view maintains that in inheriting masculine genes, one develops the tendencies to aggression, family life, competitiveness, political power, hierarchy, territoriality, promiscuity and forming men's clubs (Connell, 1995:46). The list of "masculine traits" vary from theory to theory. The most problematic aspect of this approach is that cross-culturally and historically, the evidence is clear that gender is diverse. Taken-for-granted behaviour of males and females in one culture may well be reversed or non-existent in another. For Brah (1992:43), cultural identities are simultaneously evolving yet they acquire specific meanings in a given context. Connell (1995:47) also suggests

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that the natural masculinity thesis requires strong biological determination of group differences in complex social behaviours like creating families. Whatever evidence is available, such determinism is weak.

Psychoanalytical approaches

A variety of psychoanalytical approaches have also been used to explain masculinity. Orthodox Freudianism emphasised "castration anxiety" and "penis envy" (Hearn, 1996), while later work particularly by the feminist Nancy Chodorow has highlighted the importance of paternal absence in the formation of masculinity (Hearn, 1996:204). Middleton (1992:188) argued further, that the dual processes of separation from mother and the absence of father impoverished emotional development in men and consequently they lack the skills necessary for intimacy. Others (Lacan, 1997; Juliet Mitchell, 1975) however, find that masculinity is shaped by language, the unconscious as well as the structured, and the patriarchal order is often symbolised by the phallus.

The trouble with these approaches is that much of its findings are based on case studies rather than common empirical evidence. More importantly, any appropriation of psychoanalysis to theorise masculinity would have to begin by challenging its evidential, structural, institutional and ideological formations (Middleton, 1992:133). Further, although Freud has an important point to make, one also has to recognise that he has provided a tool which is radically incomplete and those who have taken his work up have attempted different completions. Ultimately, the worth of psychoanalysis in understanding masculinity will depend on our ability to grasp the structuring of personality and the complexities of desire at the same time as the structuring of social relations, with their contradictions and dynamics (Connell, 1995:21). Similarly, in understanding Chodorow's theory, one also needs to note that the child is treated in isolation from other social actors in her paradigm.

The problem of Lacanian theory, that postulates a narrative of the acquisition of sexuality and subjectivity, similarly rests also on a Western presumption of a fixed psychosexual order. There is little convincing account as to why the phallus should be the key signifier of the symbolic order, nor why it should stand as the mark of sexual difference (Moore, 1994a:45). Also, there is no explanation as to why the law of the father should be universal. It is predicated upon rather than accounts for the existence of male power and privilege (Edley & Wetherell in Mac an Ghaill, 1996:100).

Object-relations approach

This particular approach is based on the view that children grow away from the world of their mother, towards the public world of their father (Edley & Wetherell, 1995:51). Further, mothers become the objects against which children struggle and fight to assert themselves. Masculinity then is a struggle against the feminine. One of the most comprehensive applications of the object-relations approach to masculinity is presented by Seidler. Seidler's (in Hearn & Morgan, 1990) argument is that as men have learned to identify with their minds and use reason, they have grown to distrust emotions. This view is problematic because his underlying assumption of the split between mind and body is not only Eurocentric, his treatment of men is also devoid of their diversity and multiplicity. Further, this view polarises the masculine and the feminine as homogeneous.

Sex role theories

Sex role theories have also been influential. They are seductively simplistic in arguing that being a man or woman means enacting a general set of expectations which are attached to one's sex and its "sex role" (Connell, 1995:22). In this context, sex roles are seen as the cultural elaboration of biological sex differences (Connell, 1995:22).

Masculinity and femininity are thus easily interpreted as internalised sex roles, the products of social learning or "socialisation".

Criticisms of this approach are numerous. Kimmel (1987:12) maintains that it posits a historically invariant model, a kind of static sex-role container into which all biological males and females are forced to fit. Not only does it ignore the fact that our notions of sex roles are the product of gender relations that are historically and socially conditioned, the description of sex roles is equally ad hoc (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974), static and based on ideal configuration rather than life experiences. Moreover, it is also ahistorical, psychologically reductionist and apolitical when notions of power are ignored in gender relations. It therefore misrepresents struggles and resistance upon which gender identities are constructed, by overplaying consensus in society (Edley and Wetherell, 1995:102). Even Gilmore's most ambitious comparative study failed to go beyond the desmystification of "masculinity" as a generic, ubiquitous universal, natural and unmediated category (Cornwall & Lindisfarne,1994:27).

Furthermore, sex role theory cannot explain the emergence of "deviant" masculinity as resistance to hegemonic masculinity. Its functionalist assumption is incapable of enabling us to comprehend adequately the emotional and political dynamics of masculinity – why the majority of men not only endure their dysfunctional roles, but display extraordinary resistance to change.

Social constructionist theory

Social construction theory was most popular from 1975 to 1990 when the term "social construction" was used frequently to argue that sexuality is mediated by historical and cultural factors. More specifically, social constructionism adopts the view that even physically identical sexual acts (and presumably constructions of gender)

may have varying social significance and subjective meaning in different cultures and historical periods (Vance, 1995:42).

However social constructionism is different from "cultural influence models" (Vance, 1995:44). This latter approach emphasises the role of culture and learning in shaping sexual behaviour and attitudes. In this model, sexuality is not only related to gender but blends easily, and is often conflated with it (Vance, 1995:45). Social construction theory however does not argue for cultural causation, as its interest is in studying the suspected causal mechanism. It examines, for example, the meaning and representation in the process of construction – knowledge, power and discourse – that Hall (1997c:47) maintains regulate social conduct in practice. It also elucidates the process of construction and classification that are embodied in the language and actions of social actors (Schwandt, 1994:119).

Nevertheless, constructionism is subject to a number of criticisms. Although by definition, intentional and meaningful behaviour is historically, socially and culturally relative, in constructionism any critical evaluation of the social reality portrayed by the inquirer is conspicuously absent (Schwandt, 1994). Validity and reliability in research is thus problematic, particularly when it makes little attempt to make sense out of the contradictions that men experience between their reason and emotions/feelings. Without a critical analysis of the questions of who, how and why as well as the implication of the construction process, this perspective is ultimately conservative in dealing with the issue of power while describing only the mechanisms of control and regulation.

Edwards (1994:10) thus argues for a "critical constructionist" approach which calls for practical and political action, yet little actual research (Connell, 1990b) in this area has been found. The main difficulty according to Connell, is that a unitary model of what masculinity is (very similar to "male sex role") is still dominant and the

discontinuous or contradictory processes of constructions of multiple masculinities, are still ambiguously acknowledged.

An alternative has been offered by Kimmel and Messner (1992). They argue that while men's identity is developed through complex interactions with culture, various masculinities are also constructed by significant life events throughout the course of their lives, in different institutional locations, with different meanings of masculinity. It is thus important to consider the influence of family, peers and significant others (e.g., heroes, reference groups, sub-cultural and cultural groups) on the constructions of masculinities over the life course. The differential effects of class, culture, race, ethnicity and age involved in the construction processes are also significant.

Dramaturgical approaches to masculinity

Reference is made by Coleman (in Hearn & Morgan, 1990:191) to a dramaturgical model of masculinity as an extension of a discussion of the social constructionist perspective. This model (Coleman, 1990:191) sees persons as "doing masculinity" as masculinity is contingent and occasioned. Coleman (1990:196) suggests that masculinity either is constructed and sustained by hidden but discoverable forces, or is constructed in a *bricoleur*-fashion by the actor and sustained by conscious monitoring or impression-management. This latter approach is heavily influenced by Goffman's notion of "the management of impressions", which is not entirely unlike that of "performance" which was developed by Butler (1990). Performance implies both inscription and resistance to inscription, facing the unconscious and conscious in identity formation, and displaying a dialectic between structure and agency.

Reality construction model

This particular model (Brittan, 1989:36) implies that gender has no fixed form and is often context specific and therefore masculinity is enmeshed in a network of emotional and political processes. The major flaw of the model however, is that it relegates masculinity exclusively to "management" or "performance" and in so doing the intense emotions associated with the experience of desire of individuals are frequently overlooked. (Brittan, 1989:51)

Mytho-poetic perspectives on masculinity

The rise of men's movements in North America and to some extent in Australia, also saw the emergence of the mytho-poetic perspective on masculinity. This perspective has been influenced particularly by Robert Bly's work *Iron John*, a "Jungian work" based around the masculine/feminine polarity and rooted in the human psyche (Connell, 1995:13). It purports that men have been unjustly accused by feminism but that the blame should not be accepted, and instead, men should acknowledge and celebrate their difference from women. Therefore it promotes men's self-acceptance, self-confidence, and better knowledge of themselves as emotional beings as well as seeking to revalue "man" as a moral entity through untroubled brotherhood. While its emphasis on feelings, essence and male bonding is timely and therapeutic, Bly's work is also blind to the systematic inequality and power in gender relations as related to race, class and cultural difference (Connell, 1995). Masculinity in this work is associated only with white, heterosexual, middle class American men, those who already benefit from patriarchy without being militant in its defence (Connell, 1995:210). Worse still Bly, misappropriates the rituals of Hopi and other Native Americans and the Kikuyu in Africa for his weekend retreats. As long as Iron John, the book and the myth persists, its roots in a white male heterosexual norm is being

strengthened. Moreover, while it permits men to make connections with each other, it also blinds them from connecting themselves with society and in particular, to negotiate between men and women (Connell, 1995:209).

Critical theory and masculinity

Critical theory, is concerned with how individuals discern the tension and contradictions between who they want to be and how they aspire to live their lives, and the ways of thinking and relating that they have passively adopted from their background and culture (Seidler, 1994:200). In order to do this Gramsci, the originator of the concept of hegemony, referred to the need to develop a "critical consciousness". Other critical theorists (Fay, 1975) referred to the need to engage in ideology critique as a way of emancipating oneself from the false needs established by dominant ideologies – capitalist and other social hegemonies. Jackson (1990:3) takes this a step further in arguing for more men to come out of hiding and to start excavating, in public, the sedimental layers of their own particular and diverse life histories and to delve more deeply into the contradictory constructions of their masculine identities. In doing this, men would begin to experience (become conscious of) the contradictions in hegemonic masculinity, as well as become aware of differences in terms of race, class, sexual orientation, religion, disablement and age. What is needed is the development of what Gramsci calls "critical inventories" (Jackson, 1990:3). There is a need Jackson (1990:11) argues to attack critically the dichotomies, divisions, and separate categories that split the personal from the social, and to cut through the warping dualisms of subjectivity/objectivity, mind/body, personal/social, masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual. Just how that attack would occur except at the intellectual level, is never made clear. There is a danger in the assumption that the person in the

street desires change or that they would want intellectuals to be in the vanguard of change.

Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) maintain that critical research can best be understood in the context of the empowerment of individuals. It takes the form of self-conscious criticism, with all assumptions (ideological imperatives and epistemological presumptions) being made explicit (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994:140). There is also a fundamental belief that contradictions can be exposed, especially the view that the dominant culture is natural and inviolable, that personal change can occur which will liberate individuals and that socio-cultural change can result from political action (practice).

Foucault and post-structuralist approaches

Of particular relevance to research on masculinities are Foucault's conceptualisation of power and resistance, the issue of discourse and its relationship with subjectivity and his theorising of the body and sexuality. For Foucault, the relatively powerless have the ability to challenge, resist, struggle and subvert domination. This suggests that so-called subordinate and marginalised groups of men have the opportunity to resist the hegemonic power of dominant masculinities. Foucault challenged the notion of power as monolithic and repressive. Foucault's "disciplining systems", which are the processes and institutions through which power is replicated and enforced, and which function by developing competencies or incompetencies within a particular field of practice or knowledge (Berger et al, 1995:5), are important for understanding men and gender identities. More importantly, Foucault's model of gender indicates that identity is not fixed but fragmented and shifting. Berger et al (1995:6) in supporting Foucault's views, maintain that because masculinity belongs to no one gender, race, sexuality or intellectual discipline it is important to represent

multilateral ways of thinking about the conditions, sensibility, and psychological, economic, legal and medical imperatives that enforce it. This view, points to an awareness that researchers of constructions of masculinity must have of its historicity and the ways in which knowledge about it have been structured and developed as well as controlled in discourse.

One of the major outcomes of Foucault's work Nixon (1996:15) argues, is his overemphasis on the effectiveness of specific power plays upon individuals. This focus leads to insufficient attention being paid to the forms of negotiation that might be possible, to specific strategies or their own mundane failure. Segal (1997b:21) adds to this criticism by suggesting that in his reduction of the formation of sexual identities to generalised and anonymous abstractions about the power of regulatory regimes addressing the body, Foucault rejects any theorising at the level of any specificities of social relations and cultural processes or values. Other critics (Nancy Fraser quoted by Segal, 1997:214) have argued that by focusing on the multiplicity of discursive formations of power at the micro level, Foucault has diverted attention away from an analysis of structures of (male) domination at the macro level.

Queer theory and masculinities

Out of a sociology of sexuality which emerged in post war America, developed a sociology of homosexuality in the 1960's. Then, in the late 1970's and early 1980's in America, a new code of sociologists which drew heavily from feminism and critical social approaches circulating in the lesbian and gay community (Seidman, 1996:7) developed a new sociology of homosexuality. This group of social constructionists were influenced by labeling and phenomenological theory as well as Marxism and feminism. Like social constructionists everywhere they suggested that gender identity, and in their case "homosexuality", was not a uniform, identical phenomenon but that its

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meaning and social role vary historically (Seidman, 1996:8). Further developments in this sociology (Seidman, 1996) were fashioned by lesbian and gay people of colour who criticised mainstream gay culture for its devaluation and exclusion of their experiences, interests, values and unique lifestyles. This gave rise to queer theory which was influenced by French poststructuralism and Lacanism psychoanalysis.

The importance of queer theory to this study is in its critique of unitary identity politics as well as its positioning of sexuality at the centre of the debate. Queer theorists (Seidman, 1996:11) argue that identities are always multiple or at best composites, with literally an infinite number of ways in which components like race, class, gender, age can intersect or combine. For queer theorists, identities are multiple, unstable and regulatory (Seidman, 1996:12). One major problem with queer theory however, is that it can privilege (homo)sexualities and queer sexualities over the multiplicity of differences which are the basis of its theoretical approach (Walsh & Bahnisch, 1999:387). Queer theory is important in raising issues about the assumptions of heteronormativity in much writing about masculinity and the importance of considering the role heterosexual oppression can play through homophobia and heterosexism.

Postmodernism and masculinities

Rather than discussing masculinities directly, postmodernists prefer to talk about identities. Identities are viewed as highly complex, tension filled, contradictory and inconsistent entities which are constructed and reconstructed in multiple contexts (Anderson, 1995). Identities are negotiated, fractured, multilayered and fluid. Such a picture of identity could never be captured by essentialist and reductionist theories which are far too static. Individuals negotiate and renegotiate personal identity (Anderson, 1995:128) struggling to make internal peace among the multiple components of their selves and the claims of different communities to which they are

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connected, e.g., ethnic, age cohort, reference group, gay community or multiethnic community to which they may have migrated. For Elliott (1996:34) postmodern subjectivity is one way of seeking to come to terms with, to accommodate, the multiple identifications of culture and politics.

In a succinct statement about approaches to the self, Rose (1996:169) argues that in the place of the self, new images of subjectivity proliferate as socially constructed, a dialogue, as inscribed upon the surface of the body, as spatialised, decentred, multiple, nomadic, created in episodic recognition – seeking practices of self display in particular times and places. Again, Rose (1996:1) maintains that the self is fractured by gender, race and class, fragmented, deconstructed, and revealed as an element in circuits of power. This is an interesting postmodern-poststructural synthesis. In a comment which is relevant to hegemonic, subordinate and marginal variants of masculinities, Ault (in Seidman, 1996:312) indicates postmodernists argue that margin and centre are in constant negotiation with one another, albeit through processes of mutual distancing and denial. If the extreme arguments of postmodernism were applied it would be difficult to find the margin or centre at any particular time, and it might be more appropriate to refer to margins and centres.

Hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities

In an attempt to resist the static conformity models of sex role theory, Connell seeks to elaborate a social theory that weaves together personal life and social structure (Segal, 1997a:95). Connell's aim is to deconstruct gender and reconstruct it on the foundations of the three structures: power, the division of labour and cathexsis (Wearing, 1996:63). This approach is historically grounded and Connell (1993) treats gender as relational and involved with race and class. Connell also argues that masculinities as cultural forms, cannot be abstracted from sexuality, which he maintains

is an essential dimension of the social creation of gender. In his theoretical approach Connell marries aspects of Marxism, socialist feminism, psychoanalysis, gay liberation literature, post-structuralist deconstruction and subjectivity (Wearing, 1996:63).

For Connell (1995:74) the main area of power in contemporary European/American gender order is the overall subordination of women and the dominance of men. This structure of dominance persists despite the issues of resistance and problems of legitimacy. There is also for Connell (1995:714) a gendered division of labour and a gendered accumulation process, in which the subordination of women is associated with gender, age, ethnicity and class. Men dominate the large economic corporations and financial institutions. The third element of Connell's model is cathexsis which is associated with emotional attachment and desire. Connell (1995:74) maintains that the practices which shape and realign desire are an aspect of the gender order which is related to sexual pleasure and sexuality. More particularly, he extends this to the subordination of homosexuality and to homophobia and homoeroticism and to the role of the state in regulation and control. The three parts of this model overlap and interconnect.

The broad processes and relations that construct the main patterns of masculinity in Western gender order Connell (1995:77) argues are: hegemony, subordination, complicity and marginalisation. Hegemonic masculinity is based on the concept of "hegemony" derived from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations, and it refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life (Connell, 1995:77). This notion of hegemonic masculinity implies multiple masculinities, a concept of great significance in men's studies (Carrigan et al, 1985). The recognition that there are multiple masculinities that could be differentiated by class, ethnicity or sexuality, and that there are those who are powerless and those who

do not conform to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity has shifted the basis of the gender debate.

The core assumption of multiple masculinities is hegemonic masculinity. This refers to the use of patriarchal ideology to justify not only the subordination of women (Wearing, 1996), but also the subordination and marginalisation of men who do not hold the same beliefs and practices of those who subscribe to the dominant ideology. The oppression of lesbianism and homosexuality exemplified such hegemony most readily. Less obvious is the significance of such a "marker" as sport in defining masculinity in the West as a form of hegemonic masculinity. In this context, hegemonic masculinity assumes a gender hierarchy among men. Non-white and non-Western gay men for example, may well find themselves marginalised as well as subordinated as they constitute the "other" against which middle-class, white, young adult, heterosexual masculinity may well retain ascendancy.

Empirical work undertaken by Connell points to the following: multiple masculinities with contradictions within and between types of masculinities (Connell, 1991a); challenges by some men to the dominance of hegemonic masculinity by resistance, negotiation and accommodation (Connell, 1990b); closing of ranks and complex reciprocity among homosexual men because of their experiences with hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995); and the complexity and diversity among employed, professional and heterosexual men as they mobilise for change in gender relations (Connell, 1995). On a more general level, Connell (1992:2) summarises the findings from recent research into six theses: *multiple masculinities; hierarchy and hegemony; collective masculinities,* where gender practices are sustained and enacted by individuals and institutions; *active construction,* where masculinities are produced using the resources and strategies available in a given milieu; *layering,* where masculinities may be divided by internal contradictions in desires or practices; and *dynamics,* where

masculinities created in a particular historical period or socio-cultural context are liable to reconstruction, contestation and displacement.

In a discussion of the effects of globalisation, Connell (1996:60) suggests that there has been a re-masculinisation of the periphery but not necessarily the cloning of Western masculinities in the periphery. Further, Connell (1996:60) argues that the collective remaking of masculinities, like the construction of masculinity at a personal level, is a dialectical not a mechanical process.

The notion of hegemonic masculinity has met its share of criticism. Most notable are warnings from Wearing (1996:67) who agrees that subordinate masculinities may well challenge hegemonic masculinities and create cracks in this culturally exalted variant, but insists that even the most recalcitrant gay male carries some of the power of being male in society. Moreover, she is most concerned that debates about multiple masculinities would distract attention away from the subordination of women.

Other criticism of Connell's work refers to its cultural bias. Mirande (1997:147) for example, argues that Connell and other leading feminist scholars engage in their own brand of hegemonic discourse by ignoring masculinity among Latinos and other subordinated communities and assuming that an understanding of other masculinities can be attained by subsuming them under Euro-American theoretical models. While Connell provides little empirical data from research on non-Western males, he does warn that masculinity is a concept which might only be appropriate to a very small proportion of men, and then, only Western heterosexual men. Connell does provide a number of anecdotal comments about men from cultures other than Anglo-America and makes particular reference to the history of gender relations and homosexuality in classical China. In a recent paper, Connell (1997a:5) argues that the world gender order is not simply an extension of a traditional European-American gender order and that elements from other cultures circulate globally. For Connell (1997a:9) the hegemonic

masculinity of the emerging world system is the business masculinity of transnational corporations and there may be Confucian variants based on East Asia with a stronger commitment to hierarchy and social consciousness.

It has been maintained (McMahon, 1991) that despite Connell's emphasis on the term masculinity, he does not place it at the centre of his account of gender relations and fails to explain gender relations in terms of masculinity. According to McMahon (1991), Connell begins from the theorisation of male dominance, and analyses the construction of masculinity in a male dominant society where hierarchies between men are also significant. McMahon (1999:32) argues that more theoretical effort should be expended on explaining how men manage to continue to dominate, rather than *why*. With reference to Marcus (1989), Wearing (1996:67) claims that it is as if Connell is not able to face the dismantling of male privilege and that in the end he wants to use feminist and other liberation sociologies to "obtain a better deal for nice men".

Multiple and competing masculinities can exist within any particular setting (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994:18). The dynamics of the production of subordinate and marginalised or even subversive variants (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994:18) are open to empirical investigation in each and every setting. To focus on an absolute, naturalised and typically, hierarchicised male/female dichotomy or even male/male divisions where groups are defined in terms of the *differences* between them Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:18) maintain, is to ignore potential for diversity. An option that Cornwall and Lindisfarne do not explore is the probability of some mixture of the different variants of masculinity existing in the one individual, in one setting or multiple settings.

Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:18) warn that it is important not to slip into essentialism in discussions of subordination as weakness or effeminacy, or to see subordination as associated with childlike immaturity (1994:19). Finally, Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:20) argue that Carrigan et al (1985) do not problematise the notion of

masculinity itself. They believe that by eliding the terms man/male/masculinity, they ignore the fact that it is not masculinity but *male* masculinity they are describing. For Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:20), where the relation between man and masculinity is made to seem incontrovertible then what follows is that the association between "men" and "power" is made to seem "natural".

In support of Cornwall and Lindisfarne, Rogoff and Van Leer (1993:739-62) suggest that "masculinity studies" must problematise at every point its categories and relentlessly dismantle culture's boundaries. Further, they maintain that if this is not done researchers can be left stranded in hegemony, not "speaking to" the topic but "speaking for" it. It is as if we do not have a definition of masculinity that is not already hegemonic. Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (in Mac an Ghaill, 1996:52) support this view by arguing for a critical examination of hegemonic masculinity as an analytic tool. They suggest that such an examination could explain how fluid or unstable hegemonic masculinity is and how his structure might be linked to the spaces of empowerment.

The theoretical perspectives discussed above have been developed in the West and are subject to strong ethnocentric biases in their epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions and their applications. The position that seems least affected by this bias is the critical constructionist model which is adopted in this study. This perspective situates agency in structure and considers the influence of the dialectic between the two and the fluidity and fractured nature of constructions of masculinities in diverse socio-cultural contexts. Further, it supports the *bricoleur-like* nature of constructions and performance of masculinities in the marketplace of gender and sexual identities.

Theoretical approach adopted in this study

As no one theoretical perspective was considered totally adequate to explain "constructions" of masculinities among Chinese male migrants, the strengths of a number of approaches were synthesised in this work. In particular, a critical constructionist approach was adopted which wanted to "ground" its analysis in the voices of the male respondents. A fundamental assumption was that meanings constructed by informants needed to be situated in appropriate socio-cultural contexts. One of the assumptions of social constructionism for example, is that the world of lived reality and situation-specific meanings are thought to be constructed by social actors through prolonged complex processes of social interaction involving history, language and action (Schwandt, 1994:118). A methodological implication of this assumption is one based on the emic point of view that the inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors (Schwandt, 1994:118).

Characteristics of much of the work on masculinities that this study wanted to avoid were its essentialism, atomism and reductionism It is argued that much of this has resulted from a trait approach to studies of gender identity. Constructionists are antiessentialists (Schwandt, 1994:125). Rather than adopting a normative approach, which establishes a number of traits and then measures events or actions in the real world against these traits, constructionists argue that traits, concepts or categories are constructions used to make sense of experience. The researcher or the researched creates such constructions. In the case of essentialist views they are created by researchers and imposed on subjects. Social constructionists on the other hand use a more critical approach and argue for self-reflective awareness of the researcher's own constructions (Schwandt, 1994:128). As in the paradigm developed by Guba and Lincoln (Schwandt, 1994), this study argues that constructions can be multiple and

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sometimes conflicting. Such conflicting constructions need to be cross-checked by the researcher and the respondent, by process of iteration, analysis, critique, reiteration, reanalysis and so on until there is a joint construction (Schwandt, 1994:129).

The critical element of the theoretical position adopted is concerned with the need to consider the standpoint position of the researcher as well as that of the respondents. In part, the position adopted by the researcher is exposed in the value statement, but the researcher is also aware of the position of power that the interviewer is in while engaging in in-depth interviewing. This theoretical position is influenced by feminist standpoint epistemologies, which are particularly interested in exploring the social construction of the research encounter (Schwandt, 1994:128). To reduce potential bias and the imbalance of power in the researcher-respondent relationship in this study, reciprocity is adopted wherever possible, as are invitations to respondents to crosscheck progressive interpretations of the data by the researcher. While the researcher makes final decisions, it is argued that this interactive process will assist in validity checking as well as reduce power differentials. Reciprocity in this case refers to the way the researcher responds to the respondents who request from him, information about personal lifestyle matters. In this sense, the interview becomes more like a "guided conversation" (Howe, 1985) than an interview totally directed and controlled by the researcher-interviewer.

The independent variables considered in this study are duration of settlement in Australia, previous migration experiences, age, level of education, occupation, marital status, number of children, country of birth, sexuality. Open-ended questions concerned with dependent variables focused on the following: relationships with parents, and siblings; nature of friendships and social milieu; activities participated in with family and friends; reactions to Australia and Australian families, children, men and women; experiences and reactions to representations of Australian males and females in the

media; nature of sexual experiences and behaviour; nature of work experiences and leisure behaviour; perceived effects of migration on self and others; heroes throughout life; reactions to non-Chinese males in other countries visited; barriers and constraints experienced in daily life.

It is argued that the openness of a critical constructionist perspective that is grounded in the voices of respondents, allows for the expression of subjectivity and best facilitates the collection and analysis of data on constructions of gender identity among non-Western males. This model also emphasises the importance of culture in the constructions of meanings about gender, sex, and sexuality. Vance (in Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995:48) argues that a social constructionist approach to sexuality (and gender) must also problematise and question Euro-American folk and scientific beliefs about these phenomena, rather than project them onto other groups in a manner which would be most unacceptably ethnocentric in any other subject area.

There are eight key criticisms of social constructionist theory. These are: (1) the problem of criteria; (2) the lack of critical purchase; (3) the problem of authority; and the making of epistemological claims (Schwandt, 1994:131). With so much emphasis on the signifier, the signified tends to vanish (Connell, 1995:91). Further, (5) there is a lack of analysis of the overall questions who constructs whom, how and why, and with what implications; the (6) promotion of the importance of the social at the expense of the individual or natural; (7) continuities across time and space sometimes being omitted; and, (8) the potential for social constructionism to slip into conservative ideology (Edwards, 1994: 8-9).

In general terms, an answer to these criticisms adopted in this study is the use of a critical constructionism together with the situating of meaning in the subjectivities of the respondents as they relate their lived experiences. The criteria adopted in this study of validity and reliability, including the use of critical friends to evaluate the outcomes

of coding processes, cross-checking of researcher's interpretations by respondents, and detailing of all aspects of the processes used, are responses to the first of the criticisms outlined above. The critical stance adopted in this study is seen to address the second criticism. Furthermore, this study uses the findings from previous research to lend support to the results from this investigation. Where differences of findings resulted the reasons are explored and discussed. This study addressed the fourth criticism by arguing that constructions individuals make are the outcomes of socio-cultural influences rather than psychological states or factors. In relation to the fifth point, the study is not aimed at extracting psychological models. In this study, the signifier of gender identity is central to a cluster of concepts including sex, sexuality, the body, the "other" and hybridity. While the process of construction, language and discourse are important they are not the central features. The sixth criticism of constructionism offered by Edwards (1994) is addressed by careful tracing of the actual voices of the respondents. Individual constructions are traceable to particular individuals, their age, place of birth, type of visa and date of arrival in Australia. In all instances the symbol used in this study for individual respondents is shown in the actual personal statements used in the analysis chapter. Where the researcher's interpretations are used these are indicated in the text. The type of analysis used in this research seeks patterns across interviews by using the method of constant comparisons and where individuals appear to be uniquely different from these patterns they are considered to be outliers and used to test the veracity of emerging patterns. The backgrounds to individual outliers are closely scrutinised. The seventh issue of continuities across time and space is partially addressed by depending on the memories of the respondents as they recall constructions of gender identities throughout their lives. This dependence on memory has been discussed as a potential limitation of the study. Reference is also made to historical and anthropological sources of information on constructions of masculinities over different temporal periods and in

different cultures. In relation to the eighth criticism, the results of this study will be used to assist in changing those socio-cultural conditions that appear to hinder adaptation for individuals during the settlement process. While this study does not adopt an action research paradigm, the very interviews themselves are a consciousness raising devise which will assist the respondents to reflect upon their life situations.

CHAPTER 4

MIGRATION, MIGRANTS AND MASCULINITIES – RECENT CHINESE MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

This chapter will introduce a brief history of the Chinese in Australia and expand on the demographic profile of the Chinese in Australia up until 1999. In particular, reference will be made to the effects of changes in immigration policies on the types of Chinese migrants arriving and their occupational background. Occupational background is considered an important indicator of socio-economic status which it is anticipated, will effect constructions of masculinities among the respondents in this study. As previous research has demonstrated the importance of traditional Chinese values on the social behaviour and general lifestyles and gender identities of Chinese men, a brief discussion of these values will be undertaken. This will be followed by a discussion of the literature on stereotypes of Chinese males in Australia compared with those of non-Chinese males. The chapter will be concluded with a discussion which places Australian masculinities into historical and cultural context. In particular it places Chinese male gender identity into the broader context of Australian dominant masculinities and their variants.

A brief history of the Chinese in Australia

The Chinese have been a substantial and significant minority in Australia, as they were in North America for more than a century. Their history in Australia has been peppered by racism and stories of prejudice and discrimination in the workplace. A major influx of Chinese immigrants came with the promise of potential wealth in the gold rushes of the 1850's. During the gold rush era, Chinese immigrants were the largest non-British group (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1999d, Fact Sheet 7, 13 July). These fortune seekers were mainly male and lived in what came

to be known as "bachelor" societies. Many of the Chinese immigrants were a form of cheap imported labour brought in by labour entrepreneurs (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999:5). At one time the Chinese accounted for nearly 8% of the Victorian population and 20% of the male population (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999). The Chinese immigrants on the goldfields were seen primarily as economic migrants. According to Hon and Coughlan (1997:120) from 1861 until the turn of the century, the Chinese in Australia were almost exclusively born in (mainland) China. Apparently this dominance of the China-born community continued until the 1970's, when there was an influx of Malaysian-born and Vietnam-born migrants. In more recent times, immigrants of Chinese ancestry came from a diverse range of countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan (Hon & Coughlan, 1997:120). This group of Chinese immigrants in Australia form part of what has come to be known as the Chinese Diaspora – a dispersal of people of Chinese ancestry throughout the Pacific region in particular (Skeldon, 1994).

In earlier times, Chinese immigrants were depicted in newspaper editorials and cartoons as neutral or mildly negative, as hapless figures of fun because of their inability to speak English or in some instances, as threatening the majority group's lifestyle (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995). They did however suffer exclusionist policies and discrimination in formal legislation and institutionally, at the hands of majority groups (Skeldon, 1994). This view is supported by Jayasuriya and Kee (1999) who refer to the white settler opposition to Asian migration which resulted in restrictions on Chinese and opposition to Chinese immigration, the coining of the label the "Yellow Peril" and, eventually, the introduction of anti-immigration legislation. In a dynamic history of the Chinese in Australia prior to the turn of the twentieth century, Rolls (1992) describes the early Chinese immigrants as "sojourners". These were migrants who were only temporarily away from their homeland and who continuously thought of

returning to China (Skeldon, 1994). Rolls argues that the aim of Chinese in Australia from 1888 on was to become whatever citizens society would allow (Rolls, 1992:508).

Similar to their compatriots in North America, the Chinese in Australia worked in the gold mines or took on market gardening, carpentry, laundering and cooking (Giese, 1997:5). They also provided the main labour force in the construction of major railway lines and worked as bricklayers, stonemasons, boilermakers and fitters in the construction industry (1997:5). Labour force employment participation was checkered by various exclusion acts based on race, which were not effectively disbanded until the 1960's (Skeldon, 1994). This anti-immigration legislation contributed to a sharp drop in the number of settled Chinese and other Asian immigrants. Those Asian settlers who remained were thinly dispersed in farming, labouring and service occupations (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999:6). This remnant of the Chinese immigrant groups lived in small enclaves and formed the basis of the 'China towns' of later years (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999:6).

Unlike present Chinese migration, early flows were dominated by men (Skeldon, 1994). These groups of men were given the infamous title of "bachelor societies". The term "bachelor" is burdened with a multitude of connotations (Fung, 1995:291), some of which stigmatised the "Chinamen" (which they were often called). These stigmata range from suggestions of homosexuality at one extreme to the other, of its anxious suppression in extreme heterosexuality (Fung, 1995:294). As well, the label can be seen to infantilise the Chinese into non-men or endow them with the sexual threat (e.g., prostitution, predatory sexuality) of men devoid of socially-sanctioned sexual release (Fung, 1995:294). Simultaneous with being perceived as a sexual threat Chinese males were also castigated as an obstacle to the advancement of the white working class, by threatening their jobs (Fung, 1995:294). According to Murphy (1993:36) opposition to the Chinese in Australia was a mixture of economic, social and racial considerations,

which eventually became political. Riots occurred on the gold fields and restrictions followed. The white, mainly Anglo-Celtic, predominantly male hegemony attempted to subordinate and marginalise groups seen to be a threat to its dominance.

The Chinese population reached about 40,000 at the end of the gold decade. In 1891 they numbered 36,032 and ten years later 29,907 (Murphy, 1993:23). Even with this decline the Chinese were the largest Asian group in the nineteenth century. From the beginning of the twentieth century an array of restrictive legislation affected migrant numbers. The Immigration Restriction Bill of 1901 which controlled entry into Australia, ensured the White Australia Policy (Murphy, 1993). Various heavy restrictions on overseas immigrants were exacerbated by the two world wars. It was not until the early 1970's that Australia eventually abandoned the White Australia Policy and moved to an immigration program that did not discriminate on the basis of country of origin and ethnic identity (Wu, Ip, Inglis, Kawakami & Duivenvoorden, 1998:391). Even though the three main bases of entry – family ties, economic skills and humanitarian and refugee considerations - remained during the 1980's, there was an increasing emphasis on the economic advantages of immigration to Australia (Wu et al, 1998:391). With moves to restructure the Australian economy into new, knowledge-based industries and economic development in Asia, Australia witnessed the emergence of a highly educated, often English speaking middle-class, many of whom were prepared to seek alternative opportunities overseas (Wu et al, 1998:392). By the end of the 1980's a new wave of immigrants particularly from Hong Kong and Taiwan, began to arrive (Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998b:345). As will be reflected in the next section on the social profile of Chinese in Australia, many of these were skilled or professionally qualified independent immigrants who were entrepreneurs with capital and other economic resources (Ip et al, 1998b:348).

Unfortunately, many recent migrants to Australia have experienced an occupational downgrading (Ip, 1993). The issue of non recognition of professional qualifications has been the subject of much debate in a number of reports over recent years. Where Chinese migrants have encountered institutional barriers they have not been able to retain positions comparable to their prior education and experience (Ip, 1993:69). Many professionally qualified Chinese migrants particularly in the areas of health, medicine, teaching and accountancy for example, have been forced to establish small businesses (Ip, 1993). Some have been required to take positions of much lower status until they were able to develop their networks and resources in the Chinese community (Ip, 1993:65). In other instances, Chinese and other Asian immigrants have faced or experienced the trauma of unemployment or underemployment, the loss of social status, wasted talents and loss of intellectual roots (Ip, 1993:66). For males in particular, from cultures which emphasise hard work and the responsibilities of being the family provider, this has resulted in psychological complexities and frustrations of downward mobility as well as dissatisfaction and family tensions (Ip, 1993:67). These have been exacerbated by a gradual eating into savings, a dependence on spouse and family to operate businesses and long hours devoted to the business.

Recent work by Wu et al (1998) has established that Chinese immigrants to Australia nominate the following reasons for leaving their place of origin: family and personal ties, political reasons, education, new opportunities and general dissatisfaction with their home country. Family and personal ties were least important to the Hong Kong sample while political reasons was nominated by forty-three percent (Wu et al, 1998:406). Education was more important to those from PRC and Taiwan than those from Hong Kong. Migration involves both push and pull factors and the factors which influenced the choice of Australia as a destination were: family and friendship,

geographical attributes, political freedom and education opportunities (Wu et al, 1998). Of interest was the low priority given to employment and economic advantage.

While there was a diversity of opinions among the total Asian sample about difficulties in adjustment during the settlement process, Wu et al (1998) established a number of common difficulties which were: language and inappropriate location of friends and relatives in Australia. Further, this study indicated that women had slightly less extreme experiences of difficulties than men and the young were least likely to report experiencing difficulties. Other issues raised were: obtaining suitable employment, lack of personal contacts with friends, family and the lack of a social network (Wu et al, 1998). When gender differences were considered, it was men particularly in the 25-34 year age group who were Hong Kong born who were more likely to refer to problems in finding suitable work or in language, while women referred to problems associated with family and personal adjustment (Wu et al, 1998:410). Taiwanese respondents did not refer extensively to difficulties in finding suitable employment, but did nominate difficulties in operating businesses (Wu et al, 1998:412). Racial discrimination was more likely to be reported as a settlement problem in Australia by men and young people. For the Chinese sample, those from PRC were more likely to report racial discrimination, followed by those from Taiwan and then Hong Kong.

As personal and family networks are important sources of information and emotional and practical support as well as a focus of responsibility and duty (Wu et al, 1998), it could be expected that attempts would be made to either establish or re-establish these during the settlement period. In their Brisbane sample, Wu et al (1998) found that more than one-half had joined one or more formal associations or groups after arrival in Australia. Men were more likely to do this than women. Religious groups, general social clubs and organisations which were predominantly ethno specific

rather than community service groups, were preferred. Women were more likely to be involved in religious groups, while men had higher participation in all other groups. Further, women were more likely than men to be involved in non-ethno-specific organisations (Wu et al, 1998). The 35-44 year old group was most likely to be involved in organisations providing potential for business contacts outside their own communities. Friendship groups also appeared to be ethno-specific. Where there were differences to this finding it was women and the young who were most likely to have a wider circle of friends outside their ethnic group (Wu et al, 1998).

This brief history of the Chinese in Australia and overviewing of studies on the processes of adaptation and issues involved with settlement in a new homeland, demonstrate the changes that have occurred in policies of immigration and their effects on Chinese immigrants, the socio-cultural dynamics of the Chinese community, as well as its heterogeneity. In particular, this heterogeneity has been indicated by the effects of gender, age and country of origin on perceptions of adjustment to the processes of settlement. In Australia, according to Skeldon (1994), the image of the sojourner and exile persists for the Chinese minority. In particular, Skeldon refers to these high-profile emigrants as "astronaut" families. Economic factors are associated with the establishment of astronaut families but the attraction of an environment where children can be secure and safe as well as formally educated, is important. Skeldon (1994:11) refers to the Hong Kong Chinese immigrants, in particular, as "reluctant exiles" but also "willing exiles" and pioneers.

There are, according to Giese (1997) in a qualitative and richly anecdotal oral history, many kinds of Chinese Australians. There are those from the "old families" of southern China who came to Australia during the gold-rush, or to work in trades or run businesses; there are Southeast Asian Chinese who may have come for education then stayed on; there are ethnic Chinese refugees, like the "Boat People" who arrived from

the mid-1970's; and, there are Chinese from the Pacific, and the latest arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan and the mainland (1997:3). Giese (1997) calls them collectively "astronauts, lost souls and dragons". The professionals - "astronauts", commute at weekends between Australia or New Zealand and the booming cities of Asia (Giese, 1997:5). They are mainly males and their spouses and children are resident usually in Sydney, Melbourne or Brisbane. The "dragons" are categorised by Giese (1997) as the survivors, the winners and the ones whose families have made good in Australia over several generations (1997:7). "Lost souls" are those Chinese in Australia who are reworking and repositioning the Chinese Australian past by tracing origins and root-searching (Giese, 1997:16). These depictions of the Chinese diaspora in Australia suggest a very heterogeneous and diverse ethnic community. This view is supported by Martin (1998) who argues that the Chinese community is the most diverse immigrant group in Australia according to country of origin. This diversity is influenced by factors such as: time of emigration from China or country of origin, level of assimilation with other cultures, religious beliefs, inter-marriage and the degree to which they adhere to Chinese precedents (Martin, 1998).

A demographic profile of the Chinese

This dynamic, heterogeneous, diverse and ever-changing Chinese diaspora has migrated to Australia from various parts of Asia predominantly from Malaysia in the 1970's, Vietnam and Taiwan in the 1980's and Hong Kong and China from the mid 1980's (Mak & Chan, 1995). While the majority of Chinese immigrants to Australia are from Malaysia, China, Vietnam, as well as other countries have been important sources of Chinese migration to Australia. These include: Singapore, Cambodia, Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Taiwan, Laos and Thailand and Hong Kong. These numbers have been increased by smaller numbers from Fiji, Philippines, New

Zealand, Britain, Burma, Christmas Island, Mauritius, South Africa, India and Japan (Martin, 1998). Furthermore, the diversity of the Chinese diaspora is increased by Australian-born Chinese and people of mixed race.

It is clear when figures are considered for a longer time period that Chinese migration to Australia has been consistent over the years. In 1975/76 Malaysian-born entered the top ten source countries of settler annuals into Australia (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999). In 1985/86 China (5th), Hong Kong (7th) and Malaysia (9th) were among the ten source countries, and in 1995/96 China (3rd), Hong Kong (4th) were still among the top ten (Jayasuriya & Kee, 1999). According to Coughlan and McNamara (1997), between the 1986 Census and the 1991 Census the China-born component of the population increased by 116.8%, while the Hong Kong-born increased by 116.3% and the Malaysian-born increased by 51.8%. Over that period the Taiwan-born increased by 557.8%.

The Australian figures over the intercensal period 1991 to 1996 show that the total number of people born in mainland China (excluding Taiwan) increased by 28.2%, the Hong-Kong born by 15.2% and the Malaysian-born by 2.7%. In that intercensal period the number of people speaking Chinese languages in Australia increased by 24.3% (ABS, 1997). The major source countries of settler arrivals in Australia from July 1997 to June 1998 were New Zealand (19.0%), United Kingdom (11.9%), China (5.6%), and Hong Kong (4.1%). Over the period 1995 to 1998, Malaysia has consistently outstripped both Hong Kong and Taiwan in the number of overseas students undertaking full-time study in Australia (DIMA, 1999c).

The Queensland figures over the same period show that the total number of people from PRC (excluding Taiwan) in Queensland increased by 13.92%, while the total number of people born in Hong Kong increased by 23.96%, and that for

Malaysian-born increased by 21.2%. Over the same period the number of people speaking Chinese-based languages increased by 37.2% (ABS, 1997).

Data for Brisbane City (Australian Bureau of Statistics {ABS}, 1997) on the China-born, Taiwan-born and Hong Kong-born for the 1996 Census, indicate that 53.0% of the total population for these groups is aged 0-34 years of age, and a further 18.0% is over 50 years of age. Slightly more than one-half (54.7%) of this group is married and 37.6% has never married. In Brisbane, according to data from the 1996 Census, the Taiwan-born is the highest proportion of overseas-born Chinese, followed by the China-born. Of the total population the proportion of overseas-born Chinese is 2.51%. Among the overseas-born Chinese, women dominate in health, business and administration, social and cultural occupational fields, while males dominate in engineering in particular and the natural and physical sciences, architecture and building (ABS, 1997). There is a much higher proportion of women among the overseas-born Chinese, not in the labour force, except in the age group 15-19 years where both groups would be attending educational institutions. In this age category, males are in a higher proportion.

The proportion of unemployment among the total Chinese labour force is 15.0%. This proportion is higher than the proportion of unemployed in Brisbane and the state of Queensland. Among the Brisbane Chinese population, males dominate in the management and administration occupations and in the professions in general; particularly engineering, business and information. Females dominate in the health and education professions, and particularly among elementary sales, clerical and service workers and cleaners (ABS, 1997). Interestingly, males dominate in the accommodation, cafes and restaurant occupations; females dominate in health and community service occupations, and in finance and insurance.

It has been argued (Martin, 1998) that the wealth and professional status of many of the Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan is in stark contrast to the large number of ethnic Chinese who have migrated from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and mainland China. Further, high levels of unemployment and major language difficulties have been experienced by Chinese who migrated as refugees and those who migrated under the Family Reunion Program (Martin, 1998).

From a reworking of the data collected in the 1991 Census (Hon & Coughlan, 1997:120) it is clear that the principal ethnic Chinese migrant source countries to Australia are China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Vietnam. As similar comparative data for the 1996 Census is not yet available the following section will refer to the 1991 Census data and apply Australia wide. These data show that 0.5% of the Australian population were China-born, 0.3% were Hong Kong born, 0.1% were Taiwan-born, 0.4% were Malaysian-born and 0.7% were Vietnam born. The Chinese-speaking population comprises 1.6% of the total Australian population and is the third largest non-English speaking group after Italian (2.6%) and Greek (1.8%). Hon and Coughlan (1997:165) indicate that the overseas-born Chinese in Australia are not homogenous between or within birthplace groups. The Chinese in Australia are a relatively well-educated community, but the overseas-born Chinese communities have borne the brunt of the recession in the higher than average unemployment rates (Hon & Coughlan, 1997:166). The Chinese community is overall more youthful, has higher levels of education compared with the Australian population at large and has high labour force participation (Hon & Coughlan, 1997). The China-born group has the highest median age of 39.05 years and Taiwan the lowest at 24.1 years. In all communities (in 1991) females are several years older than males, except in the Taiwan-born community where females are substantially older than males, and in the Macau-born community where females are marginally younger than males (Hon & Coughlan,

1997:126). About 87% of the overseas-born Chinese households comprise one family and 7.1% are single-person households. Except for Malaysia and Singapore-born, Queensland has the third largest proportion of overseas-born Chinese immigrants.

Of all the overseas-born Chinese in the labour force, Taiwan-born have by far the highest proportion in the self-employed or employer categories. In 1991, the unemployment rate of 16.3% across all groups was much higher than the national average. Among the Taiwan-born workers there is a high proportion of managers/administrators, while the Malaysia-born, Hong Kong-born and Singapore-born have high proportions of professional occupations. In all groups, females are more likely than males to be unpaid helpers, as traditionally they have been more likely to informally help in family businesses (Hon & Coughlan, 1997:152). In the case of individual incomes, females have substantially lower median incomes than males. Overall, the Malaysia and Singapore-born have the highest median incomes and the PRC and Taiwan-born receive the lowest incomes.

The number of Hong Kong-born new settlers who arrived in Australia has been fairly constant over the last decade. Hong Kong is a major source of business migrants with a steady rise in applications in recent years. In settler arrival terms, Hong Kong was the second largest source birthplace of business migrants in 1996-97 behind Taiwan (DIMA, 1999d). Recent work on Asian migrants in small business (Ip, 1993) suggests that this is more an indication of the relative nature of Australia's immigration policy, which in the skilled category is based on a points system involving such elements as business skills and/or significant capital. A significantly high proportion of Hong Kong migrants have tertiary educational qualifications and hold positions in the professional, technical, administrative and managerial categories of occupations.

Male and female migrants from Taiwan tend to be younger than those from Hong Kong, but there is a more balanced gender ratio between males and females for

Hong Kong. There are significantly fewer males compared with females in the Taiwanese group. The profile of Hong Kong and Taiwanese migrants is very similar for marital status and both are quite different from that for the PRC. There are substantially fewer single migrants from PRC, but there are proportionally more males than females (ABS, 1997). The proportion of households with older persons (65+ years) is much higher for people from PRC than for any other Chinese group. Groups from Malaysia and Taiwan seem to have younger households. The proportion in the household speaking a Chinese language at home is much higher for Taiwanese and Hong Kong groups. Over all groups, males are more likely to have higher educational qualifications than females. Both Malaysia and Singapore have higher proportions with tertiary education qualifications followed by PRC and Hong Kong. Taiwanese migrants have a substantially higher proportion of self-employed or employer categories of workers than any other group. The proportion of unpaid helpers and unemployed is highest among the Taiwanese group (Hon & Coughlan, 1997).

Among males, the proportion of men who are managers/administrators is highest in the Taiwanese group followed by Singapore and Malaysia. Malaysia and Hong Kong have the highest proportion of males in the professional occupations. The median annual income for males is highest for Malaysian and Singaporean males followed by those from Macau/Hong Kong. Median annual family incomes are highest in Malaysian and Singaporean groups followed by migrants from Macau/Hong Kong (Hon & Coughlan, 1997).

Changing belief and value systems of the Chinese diaspora

It has been argued that the ideology of white maleness is heavily steeped in the philosophy of individualism (Alderfer, 1984:156; Connell, 1995). This philosophy appears to contrast with the collectivist orientation of systems based on Confucian

beliefs (Bond, 1991; Chen, 1995; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Leung, 1996; Redding, 1990). The value systems which are implicit in Confucianism are generally quite different from those which underpin the Euro-American world. This points to the ethnocentrism of concepts like "masculinity" and to the inappropriateness of gender categories in cultures like that of China which do not contain words in the language which describe gender (Evans, 1997:28). Ethnographers (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Gilmore, 1990; Herdt, 1981; Strathern, 1988) are increasingly vociferous in their criticism of applying unproblematised concepts like masculinity which imply dualism and binaries, in settings where genders and sexualities may be fluid, interchangeable and increasingly hybridised. Judith Butler (Evans, 1997:28) for example, argues that insistence on the binary male/female, masculine/feminine has perpetuated the hegemony of reproduction and heterosexuality and naturalised assumptions about gender and sexuality which have fed the continued existence of gender hierarchies and conflict.

Particular values and cultural characteristics which are underpinned by Confucian philosophy have been consistently presented in the literature as important to considerations of gender and sexuality in China today. These values and cultural characteristics appear to focus on individual qualities and characteristics, on connections, networks and relationships with other people, particularly members of families and kin as well as macro social institutions. Of particular significance to this study, is the importance given to patriarchal paternalism (Cheng, 1996a); fidelity to the patrilineage (Stacey, 1983); hierarchy with well defined roles expressing mutual dependence (Redding, 1990); filial piety (Redding, 1990); sincerity between father and son, righteousness between ruler and subject, distinctive or separate functions between husband and wife, order between brothers and younger brothers, and faithfulness among friends (Chen, 1995); and, the stability of society based on unequal relationships between people e.g., wife/husband, senior/junior (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

Underpinning many of these values is an emphasis on harmony (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Mak & Chan, 1995); stability of society (Hofstede & Bond, 1988); order and stability (Leung, 1996); and, a practice of decision-making by consensus (Blackman, 1997). While there is an emphasis on strong relationships between family members and kin, there is a suspicion of outsiders (Blackman, 1997); a belief that mistrust is reciprocal (Cheng, 1996a); and, limited and bounded trust (Redding, 1990). There is a very strong emphasis on the cultivation of connections and networks; interconnectedness (Bond, 1991); *guanxi*-connections (Cheng, 1996a); cultivating, maintaining, developing *guanxi* (Chen, 1995); and, *renqing* (Chen, 1995).

Central in the lives of Chinese people are the family and familism (Redding, 1990); the family as a prototype of all social organisation (Hofstede & Bond, 1988); filial piety (Redding, 1990); and, respect for family (Pan, 1990). An aspect of all relationships involving family, kin and networks is the gaining and giving of "face" (Brick, 1991); the maintenance of individual "face" (Hofstede & Bond, 1988); and, sensitivity to "face" including giving people dignity and respect (Blackman, 1997; Chen, 1995; Redding, 1990). One of the most significant values supported by cultural tradition and of importance to this study is dedication to hard work (Leung, 1996; Redding, 1990). This is supported by an emphasis on personal values like perseverance (Redding, 1990; Hofstede & Bond, 1988); value, money and pragmatism (Redding, 1990); diligence and self-discipline (Pan, 1990); and, financial security and prosperity (Mak & Chan, 1995). Several of these value positions which, it is argued are central to constructions of masculinity by Chinese male migrants, are explored in the section on stereotypes of Chinese males in Australia.

Chen (1995:60) argues that since the self is located in the centre of voluntarily constructed relations and takes initiative, Chinese *guanxi* construction can be characterised as an ego-centred social engineering of connected network building

(Chen, 1995:60). Further, Chen suggests that the Chinese can have "pluralistic" identifications with other individuals or social groups based on the "attributes" they share with other individuals or social groups (e.g., kinship, locality, co-worker, classmate, and teacher-student). Chen (1995) therefore, sees the self as dynamic and as playing a dominant role in defining groups beyond his/her own nuclear family but based on his/her universal need. Redding (1990) argues that there is always tension for the Chinese person between self-cultivation (inner private realm) and the ordering or the harmonising of the world (outer public realm). The goodness of the exterior world is cultivated, according to Redding (1990:48) through the encouragement of social decorum and is a macrocosm of balance, reasonableness and considerations typical of the best human beings, according to Confucian philosophy.

The basic building block of Confucian order is the family, of which, according to Evans (1997) the woman is the moral foundation – the preserver of moral standards. The family is the main source of security, economic sustenance, education, recreation and social contact (Martin, 1998). In Confucianism, the state was an extension of the family, and the ruler of the state was the head of a dominant family lineage. Men are much more outward oriented and Chinese industry (particularly rural) is almost wholly managed by men. For example, roles involving business and technical knowledge are almost wholly reserved for men, and the capital accumulated is managed by public bodies controlled by men (Judd, 1994:2). The gender specificity of these roles is clear. The place of women within the Confucian social organisation is governed by the "3 obediences" – women should obey their father before marriage, their husband when married and their son when widowed. Women, according to Judd (1994:2) are still restricted to being mainly an "insider person".

The Chinese fulfil themselves within the network of interpersonal relationships. A Chinese is the totality of their social roles. Only in the presence of another person

can their "humanity" be displayed. This Chinese concept of man forms the deep structure of Chinese culture and has remained unchanged up to the present day (though extended to the domain of the collective) (Sun, 1988a:163). Individual identities are defined in terms of their roles and interpersonal relationships within the family, rather than by their own sense of self or who they are (Mak & Chan, 1995:73). Traditional Chinese people belonged to a number of social groups extending beyond the family. These groups included the community the family lived in, mercantile guilds, craft guilds, religious sects, secret societies, literary clubs and clubs and groups to conduct and foster community organisation (Martin, 1998).

It is argued by Mak and Chan (1995) that second generation Chinese people experience confusion and frustration because of changes in roles and responsibilities as the family unit becomes less central in satisfying needs for growth at every stage of the life cycle. Women however, are still expected to sacrifice their own career development to that of their husbands and to be responsible for all the household tasks and to care for their children and tend elderly parents (Mak & Chan, 1995:78). There may well be much more heterogeneity today in this area of the division of labour than is implied by Mak and Chan. Socio-economic status, level of education and extent of exposure to diverse models of family organisation resulting from migration experiences, may well influence the extent to which there is greater equity in division of labour in Chinese households, and capacity for Chinese women to pursue careers. Where husbands are unemployed or underemployed for long periods, Mak and Chan (1995) argue there is potential for considerable personal, marital and family stress. Lack of employment among husbands may also contribute to role loss and even role reversal. Particular reference to the effects of unemployment and underemployment made by Ip (1993) were introduced earlier in this chapter. Some of these issues have been investigated in relation to "astronaut" families.

Tension and conflict may cause splits across the generations, but attempts are made in many Chinese families to have children learn the Chinese language. It is believed that this may well instil important Chinese cultural values of endurance, gentleness, unselfishness and non-competitiveness. The valuing and practice of non-aggressiveness and non-competitiveness may well contribute to problems for some Chinese children at school, especially where Asian people are in a minority. Mak and Chan (1995:94) suggest that respect for the elderly, filial piety, patriarchal authority and emphasis on harmony within the family are being eroded in the face of the Australian values of egalitarianism, independence and assertiveness.

Stereotypes of Chinese males in Australia

In his historical analysis of non-European migration from the gold rushes through the period of the White Australia Policy, Murphy (1993:22) argues that during the gold rush period the Chinese "other" was an obviously distinct group which was given to frugal habits, in contrast to the big-spending bouts of would-be-rich Europeans. They constituted an obvious "other" about which the power of Anglo-Australians could be sharpened and domination thus partially guaranteed. Murphy (1993:36) suggests that in such circumstances the Chinese minority who were mainly males acquired survival strategies like keeping to oneself and to one's close circle, thus avoiding attracting attention and staying within the law by keeping one's head down. Because they appeared mysterious and kept to their own company, Murphy (1993:22) believes they seemed to confirm the stereotype of the inscrutable Oriental in European minds. Further, as the Chinese communities on the gold fields were almost entirely without women, Murphy (1993:23) argues they were considered to engage in rituals which challenged the supposed decency and morals of whites. As Chinese males were gradually constructed as threats to white women and to jobs, opposition to them became

a mixture of economic, social and racial considerations which became a political question (Murphy, 1993:22). In summarising Australian literature on Chinese settlement, Giese (1997:17) suggests that the Chinese were seen as shrewd but mean, as workhorses, as criminals and liars, as destroyers of morals and purveyors of opium, seducers of white women and carriers of disease. The Chinese were perceived to be mysterious and eccentric strangers (Giese, 1997:17). Giese (1997) also argues that many of these Australian themes parallel those developed in other areas of Chinese settlement, particularly in North America. Giese (1997:17-18) points to the contrast in the stereotypes of Chinese men and women, held on the Australian goldfields. While Chinese men were often seen as a group like an army or a plague which was ugly, wicked and mean, as violent inheritors of a violent history, Chinese women were viewed as beautiful, passive, gentle, intelligent, cultured, civilised and enchanting individuals. These stereotypes of invading Chinese men also constructed the group as homogeneous. Such a view can confuse a collective ethnic identity, distort the complexities of individual orientations and negate individuals' active perceptions of the host society (Ip et al, 1998b:349).

An example of this homogenising stereotype was the notion of "moral or model minority". In North America and Australia, this patronising notion of the model or good minority characterised the Chinese as quiet, hard working and successful where their silence was attributed to positive assimilation and a tendency not to question authority (Martin, 1998). Takagi (1996a:248) argues that more recently, silence ought to be understood as an adaptive mechanism to a racially discriminatory society. This is extended by Takagi (1996a:249) to silence as an oppressive cost of a racially biased or heterosexist society.

The following discussion of stereotypes of Chinese males is heavily dependent on North American literature because of the paucity of research work on ethnicity and

gender identity or stereotypes of Chinese masculinities held by non-Chinese, in the Australian academic literature. This overview of the North American literature, needs to be considered with the important observation in mind that Asian American males may be more sensitive to issues of gender, sex, gender identities and sexualities than Chinese males in Australia. Further, North American culture in general may place completely different emphases on sex, sexuality and gender than occurs in Australian political cultures.

Stereotypes of Chinese males outlined in the mainly North American literature include: "nerd" (Cheng, 1996a), infantalised into non men, sexual threat (Fung, 1995:294); asexual wimpness and a degenerate, sexual depravity (Fung, 1995:295); inscrutable, sneaky, deceptive, backstabbers (Sue, 1990a:54); cruel, barbarous and treacherous (Hudson & Stokes, 1997:145); "feminine" or "passive" (Altman, 1995); yellow hordes, yellow peril (Lai, 1997:52); "eastern = decadent = hypersensitive, satyriasis, nymphomania, androgyny, pederasty (Segal, 1997b:175); "feminised, desexualised males" (Messner, 1997:68); "tough guy" phenomena in the 1980's in China having a muscular frame, cold exterior, invincible will, steadfastness of purpose, strong leadership (Hong, 1994:320); and, "effeminate" (Bulbeck, 1998:146). Bulbeck argues that constructions of national masculinities must operate in stereotypes (1998:147). The East was perceived as a site of a mystical, asexual knowledge (Tasker, 1997:328), (and the Eastern male as an) "egghead/wimp" or "kung fu master/ninja/samurai" (Fung in Tasker, 1997:228). He is sometimes depicted as dangerous and sometimes friendly, but almost always characterised by a desexualised Zen asceticism (Tasker, 1997:328).

Klein (1993) suggests that Asian men have been culturally perceived as non-physical, the wily Oriental, who by being tied to conceptions of manipulation and wiliness becomes feminised in the eyes of the white man (Westwood, 1990:58).

Westwood also warns about the problems of these stereotypes being fixed (or characterised by fixity) through a process of becoming naturalised, thus missing the real thing. Leong (1996:3) also refers to the difficulties posed by the stereotype of Asian Americans as a homogenous, heterosexual "model" minority, which denies diversity of gender and sexualities. Also China is predictably cast as a "feminised eroticised space" (Takagi, 1996b:27). Asian Americans have been historically (de) sexualised as racial subjects (Takagi, 1996b). Over the history of Chinese immigration into the US, stereotypes of the "Chinamen" changed from a hapless, dimwitted figure to a threatening animalistic one in response to social needs (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995:217). Back (1994:181) places a different spin on stereotypes by relating from his research that white young men identify with particular constructions of blackness (sexually attractive), but reject any form of identification under the feminised images of the "oriental".

Stereotyping is associated with the construction of an "other" – a group which is placed in a subordinate or marginalised position by a dominant hegemonic group desirous of power, either gaining or retaining it. For Schaffer (1988), in writing about the Australian bush, it is not always women who occupy the imaginary and symbolic space of other, but any objects which stand in a desired or despised relation to man – the land, the Chinese, migrants and Aborigines. Schaffer (1988:23) argues that within the male imaginary they mirror masculine identity by posing a threat to the wholeness of the self. The cultural objects which are placed in the position of otherness take on the properties of inferiority in relation to Man. In the case of the Chinese, a type of Orientalism (Back, 1994) was projected by the West. Woodward (1997:18) argues that western culture produced a set of assumptions and representations about "the East" which constructs it as a source of fascination and danger, as both exotic and threatening.

What is not clear in this North American literature are the subjective positions of Chinese (Asian) males with respect to the importance of masculinities and sexualities in their lives. Much of the literature reporting on psychometric analyses of quantitative data assumes a particular position taken by respondents about the importance of gender identity among an array of life concerns. In this present study the informants construct their own meanings of gender identity and sexuality and in the flow of guided conversations provide subjective accounts of the importance of these concepts in their lives. In most cases informants use non technical languages in their discussion of how they perceive themselves and others as men.

Australian masculinities in context

On arrival in Australia, one of the most striking features of the Australian social landscape for Chinese males is its complex multiculturalism (Ip, Kawakami, Duivenvoorden & Tye, 1994). For most Chinese men, except perhaps for those from Hong Kong, Australia provides their first real multiethnic experience. This is a fertile context for multiple masculinities, genders and sexualities. Such diversity and heterogeneity provide both potential challenge and conflict for new arrivals who tend to have landed in waves, even though the goldfields were also a rich cultural tapestry. The first wave of immigrants after Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders were mainly Anglo-Celtic, the second was mainly Greek and Italian (Mediterranean) and a lesser Middle-Eastern (e.g., Lebanese) wave, followed in the early 1980's by a South-East and Eastern Asian wave. Each wave after the first was subject to stereotyping, discrimination, prejudice and racism.

Very little has been written about the meeting of the contrasting and potentially competing masculinities as each wave attempted to establish itself in the new environment. One of the most significant issues facing Chinese males upon migration

and settlement, is their reaction to the relative importance and different priority given to gender issues, sex and sexual behaviour, sexual performance, sexualities and the body and sport in Australian popular culture and lifestyle. Coming from a culture which generally de-emphasises such issues and places greater emphasis on the family, connectedness, hard work and education it is likely that male migrants would have not been sensitised to them. This study is interested in the reactions to and adaptive strategies of the Chinese male migrants in relation to these issues.

Feminist academics like Anne Summers have commented on the patriarchy that was established and survives to the present in Australia. Summers comments, that within a supposedly free and independent Australia women are a colonised sex who are denied freedom of movement, control of their bodies, economic independence and cultural potency (Summers, 1975:29). This oppression Summers attributes to the status of the family in Australia and the position of women in it. One of the most significant effects of such emphasis being given to the consequences of patriarchal ideology and masculine hegemony on women in Australia has been a general emphasis in feminist literature in particular, on women's issues for immigrant women. For example, the oppression and exploitation of Filipino mail order brides and the effects of clitorsectomy on Middle Eastern girls have received extensive attention in the popular media. There appears to be an assumption here that non-Anglo Celtic women experience problems upon migration and settlement, whereas immigrant males because of their power and dominance are free of problems. This literature also homogenises migrant men and women. This study aims to problematise this notion.

Edgar (1997:33) believes we are now in a period of competing models of masculinity. In Australia, he argues sports, drinking and surf life saving have been areas of male control, together with the pursuits of fishing and the garden tool shed (Edgar, 1997:40). Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987) also argue that beach culture of

lifesavers and surfers is an important development in the ritual of the Australian beach and myth of national manhood (Chambers, 1991:8). Reference is also made by Chambers to the importance of power and control, self-reliance and independence and the separation from the feminine as the qualities that constitute both the masculine and Australian. The masculine pub culture and male surfing culture, suggests Chambers (1991:9) have been appropriated by men as symbols of opposition to the civilising institution of the family, school and work. Sport, according to Edgar, is one of the great "proving grounds" of masculinity. Chambers and Edgar appear to homogenise men in these statements. This raises the question as to whether conformity to Australian masculinity is necessary for male Chinese migrants to become integrated into mainstream Australia. This study investigates the Chinese respondents' reactions to representations of masculinity in Australian popular culture.

Summers agrees with Edgar by arguing that to many Australian men, sport is life (1975:71). Reference is made (Summers, 1975:71) to the importance of sport, drinking and gambling done mainly in the presence of men as gender and class delineators (1975:71). Webb (1998:89) suggests that the masculine styles of our male sporting heroes creates a structure of dominance in the gender order as a whole, which puts the culturally idealised forms of masculine character that our sporting heroes represent, at the top of the hierarchy. Unfortunately, Webb provides very few empirical examples (which appear to be uniquely Australian) to support this or other propositions. In fact, these sentiments could have been expressed by Messner or Kimmel about North American male sporting stars.

As part of a never ending search for national identity or some modal national personality, historians and poets as well as composers have pointed to the issue of "mateship". This quality, arose partly out of the combined harsh reality of bush life for men without female companionships and partly out of the romantic idealisation of the

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lone and stoic male, transported into a new land overtly dominated by a central elite and his rebellion against authority (Davis & Encel in Edgar, 1997:79). Further, Edgar portrays the real man as one who is able to take what is dished out, even if his mates sometimes act like bullies; if he doesn't he's not one of them, not a real bloke (Edgar, 1997:79). This study considers the importance of such issues for Chinese male migrants and poses the question of whether or not acceptance of mateship is a measure of integration into mainstream Australian masculinity.

According to Flood (1994/5) the dominant image of masculinity with which Australians are presented is a white, Anglo-Celtic masculinity, while men of colour and non-English speaking males are virtually ignored. Even Connell, one of the most prolific and critical researchers on men and masculinities in Australia, has very little to say especially about men from other cultures. He refers to immigrant men from Mediterranean countries as a form of patriarchal masculinity in Australia being marginalised in the Australian culture (Connell, 1985/6:7). In another place (Connell, 1993:604) refers to the differences between Chinese ideals of masculinity and Euro/American ones. Connell also uses a sketch of Chinese history to point to the notion of multiple cultures and multiple masculinities (Connell, 1991b:6-8). Analysis of changing modes of masculinity resulting from migration to Australia, according to Chambers (1991:9) is not established. Chambers (1991:9) argues that little is known about the effects of migration to Australia from Asian countries, on men's sexual identity and on the dynamics of gender relations in their religion, at work, at leisure and in the domestic sphere. Reference is made to the work of Bottomley (1989) on the erosion of traditional patterns of patriarchy in the home environment through the drastic upheaval of migration among Greek males. Research work on the negotiation of identities among Lebanese, Vietnamese and Anglo background males is currently being undertaken by Noble, Poynting & Tabar (1996). They argue that construction of ethnic

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and to a lesser extent gender identities, among these males in south-western Sydney moves between strategic essentialism, the belief that identities are fixed and given and strategic hybridity, mixing (in quite contradictory ways) elements of identification drawn from their parents' cultural background and their participation in Australian society (Noble et al, 1996:1). While their work to the present has concentrated on ethnic identity construction, future work will concentrate on the relation between ethnicity, masculinity and sexuality.

What is most striking about the study of masculine identities in Australia argues Deborah Chambers (1991) is the lack of it. Even more marked is the paucity of literature on ethnic and indigenous masculinities in multicultural Australia. Chambers (1991:8) believes that the white masculine culture of the Australian academic scene, with its imported abstract concepts, naturalistic theories and Anglo-Saxon modes of professional practice is not conducive to a critical analysis of the historical foundations of Australian cultures of masculinity, but does not make the task an impossible one. In the time since Chambers wrote these perceptive comments, the international arena of men's studies has exploded but there is still a shortage of useful empirical work on the associations among migration, ethnicity, masculinity and sexuality in Australia. Several therapeutic and "how to" references with strong psychological orientations have emerged as have more populist "chat" books with popular icons commenting on what it is like to be a man. Connell, in particular, has continued with his critical analysis of changing masculinities globally, and the development and refinement of theoretical orientations.

Several important case studies have been undertaken during the period, the most notable being that of working-class males and their families in a mining city (Donaldson, 1991). Ongoing work by Donaldson using biographies and autobiographies concentrates on sons of extremely wealthy men and their families,

while that of Noble et al (1996) focuses on non-English speaking males in south-western Sydney. Recent work in the USA on marginalised and hegemonic masculinities (Cheng, 1999b; Kendall, 1999; Kurtz, 1999; Chua & Fujino, 1999) which appears in a special edition of *The Journal of Men's Studies,* is applicable to investigations of the effects of migration on perceptions of masculinities within a North American context. Important outcomes from this research which are pertinent to this present study include: marginalised people have multiple group memberships – some marginalised, some dominant (Cheng, 1999b:295); the nerd identity provides a rich conceptual resource with which computer-using males can interpret their own and others' identities (Kendall, 1999:353); unlike white men, Asian-American men did not view their masculinity in opposition to their femininity; and some Asian-American men, especially the US-born, appeared to be creating a new, more flexible masculinity – one free from male dominance (Chua & Fujino, 1999:391). The applicability for such work in the Australian context needs to be considered cautiously, given the relative difference in the importance given to gender, sexual behaviour and sexuality even across predominantly Anglo-Celtic cultures. Where this present study focuses on constructions of masculinities and strategies of adaptation during the migration and settlement processes, North American literature in general is based on assumptions about the importance of gender and sexuality in the lives of Chinese American males. This literature seems to assume that gender and sexuality are central to the lives of these males rather than problematising the importance of these phenomena.

A reading of recent more popular literature on men and masculinity (ies) in Australia (Biddulph, 1994; Buchbinder, 1998; Colling, 1992; Edgar, 1997; McMahon, 1999; Morton, 1997; Nankervis, 1994; Tacey, 1997; Webb 1998) would suggest that discussion of Anglo-Celtic men and their reactions to the demands of feminists dominates the discourse. Reference is made to Aborigines and Aboriginal culture

(Buchbinder, 1998; Colling, 1992; Morton, 1997; Tacey, 1997) and to Anglo-Celtic (Saxon) influences on Australian culture, but virtually no references are made to the migrant males or the mutual effects of Greek, Italian, and Asian migrant groups on gender identities.

Many of these books appear to be an outcome of the challenges of feminist thinking. Tacey (1997:x) a Jungian steeped in mythopoetics for example, indicates that a basic argument of his book is that the feminist archetypal principle requires urgent attention in our hypermasculine culture. He argues for a new feminine psychology in the in-dwelling soul (1997:x). Further, Morton (1997:xiii) charts the experiences of heterosexual men who have encountered a crisis in their relationships with wives or partners. These men, Morton (1997:xiii) suggests, belong to the first generation that has had to grapple with the practical impacts of feminism. The book edited by Nankervis (1994) is the result of interviews with men about their childhood games, sporting triumphs, heroes, families and fantasies. Using a strongly cultural studies orientation, Buchbinder (1994) focuses on how men and various masculinities are represented and reproduced in texts, print, TV and other media. McMahon (1999) adopts a more thorough critical sociological stance in looking at men, social change, sexual politics and ideology. His conclusions however, imply that men have changed but only as a result of feminist critique. His suggestion (McMahon, 1999:206) is that men have changed but only slowly and in their time, and that they have developed expertise in writing sensitively and expansively about this change.

One could be forgiven after reading these references for perceiving Australia as a monoethnic culture which has never experienced waves of non-Anglo Celtic migration. While Morton (1997) for example, refers to the "Born-again Blokes", the "Sackcloth and Ashes Brigade", the "Victim Masculinists" he nevertheless, is writing about Anglo-Celtic males in the 90's. The concepts of mates and mateship, which are a

major focus of several of these texts, are a peculiarly Australian phenomenon and the authors seem to ignore cultural biases. There is no attempt to explore the influence of socio-cultural context on the meanings given to these concepts and others like masculinity, gender and sexuality. By focusing on the subjective experiences of the informants and linking these to socio-cultural contexts, this study attempts to use the voices of respondents to relate meanings and importance attached to such issues as friendships, relationships with women, gender identity and sexuality. It is argued this approach will obviate problems of cultural bias.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the philosophical assumptions undergirding qualitative research together with implications for practice will be presented. The nature of grounded theory will be discussed and where applicable, appropriate critiques introduced. Linkages among conceptual framework, research questions, sampling methods, data analysis and methodology in the design of this study will be explained and expanded upon. Particular reference will be made to the rationale for the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The particular items used in the interview will be explained and justified with reference to the research questions. The discussion of methods of verification used in this piece of research is significant. Specifically, the issues of validity and reliability, confirmability, utilisation and generalisability will be expanded upon.

The nature of qualitative approaches and philosophical assumptions

The present research adopts a qualitative approach. Qualitative inquiry involves data usually in the form of words which are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts (Miles & Huberman, 1994:1). According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996:4) qualitative data can take the form of field notes, interview transcripts, transcribed recordings of naturally occurring interaction, documents, pictures and other graphic representations. In this study, the data come in the form of interview transcripts. Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) suggest that qualitative research can mean any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Nevertheless, the data could include census data as well as persons' stories, behaviours, organisational functioning, social movement or interactional relationships. In the

present study, an in-depth, semi-structured interview is used to stimulate a "guided" conversation (Howe, 1985) between the interviewer and respondent about the lived experiences of the respondent with reference to gender identity, and particularly the effects of the migration experience on constructions of masculinity.

To remain consistent with qualitative methodological traditions as outlined by Creswell (1998) and Burrell and Morgan (1979) this study assumes that reality is subjective and multiple. This means that the researcher will seek emerging patterns from the stories told by respondents over a number of occasions in face-to-face, in-depth interviews. To facilitate a better comprehension and interpretation of the responses from the respondents, the researcher attempted as much as possible to familiarise himself with the cultural milieu of the informants. This included reading translated Chinese fiction, newspapers and magazines, and traditional Chinese classics and plays, listening to traditional and modern Chinese music, and viewing Chinese movies and videos. Visits to Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China have also been important in enabling the researcher to observe the cultural setting and social intricacies in the informants home territories. These occasions were also used to interview sociologists researching homosexuality in Hong Kong and mainland China, and leaders of gay movements in Taiwan. Interactions with Chinese Australians in Brisbane were also attempted to detect and understand the subtle meanings of the nuances and body language in their communication processes.

Grounded theory

In traditions more typical of interpretive paradigms this study employs an approach firmly rooted in grounded theory. Specifically, this means there exists a reciprocal relationship among data collection, analysis and theory, such that theories should be "grounded" in data from the field, especially in the actions, interactions and

social processes of people. It demands that what is under investigation be situated in its context at all times and that the context be described in detail and its influence elaborated on.

A substantive grounded theory involves systematic coding, theoretical sampling and guidelines for achieving conceptual density, variation and integration. Conceptual density refers to richness of concept development and relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1994:274) both of which depend on great familiarity with associated data and are checked out systematically with the data. Variation refers to the dimensional range of concepts and to the relationships among concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher is continually looking for variation in sampling of persons, events, sites or groups. Integration is an interaction between the analyst and the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:144) and is the drawing together of codes, memos, diagrams and networks. It is a recognition of relationships among concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The systematic techniques and procedures of analysis typical of grounded theory enable the researcher to develop a substantive theory that meets the criteria of "good" science: significance, theory-observation, compatibility, generalisability, reproducibility, precision, rigour and verification.

For Strauss and Corbin (1994:273) grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed. By continuous processes of induction and deductive testing, theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1994:273). More generally, grounded theory is a way of thinking about and conceptualising data and is designed to guide researchers in producing theory that contains many conceptual relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In a summary statement, Strauss and Corbin (1994:278) suggest that (grounded) theories are always traceable to the data that gave rise to them and within the interactive

context of data collecting and data analysing, in which the analyst is also a crucially significant interactant.

Research design

The purpose of this study is to investigate how male Chinese migrants "construct" or "reconstruct" their masculinities in the process of settlement in Australia. Implied in this is a "before–after" design. Respondents are required to recall events in their childhood and adolescence especially involving relationships with parents, siblings and other kin as well as friends, which they perceive to have influenced them as boys and men. This dependence on memory especially of the early experiences is something of a limitation in this study. The informants are also asked to reflect on the experiences they believe have influenced their gender identity in the early days of migration and throughout the settlement process. There is some dependence here on the male Chinese migrants' abilities to express their feelings after reflecting on these experiences. In the case of those informants who had not reflected on these issues in any depth prior to the interview, open ended questions were posed about significant events in their lives, the gendered composition of friendships and activities engaged in, family activities and special memories of their relationships with mother and father. These cues were used in the pilot interviews and discovered to be important stimulants for reflection and information.

One of the most significant strengths of using in-depth, semi-structured interview methods underpinned by qualitative methodology, is that it facilitates spontaneous responses at the same time as providing sufficient time for informants to reflect on issues. Where memory is a problem this data collection technique allows time for thinking. As the focus of this study is mainly on the effects of migration and settlement processes in Australia on gender identity constructions rather than on early

childhood experiences in the homeland, the researcher is obliged to centre the work on these "after" experiences but at the same time depend on respondents' memory for the "before" experiences. In some instances, the "before" experiences include information on migration and settlement experiences in other cultures prior to more permanent settlement in Australia. Throughout this study there is a focus on the subjective experiences of respondents. The research design and the data collection methods allow time for thinking, reflecting, expressing of feelings, relating of information and reciprocity between respondent and interviewer.

The research questions

The research questions make the study more explicit and give focus to the study by affecting the sampling decisions and place flexible limits on the data collection and analysis. The research questions for this study are included and discussed in Chapters 1and 8 and in this chapter the broad categories covered by these questions are included. These are:

- constructions and reconstructions of masculinities and the migration and settlement processes;

- the significance of gender, sex and sexuality in the lives of Chinese male migrants;

- the effect of selected socio-demographic variables on constructions of masculinities;

- the effect of sexuality on constructions of gender identity;

- personal, social and cultural influences on constructions;

- modes of adaptation during the settlement process.

The sample

Sample size appears to be a vexed question among commentators on qualitative approaches. Mason (1996) suggests that the selection of particular units (e.g., persons, sites, events) in the sample will be determined by research questions and the desire to generate data which will help to develop one's theory. Sample size therefore, may end up being quite large but qualitative samples are usually but not inherently, small (Mason, 1996:96). Rubin and Rubin (1995:47) argue that the iterative design of qualitative work should remain flexible but stop when the information one is putting together supports a small number of integrated themes and each additional interview adds no more ideas or issues to the themes on which one is now questioning. Therefore, iteration continues until theoretical saturation occurs (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:48). This view is supported by Strauss and Corbin (1990) who add the notions of variation and theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling refers to the way sampling is directed by the evolving theory. It is a sampling of persons and is harnessed to the making of comparisons between and among those samples. Sampling is also influenced by variation, which refers to the range of diversity around a category, theme or core idea. The researcher is directed to seek as wide a range of variation as possible until additions do not add to the emerging theory. For Mason (1996:94) theoretical sampling refers to the selection of groups of categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the research questions. Further, Mason argues that the sample must help develop a theory though facilitating the testing of it as it emerges against negative instances or contradictory cases.

For Miles and Huberman (1994:27-34) the key features of qualitative sampling is that it is usually small, purposive, not wholly prespecified, sets boundaries and creates a frame to help uncover, confirm, or qualify the constructs of the study. The sample size for a grounded theory study according to Morse (1994:225) should be

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approximately 30 to 50 persons. Creswell (1998:113) is somewhat more conservative and suggests a sample size of 20 to 30 people for grounded theory studies. Sample choices typically evolve through successive waves of data collection according to Huberman and Miles (1994:441). The waves are influenced by considerations of theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation and variation.

The sample in this study grew to a size of 40 males to account for variation, theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation. This was a purposive sample in which individual units had to meet the following criteria: (a) adults 18 years of age or over; (b) resident in Australia for at least twelve months; (c) identify as ethnically Chinese. Of the forty males in the sample: 35% were born in Hong Kong, 25% in Taiwan, 22.5% in PRC, 15% in Malaysia and 2.5% in Singapore. Duration of residence ranged from just over one year to 40 years with a mean of 9.1 years. The males in the sample ranged in age from 20 years to 59 years with a mean of 39.6 years of age. As is typical of qualitative methodology, analysis of data commenced after the completion of the first interview. In the initial phases of the analysis it was demonstrated that the sample to that point was too homogeneous in the sense of particular socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., married men of higher socio-economic status with children, born in Hong Kong). To obviate this problem greater diversity of age, marital status, duration of settlement in Australia, occupational background and sexuality was introduced. This facilitated variation and the testing of emerging theoretical propositions against a more heterogeneous sample. Iterations of the sample and data occurred until nothing more was added to emerging theories.

The instrument

The data for this study were collected using an in-depth, semi-structured interview. Some questions were used as guidelines in each interview and to allow for

comparisons of data across the interviews, but generally questions were open ended thus providing opportunities for respondents to expand on ideas without restriction. The emphasis was on spontaneity. The open-ended nature of the questions facilitated the introduction of ideas and trajectories which the interviewer was able to follow dependent on their relevance to the research questions. Refinement of approach was facilitated by trialling several questioning strategies and changing the content and structure of questions. The emphasis in the early stages was to allow for the psychological flow of the interview to be maintained. Several iterations of the questions occurred throughout the data collection. The approach used throughout the interview was more like a guided conversation in which reciprocity emerged between the interviewer and respondent. For example, in some cases the interviewer responded to questions about his lived experiences raised by the informants. While the interview was in fact, controlled by the researcher-interviewer, the approach facilitated a free exchange of ideas, which enabled several trajectories of great value to the research to be followed. For Kvale (1996:226) this research approach sees the interview as a social production of meanings through linguistic interaction in which the interviewee is a co-producer and co-author of the resulting interview text. Knowledge production in the interview is created between the views of the two partners in the conversation (Kvale, 1996:296). Qualitative interviewing, according to Rubin and Rubin (1995:31) is based on the importance of giving the interviewee voice. More importantly however, qualitative interviewing requires intense listening, a respect for and curiosity about what people say, and a systematic effort to really hear and understand what people tell you (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:17). This required the use of minimal encouragers, perception checking and appropriate pacing, among other communication skills.

An open-ended, in-depth interview approach was adopted in this study because of its relatively exploratory nature and to facilitate the emergence of leads and novel

trajectories. Further, this means of data collection provided rich subjective data on lived experience. All interviews were taped in the presence of the informants. Permission or consent to tape the interviews was sought before the interview commenced. Informants were taken through an informed consent form (see Appendix 1), which contained explanations of the objectives, procedures and outcomes of the research and reminded them of their freedom, should they feel uncomfortable, to terminate the interview or withdraw from the research at any point. The guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity were also included in this form and elaborated on. Each interview was then transcribed and put through several drafts to facilitate cleaning and close attention to context. Audiotapes were played many times to situate the transcribed version. Originals of the cassette tapes, floppy discs and transcribed versions were closely secured. A clean copy of each interview was kept prior to coding either manually or electronically. These were used for contexting where applicable and were closely secured.

The following issues provided important guidelines for the in-depth interviews: socio-demographic and biographical characteristics; significant people in the respondents' life; friendships and relationships; attitudes to work, sport/leisure, family; personal image and cultural identity; personal/social/cultural changes with migration and settlement; images of the Chinese businessman; attitudes to non-Chinese males and females in Australia; previous migration experiences; attitudes to representations of Chinese and non-Chinese males in Australian media; experiences of racism or homophobia and methods of adaptation, sexuality and sexual behaviours. Each of these issues is related to the categories of research questions, and was raised in each interview. Certain issues received more emphasis than others in particular interviews. In many cases the issues emerged spontaneously without prompting from the interviewer.

Language differences between the respondents and the interviewer were not of such magnitude to necessitate the use of an interpreter or bilingual worker. While the interviewer could not speak Mandarin or Cantonese, all respondents could speak English at varying levels of fluency and competence. Where difficulties emerged in understanding, questions were repeated and where possible, examples were provided. In all interviews only the interviewer and respondents were present. One of the criteria established for the selection of representatives in the sample was capacity to speak and understand English. Interpreters were not used because of the potential for censoring of information by the respondent in the presence of another person. Discussions with respondents during the trialling period about the use of interpreters, demonstrated that Chinese people may be reticent to relate information on certain issues in the presence of a third person, particularly if they were Chinese. Where it was considered by the researcher that language difficulties could lead to errors in interpretation of an idea the researcher returned to the interviewee with a hard copy of the interview and sought clarification. The interviewer was also warned that political matters from the homeland considered "sensitive" by the respondent may not be related. Where this occurred, respondents asked that the tape recorder be switched off while they related the information or merely asked the interviewer to treat the material confidentially. The only other area where reticence was displayed concerned "sensitive" information about either marriage or relationships. This reticence in most instances did not prevent the respondents from relating the information.

Issues of reliability and validity

In qualitative research verification is central. For Kvale (1996:238) validity pertains to the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate, that our observations reflect the phenomena or variables of interest to us. Reliability

pertains to the consistency of the research findings (Kvale, 1996:231). The former then is concerned with how closely the research reflects the world being described, while the latter is concerned with the extent to which two researchers studying the same arena will come up with compatible and comparable observations (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:85). Miles and Huberman (1994:278) argue that these issues are concerned with whether the process of the study is consistent, reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods. In the case of validity, they treat internal validity together with credibility and authenticity and suggest that these are concerned with truth value (Miles & Huberman, 1994:278). Similarly external validity, transferability and fittingness are concerned with the extent to which the conclusions of a study have any larger impact (1994:279).

For each of these categories, Miles and Huberman (1994) provide a comprehensive collection of questions, which could be used as a checklist in any research study. Creswell (1998) suggested that verification can be both part of the process of the research and a standard or criterion for judging the quality of a study. Such a standard may be "external" or "internal". Examples of an external standard are asking informants to comment, looking to other researchers (critical friends) to verify, and determining whether it appeals to audiences, while examples of "internal" standards are determining whether the research makes sense to the individual or is consistent with the researcher's sense of meaning (Creswell, 1998:215).

Two other standards of quality of conclusions are offered by Miles and Huberman (1994). These are objectivity/confirmability, which refers to the relative neutrality and reasonable freedom from unacknowledged researcher bias; and utilisation/application/action orientation, which refers to what the study can do for both researchers and researched. For example, the implications of the research for changing

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programs, services and policies that might impinge on the respondent are important considerations under these criteria.

In the present research, reliability is approached through a thorough and detailed description and account of how the methods are related to the research questions. In the case of validity, data displays with detailed explanations show the links among research questions, methodology and materials. Decisions about coding strategies and judgments concerning the relevance of particular parts of transcripts to research questions are made explicit.

This study uses a selection of the tactics for testing or confirming findings discussed by Miles and Huberman (1994). From their comprehensive list the following were adopted: checking for researcher effects by using critical friends; weighting the evidence by using memos as a way of cross checking emerging ideas; checking the meaning of outliers by using data displays which made discrepant cases more obvious; using extreme cases by referring to data displays; following up surprises; looking for negative evidence in the interview data and in existing empirical research evidence; making "if-then" tests which were often contained in theoretical memos; ruling out spurious relations by using critical friends; representing a finding by using the method of constant comparisons; checking out rival explanations by using memos and critical friends; and, getting feedback from informants by asking a sample of respondents to check partial analysis and interpretations, particularly during the process.

Data analysis

The analysis of the data collected in this study commenced immediately after the first interview. Almost immediately, memoing was used to give direction to subsequent work. Memos are statements made by the researcher referring to techniques and methods as well as conceptual and theoretical matters emerging from the initial stages

of a study. In the software program Atlas/ti which was used for managing and analysing the data in this study, there are three types of memos. Methodological memos are relevant for noting interviewing techniques or relationships between interviewer and respondent; theoretical memos are appropriate to emerging explanations of particular behaviours suggested by the data or to relationships among ideas; and commentary memos are statements more about general issues that might attract the researcher's attention. Strauss and Corbin (1990:197) restrict their definition of memos to written records of analysis related to the formulation of theory. Memos, according to Miles and Huberman (1994:72) can go beyond codes and their relationships to any aspect of the study – personal, methodological and substantive. In this present research, memos were dated when made to permit reflection on the emergence of theoretical and methodological ideas as the study progressed and to notice changes in thinking about these issues. Memos included statements about the way items were asked or responded to, as well as about the questions themselves. Further, memos included statements about emerging conceptual and theoretical ideas. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that memos together with reflective remarks, marginal remarks and pattern coding all allow the researcher to step away from particulars and permit a broader picture of the study.

Prior to the commencement of coding, the researcher read the hard copy of the transcript while listening to the audio copy. This facilitated the writing of a story emerging from the interview which enabled the researcher to get a "feel" for the lived experience expressed by the respondent. From the outset of interviews, coding of the hard copy transcripts and electronic forms commenced. This process is actually a way of reducing data into manageable pieces. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:26) refer to this process as the condensing of the bulk of our data sets into analysable units by creating categories with and from our data. They call this process coding and suggest that

concepts are generated from and with our data, using coding as a means of achieving this (1996:26). Coding is viewed by Strauss and Corbin (1990:61) as the process of analysing data. In their classification of coding into open, axial and selective, they suggest (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:61) that open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data. These categories are linked or connected according to the process of coding used by Strauss and Corbin (1990) in axial coding, whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding. The final type of coding – selective coding, is the process of selecting a core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships and filling in categories that need further refinement and development (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:116).

This process of moving from the data through various levels of coding to the formation of core categories or concepts is inductive. The coding aids in the organisation, retrieval and interpretation of data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:27). It plays a dual role of reducing the data but also expanding, transforming and reconceptualising the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:28). In a sense the data is broken down and then rebuilt progressively. Tesch (in Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:30) refers to this process as decontextualising the data, which involves segmenting portions of data and slicing up the data set, then organising and sorting the data as part of a process of recontextualisation. These processes enable the researcher to consider the data in novel ways. Simultaneously, the researcher is noting memos about the emerging relationships among the maturing ideas. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:31) suggest that coding is much more than simply giving categories to data, it is also about conceptualising the data, raising questions, providing provisional answers about the relationships among and within the data, and discovering the data. Memoing assists in this process.

During the open coding operation the researcher attaches properties (attributes) and dimensions to each of the open codes. The open codes themselves can be *in vivo* or words or phrases provided by the researcher from single lines, paragraphs or whole pages of the transcript. Properties (attributes) are characteristics pertaining to a category or code, and dimensions are the location of properties along a continuum (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:61). One example of this process in the present study, which emerged out of a question relating to family and the expectations of the eldest son was:

Open Code	*Attributes*	*Selected dimensions*
(blood) kin	mother	f/t work outside ....never worked outside
	father	dominant figure..........................passive figure
	sister	older ....younger
	brother	hero ....not hero

The attributes and dimensions presented in this example existed in the interview data and are selections from a number of attributes and dimensions which could have been included. These attributes and dimensions become important in the next level of coding – axial coding. In the axial coding phase, links among open codes are made through the attributes and dimensions of respective open codes. According to Strauss and Corbin (1994:185) in axial coding the aim is to relate more specifically the categories and subcategories that were uncovered during open sampling and coding, and to find evidence of variation and process with reference to them. The reference to sampling by Strauss and Corbin more specifically focuses on theoretical sampling, which is sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving grounded theory (1990:176). For Strauss and Corbin (1990) theoretical

relevance refers to the consistent presence or absence of particular concepts as single cases are compared.

The process of axial coding moves beyond open codes and their properties and dimensions. It makes links among categories with the assistance of a paradigm matrix or model (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:99). Some open codes tend to be more central than others and these form core axial codes that other lesser codes may cluster around. These central codes, Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to as phenomena, which form a type of causal chain with other categories which either precede them temporally, or come after them as intervening conditions or actions and consequences. The axial coding process provides a novel array of relationships which emerge from the original transcripts through the initial process of open coding. Strauss and Corbin refer to the importance of placing these categories and phenomena into their context. Like Miller and Dingwell (1997:3), Strauss and Corbin see qualitative research as an empirical enterprise which involves the close study of everyday life in diverse social contexts. All interpretations must be "situated" in a context. According to Miller and Dingwell (1997) a major task of qualitative researchers involves observing and specifying the unique and shared features of organisational and institutional settings, as well as analysing the implications of institutional settings and processes for peoples lives and/or social issues. For Strauss and Corbin (1990:96) context refers to the specific set of properties that pertain to a phenomenon, i.e., the locations of events or incidents pertaining to a phenomenon.

Included in the paradigm matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) are the following components: the phenomenon (what is going on here); the conditions (contextual, causal, or intervening which surround the phenomenon and are concerned with the why and the how); actions/interactions (which are the strategic or routine tactics or the how by which persons handle situations, problems, and issues they encounter); and,

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consequences (which are the outcomes of these actions/interactions). This paradigm developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998:123) is designed to help analysts integrate structure and process.

This process of axial coding is still concerned with category development but moves beyond properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:97). The categories developed at this level also have subcategories attached to them. These subcategories give the category greater precision. Further, the subcategories attached to categories can overlap each other. Codes and their segments, according to Coffey and Atkinson (1996:36), can be nested or embedded within one another, can overlap and can intersect. It is possible that the same subcategory can be applied several times in a single unit of data, and the same segment can have more than one code attached to it. One way of displaying categories and subcategories is through the use of the paradigm matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that data display is a key element of the analytical process. Further, by looking for antecedents and consequences of particular phenomena and selecting varying conditions and contexts it is possible to move beyond the initial set of data (the transcript of the interview).

More intensive axial coding leads to the next level, selective coding, which sees the emergence of core categories around which other categories are arranged (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This process of synthesis and integration (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:117) is like axial coding but at a more abstract level. For Strauss and Corbin (1990:116) a core category is a central phenomenon around which all the other categories are integrated. These core categories progressively emerge throughout axial coding and into selective coding by testing out emerging ideas and relationships deductively against outliers in the data, or in some instances "deviant" or extreme cases. This involves recurrent processes of inductive development, deductive testing of theoretical propositions, refinement, modification and retesting. It is suggested by Strauss and

Corbin (1990:116) that a story or descriptive narrative be developed about the central phenomenon of the study. During selective coding, the process of testing and validating relationships among various categories continues. Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to the importance of properties and dimensions in this process. At all times throughout the process of axial and selective coding, it is important for the researcher to return to the original transcripts of the interviews to see how well emerging theoretical propositions hold up against original data. From time to time throughout the coding processes, the original audiocassettes of the interviews are replayed to allow for contexting and resituating the data.

Throughout the process of coding, and particularly at the point of theoretical proposition development and testing, the memos established from the outset offer useful guidance. During the validation process, the content of the memos point to antecedent and intervening variables which need to be considered for the "fit" with the emerging pattern. Strauss and Corbin (1990:139) suggest that it is important to look for best fit rather than exact fit. At the end of this iterative process it may be likely that some cases do not "fit". These could be considered exceptions but do influence the degree of tentativeness of relationships exposed in the theoretical propositions.

From the initial coding of the first interview transcript, a method of "constant comparison" (Glaser in Glaser & Strauss,1967:101-116) was used to compare and contrast emerging codes with those in new data from subsequent interviews. This process facilitated the emergence of outliers and permitted, through memos, modifications to emerging theoretical propositions and axial codes. For Miles and Huberman (1994:245) making contrasts/comparisons is a pervasive tactic that sharpens understanding. This is one of thirteen tactics they offer for generating meaning. They liken it to the "method of differences" developed by Aristotle (1994:254). It has been argued (Janesick, 1994:218) that constant comparative analysis allows the researcher to

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develop grounded theory. For Glaser and Strauss (in Strauss & Corbin, 1994:273) a central feature of the grounded theory methodology is the constant comparative method which is characterised by a continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. Huberman and Miles (1994:439) suggest that "constant comparative" method is like a reflective stance to the conduct of a study that assumes regular, ongoing, self-conscious documentation of successive versions of coding schemes, of conceptual arguments, of analytic episodes, both successful ones and dead ends. According to Creswell (1998) in an explanation of grounded theory, the researcher continues to collect data to saturate (or find information that continues to add until no more can be found) the categories. This process of taking information from data collection and comparing it to emerging categories Creswell (1998:57) suggests, is called the constant comparative method of data collection.

In this study, most of the thirteen tactics for generating meaning offered by Miles and Huberman (1994) were used in the data collection, analysis and interpretation phases. These tactics are as follows: noting patterns, themes; clustering; making metaphors; counting; making contrasts/comparisons; partitioning variables; subsuming particulars into the general; factoring; noting relations between variables; finding intervening variables; building a logical chain of evidence; and making conceptual/theoretical coherence. These tactics assist in the process of moving from coding to interpretation, that is, the transformation of the coded data into meaningful data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:47). In particular, the researcher is looking for negative cases, outliers or extreme cases to help test emerging theoretical propositions, as well as potential confounding and intervening variables.

These data transforming tactics (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:47) could be organised along a continuum from the simple (e.g., counting) to the much more complex (e.g., making conceptual/theoretical coherence). Miles and Huberman (1994)

are insistent throughout their explanations of these tactics that the researcher must be careful of premature closure on data, especially the pieces of the puzzle that do not appear to fit. Metaphors, according to Miles and Huberman (1994:252) are important devices for making patterns, for reducing data but, simultaneously, allowing the researcher to step back from the data. They do this because they are less concrete and more analytical and inferential (Miles & Huberman, 1994:252). In the case of partitioning variables, Miles and Huberman (1994) warn that it is important for the researcher to be aware of monolithic and universalistic categories. The process of differentiation will permit the researcher to break variables down and establish either new arrangements or test for the appropriateness of "fit". Factoring, like clustering and making metaphors, is a process of pattern-forcing and facilitates moves to great abstraction. The process of noting relations between variables is reminiscent of looking for inverse or direct relationships between variables in more positivistic research. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that one tactic for establishing types of relationships is to construct matrices. They insist throughout their work that data displays are invaluable devices for checking associations, as well as subordination or superordination among concepts, categories or variables. This is particularly so in checking for confounding variables like intervening types.

The last two tactics of building a logical chain of evidence and making conceptual/theoretical coherence, are much more demanding analytically. While decision making implies analytic ideas at every stage of the coding process (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:47) the process of generalising which is evident in these final stages requires 'if-then' tactics and the checking for completeness and the extent to which emerging relationships make sense (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Logical chains of categories, concepts or variables are established in say one case and verified by methods of constant comparison with other cases. The development of networks of codes,

categories and concepts facilitated by Atlas/ti is useful in this process. These chains of concepts may seem plausible without necessarily being causal. Data displays of categories and sub-categories can be constructed using the paradigm model suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The final process in this inductive model is to establish theoretical propositions or constructs. Here, the emerging core categories can be tested out in a top-down, bottom-up process which combines induction and deduction. Existing empirical research and/or critical friends can be used as verification tactics in this process.

Data management

One of the most important tasks in qualitative research is the organisation, storage and management of data. Kvale (1996:173) suggests that computer programs serve as textbase managers, storing the often extensive interview transcripts, and allow for a multitude of analytic operations.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994:43) how a qualitative study is managed from day one strongly influences the kinds of analysis that can be done, and how easily. While some commentators advocate a "cut and paste" method of analysis which uses paper, manila folders, large poster displays and scissors, many writers argue strongly for computer-based analyses (Fielding & Lee, 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990; Weitzman & Miles, 1995). Most computer-based programs available for qualitative research have their limitations and these are pointed to in the review of 24 software programs provided by Weitzman and Miles (1995). One of the greatest limitations is the inability of computer programs to provide sufficiently large data displays on screen. However, this could be achieved on paper, butchers paper and cardboard posters and placed on the walls of a room for "big picture" display using the

cut-and-paste method. Such a simple process could be used to supplement the output of electronic devices.

The software program used in this present study, is one which Weitzman and Miles (1995) categorise as "code-based theory builders", and is called Atlas/ti. This program was developed by Thomas Muhr of Scientific Software Development in Berlin, Germany. Several releases have been made available to the public and with the use of several patches the program is now available in Version 4.2, Build 55. Weitzman and Miles (1995:228) suggest that the interface in Atlas/ti is arguably the best of all the code-and-retrieve programs, allowing simultaneous viewing of all relevant information. Further, they are impressed with the powerful network editor and refer to the significant advantage of tying your maps to your data in a fully dynamic linkage (1995:228). The network editor allows for graphical creation, manipulation and examination of logical relations among codes. As well, Atlas/ti provides numerous options for memoing and commenting on text segments, source documents, codes and relations (Weitzman & Miles, 1995:217). All data (findings, codes, memos, and structures) are enclosed in what the program calls a Hermeneutic Unit – an "idea container". Data files or Primary Documents (text, graphics and audio) are located anywhere on the computer or network with the Hermeneutic Unit.

This software program allows for the numbering of every line of the interview transcript, for the highlighting of sections of the transcript ("quotations") and the creation of codes (either *in vivo* or researcher-created). All quotations and respective codes can be saved and recalled and pointed out at any time. Codes can be clustered and renamed at a higher level of abstraction (supercodes). This process is like subordination and superordination. Codes, together with quotations and memos can also be linked in network views which allow for the development of theoretical relationships. At all points the researcher using this program can comment on primary

text and codes as well as networks. Such comments can clarify the meaning of a code or explain how it is to be used. Different types of memos can be created e.g., theoretical, methodological or merely, commentary. Networks can be created among the memos alone or with codes. It is possible to create particular types of relations using Atlas/ti, these are symmetric, asymmetric or transitive. Specifically, this means that relations could take the following forms: A is associated with B, A is part of B, A is a cause of B, A contradicts B, A is a B, A is a property of B. These are user-defined relations, and have particular symbols which are shown in network displays. Hermeneutic units can be merged in this program which would allow for comparisons. The use of merging permits the collapsing and synthesising of codes. This allows for the movement from open to axial codes.

Every step in this process can be printed off in hard copy which allows for a larger construction on charts of linkages among several axial codes and several networks. This facilitates the development of selective codes and the testing of outliers against emerging theoretical relationships among selective codes. At all points in this process the original context is provided by clean transcripts and audiotapes.

CHAPTER 6

CHINESENESS, GENDER IDENTITY AND ALLIED THEMES

This study, is concerned with the extent to which male Chinese migrants to Australia deconstructed prior constructions of masculinities and reconstructed new versions (variants) after migration and during the settlement process. Implied in this focus is an assumption about the importance given to gender identity by Chinese men. The effect of prior migration experiences on these constructions is also canvassed, as is the sexuality of the respondent and the importance given to sexual behaviour and performance prior to and after migration. It is also posited that variables like social class, rural/urban nativity, sexuality, marital status, and duration of residence in Australia will differentiate these informants with respect to their constructions of masculinities. The central problem and associated research questions dominated the collection and analysis of the data.

In this chapter, the core ideas or themes which emerged from the semi-structured in-depth interviews of the 40 Chinese migrants will be exposed. The themes were inductively developed from a coding of the interview transcripts. The notion of coding used in this study is similar to that presented by Strauss and Corbin (1998) where it is viewed as analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualised, and integrated to form theory. Further, concepts are seen as the building blocks of theory and can be grouped if they pertain to a central idea in the data to form categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Categories can have properties which define and give meaning to them. Properties have dimensions which give greater specification to a category and assist in the recognition of variation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The interviews were decontextualised (Tesch, 1990) by open coding methods (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998, 1990). In this process the large interview

data were broken down into words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs. In some instances *in vivo* codes were used but in other cases a code was developed from the grouping of words in the interview. Each open code had associated with it direct quotations from the interview. The software program Atlas/ti displays this link between open code and quotation. Open codes were linked and grouped under more abstract axial codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, 1990). Here conceptual links were made by grouping subordinate codes under a more superordinate category. An example of this process is as follows:

> *Emphasis on collectivity*
>
>> *respect for gendered hierarchy*
>>
>> *co-operative effort*
>>
>> *mutual support*
>>
>> *harmony*
>>
>> *consensus decision making*

These categories often emerged in the interviews or were developed through links made by the respondent during the interview process. Memos (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) constructed during the coding process assisted in making these links. Some memos had strong theoretical input while others were more a commentary on potential links among particular open codes.

The development of axial codes was also facilitated by the use of attributes (properties) and dimensions which were constructed for many of the open codes. An example of an axial code, one of its open codes with its properties and dimensions is as follows:

Emphasis on
collectivity

        Respect for
        gendered
        hierarchy

deference to father	*absolute silence extreme*	*some communication moderate*
respect oldest brother	*formal prepared to accept directions (favouritism)*	*informal loathe to accept special treatment*

Properties and dimensions of open codes and axial codes were useful in further inductive development of the main themes and core ideas. These facilitated the merging of axial codes using the method of constant comparison across several interviews. In this process the attributes and dimensions assisted in the identification of similarities and differences across the interviews but also made variations and outliers more obvious. These cases contributed to modifications to theoretical memos and assisted in a more vivid picture of the developmental nature of the process as more comparative material emerged with new interviews. Outliers served the purpose of deductive testing of emerging ideas throughout the whole process of analysis. Typical of qualitative approaches, analysis and testing of ideas proceeded from the first interview throughout the collection of data.

Together with memos, attributes and dimensions the paradigm model developed by Strauss and Corbin assisted in establishing causal links among the emerging codes. This paradigm facilitates the integration of "structure with process" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:123). By this process of integration one learns how and why certain events occur, and people interact in the way they do (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:127). The paradigm assists in the development of explanations of the phenomena or core ideas as they occur and warns about the multiple factors that operate in particular contexts. The conditions

which are "sets of events or happenings that create the situations, issues and problems pertaining to a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:130) are either causal, intervening or contextual (1998:131). They are concerned with the why, where, when and how come. As well as the conditions, which help embed the phenomena in particular contexts or structures, the paradigm contains two other components i.e., actions/interactions and consequences which assist in making links among concepts and categories. Actions/interactions refer to the reactions and responses of individuals and groups to particular conditions and the consequences are the outcomes of these actions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). At all points throughout the process of analysis the research questions for this investigation act as a guide and rationale for focussing on the data.

In this study, several themes or core ideas emerged. These will be discussed in the following section. The processes used in the inductive development of these core ideas will be made explicit through the use of quotations from the actual interviews. Linkages among core ideas will also be demonstrated and theoretical propositions included, showing the relationships among these ideas. Where appropriate, network diagrams will be constructed to display the links among the multiple factors contributing to the key ideas.

Where the voices of the male respondents have been used to elaborate on the codes, properties and dimensions associated with particular themes, some of the statements from the interviews appear to be rather truncated. This is an outcome of the nature of the responses provided by some of the Chinese migrants. In these instances, respondents have provided either monosyllabic responses or very short replies which were not elaborated upon. Where expansion was sought this often led to more monosyllabic responses. The diversity in length of responses in these interviews is typical of the nature of conversations between individuals in daily conversation. The capital letters in parenthesis at the end of statements of direct speech are initials used by

the researcher for respondents, to facilitate consistency throughout and to keep track of individual respondents. The major themes and their links and interactions are shown in Figure 1.

The theme Chineseness emerged, as a central phenomenon in this study one which, in part, resulted from early socialisation experiences in country of birth as well as pre-migration and ongoing relationships with father and mother, siblings and other kin. Chineseness was supported and reinforced by insularity where the male migrants restricted their social milieux to mainly people from the Chinese diaspora. This had consequences for interests and social practices. There was also a guaranteed mutual reinforcement of these twin themes of Chineseness and insularity, which had consequences for particular social practices and the promotion of certain values. These phenomena were also causal conditions for particular themes like centrality of family, hard work and education; attitudes to unemployment; and the secondary nature of sport, leisure and recreation. Another important theme resulting from Chineseness and insularity was sexual conservativeness. The attributes of this theme influenced other themes like expectations of wife, relationships with other women, reactions to other men, and gender identity. Gender and sexual identity were never perceived to be central for these Chinese male migrants. Unlike the indicators of masculinities for Western males, sexual behaviour and sporting interests and experiences were not important rites of passage for the Chinese males. Rather, being the sole provider, protector and guardian of the family were central features of how they perceived their success as men. This perception was influenced by the centrality of hard work and educational achievement, which it was anticipated would contribute to the ideal of accumulation of wealth and therefore status and power.

The most important themes to emerge were: Chineseness; centrality of family; the importance of hard work; unemployment and its consequences; sport, recreation and

Figure 1: Major Themes and Their Relationships
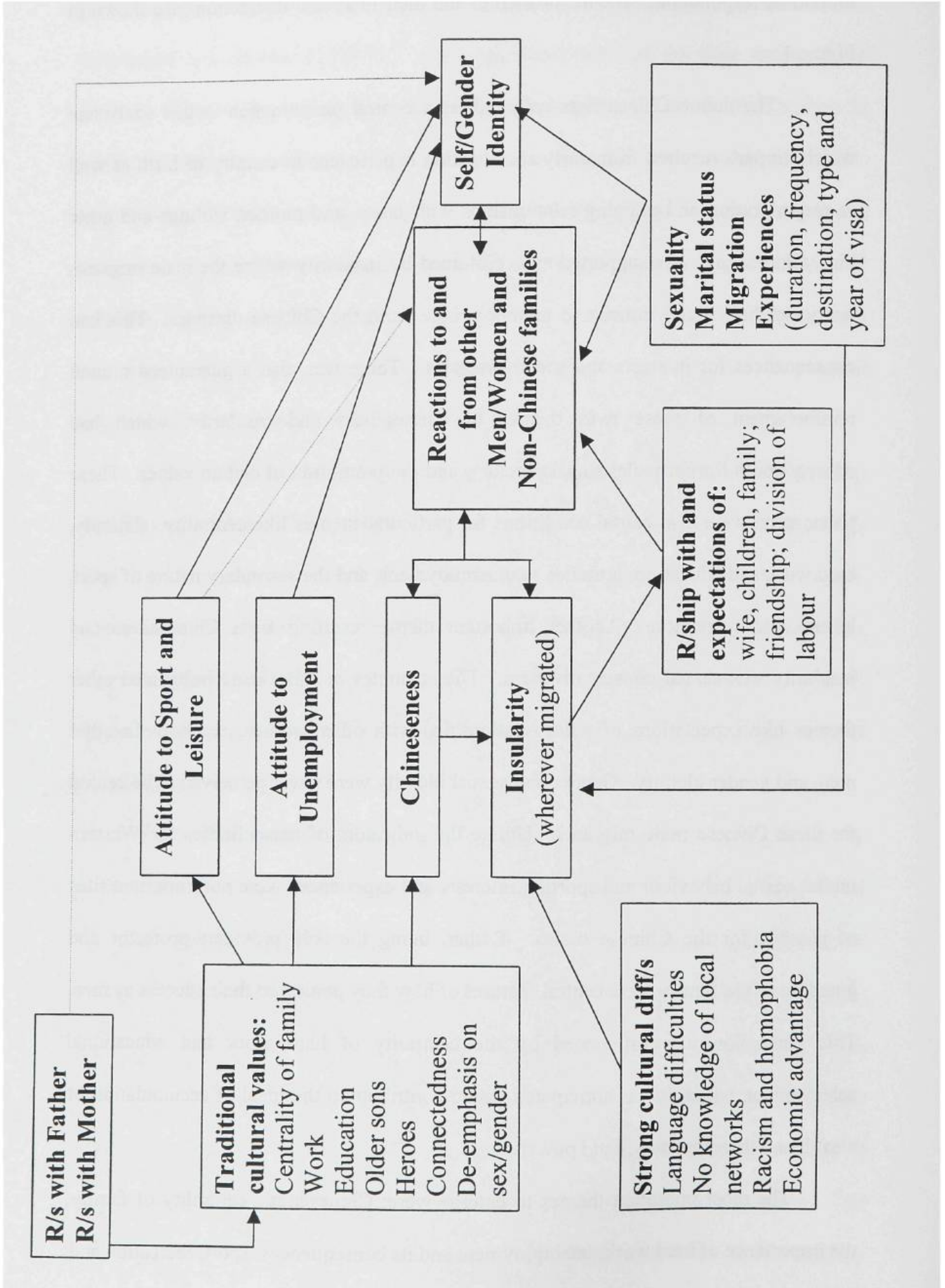
leisure as secondary; Chinese males and others; insularity; expectations of wife; relationships with children; the oldest Chinese son; relationships with father; relationships with mother; sexual conservativeness; homosexuality; relationships with women; friendships; migration; the importance of education; heroes; "global man", generational differences; "me" as a person; and occupational characteristics. Other themes emerged, but in terms of frequency of mention were of less significance. The frequency of mention was taken as an indicator of the importance of a particular theme on the settlement process, as was the spontaneity of mention. Where particular ideas emerged as a reaction to cues presented by the interviewer, these were taken to be of less direct importance to the respondent. Important themes were those mentioned by many respondents upon which most informants expanded spontaneously. Particular themes were developed by specific respondents in depth but more superficially by others. Explanations for the apparent difference in significance across respondents will be presented throughout.

It is clear that particular important themes were linked. The centrality of family for example, is linked with Chineseness, relationships with parents and expectations concerning the oldest son. The importance of hard work, was associated frequently with the importance of education and attitudes to and consequences of unemployment, and the secondary importance of sport, recreation and leisure. A theme which emerged in nearly all instances, was sexual conservativeness and it was linked to expectations of wife, relationships with women, and homosexuality. The theme of sexual behaviour and performance did not appear to be central for these Chinese men. The closeness of many core ideas and themes meant that many open and even axial codes were common.

Because the central focus of this study is to explore the effects of migration on constructions of masculinities and the adaptive strategies used by Chinese male migrants during the settlement process, the themes which emerged from the coding of

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the data will be organised for discussion informally into pre-migration, migration and post migration periods. It is inevitable that there will be overlapping themes, just as many of the codes and categories developed during the analysis are common to several of the major and minor themes. A theme like centrality of family, for example, will be discussed in the pre-migration area because of its importance as a central value in traditional Chinese culture, as well as in the migration and post migration periods where there has been an important continuity for many of the Chinese migrants in their families of procreation. The theme migration will itself be discussed because of its importance, particularly as a link between pre-migration and post migration themes. The centrality of the theme Chineseness is displayed in Figure 2. The analysis of data section will be divided into two chapters. The central themes, which emerged particularly around Chineseness, are discussed in this chapter. The major issues which were developed in the migration and post-migration periods and adaptive strategies used during the settlement process will be explored in Chapter 7. Particular reference will be made in Chapter 7 to the influence of the selected independent variables on these themes.

Chineseness

This particular phenomenon focuses on the persistence of tradition, resistance to change, the need to maintain a stable cultural and gender identity, and the retention of power in the hands of the patriarchy. It is more like a core idea, the centre of a cluster of other themes including the importance of hard work, the centrality of family, the importance of education, relationships with mother and father, sexual conservativeness, relationships with children, and lack of public display of feelings.

One of the most significant links with Chineseness is the importance of the male as the centre of the family or the household. Fathers were described as: *powerful* (PW);

Figure 2: Chineseness Theme
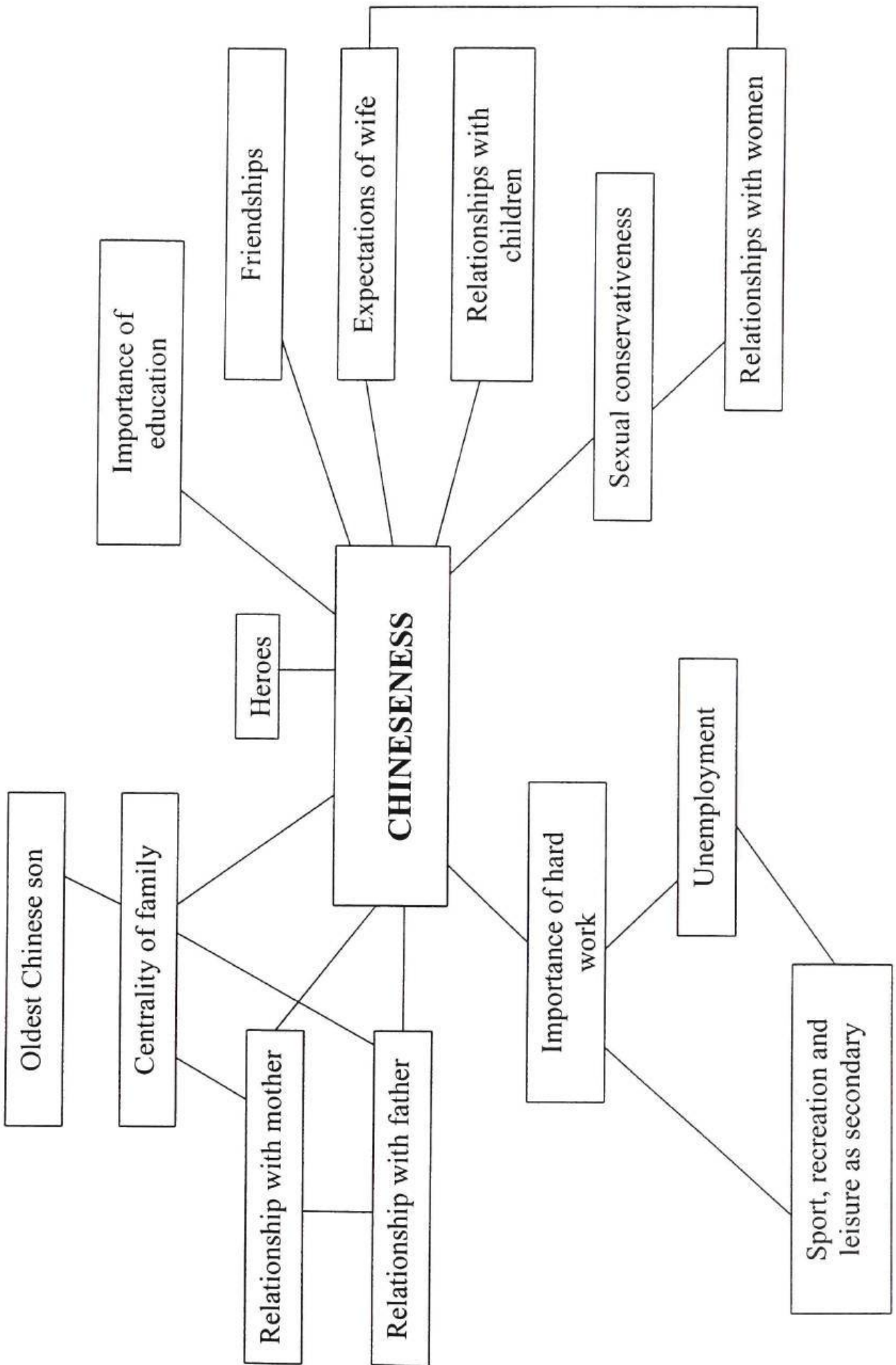
quite dominant, particularly the older ones (S); *having a masterful role* (AIN); *an authority figure* (L95), *distant* (L95); *head of the family who can't afford to lose their credibility* (C97); *centre of the family* (W); *very important* (BW); *and dominant* (BW).

Associated with the position of dominance of the male in the family are the importance of the family and the valuing of respect of older persons. Respondents referred to: *the importance of family bonding* (MC); *being more collective* (MC); *family values* (H-S, X); *connection with other people* (A); *kinship feeling and family relationships* (L95); *sharing together with your family* (PW); *responsibility for your family* (KT); *respect for each other* (GU); *respect for adults* (E); *respect for elders* (BW); *and being hospitable and respecting my sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law as part of my family* (S). The centrality of hierarchy and connectedness are obvious in these points.

The importance of education to long-term success is also a Chinese value evident among these male migrants.

> *"... work hard, and study hard and do everything well and honour to others"* (PW)

> *"... pushed from the minute they walked to learn, learn, learn ... you'll succeed, an enormous work ethic ..."* (AIN)

> *"I must say I am very demanding for my daughters to do well in school. Er, you must achieve, they must do well in school in order to, you know, be of a good life ..."* (C97)

> *"... study is central to getting a good job"* (PC)

There was some evidence of ambivalence in the response of some respondents concerning the position of women. By implication it could be concluded, given the dominant position of males in the family, that women are less powerful and

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offered/provided with fewer opportunities than are the male members. Some males indicated they would give their spouses a choice, but their preference was for their wife to remain at home because it was the man's responsibility to provide for the family.

"... Chinese women are ah because of the philosophy and the traditions and they are easier to be (pause) obedient" (GU)

"... well their parents decision (to send son rather than daughter to high school). I guess, especially in the countryside" (AH)

"... daughters treated different from sons in Chinese family ... in mainland China they (male children) were the most important in the family ... in Hong Kong they're idea is changed, the idea is changed you know" (PW)

"And ah people from this area are one stereotype of this ah a lot of focus are on boys. The parents expect the boys are the are they are major playing major role. Respecting the older male is still important" (TON)

The significance of region of nativity is emphasised in these statements. It appears that rural areas are more conservative than urban in terms of the position of women and that PRC more than other places, particularly Hong Kong.

Chinese traditions concerning the deferral/reservation of sexual relations until marriage and the non-demonstrativeness of relationships, particularly in physical terms, were also evident among these Chinese male migrants. While sexual relations prior to marriage or outside of marriage may not be acceptable in Chinese tradition, there are obviously ways of handling a breach of this custom.

"Ah as for womanising having sex all that, well um for Chinese you tend to do it quietly. You don't brag about it, if you want to do it" (L96)

Another important quality of the Chinese male in particular which is associated with the theme of Chineseness, is the keeping of feelings inside oneself. Related to this lack of expression of feelings, is the keeping of personal problems private rather than exposing them to the family or the children. The notions of control of one's feelings and endurance seem to be central to perceptions of masculinity in Chinese tradition. Respondents referred to: *control of feelings* (GU); *quietness and silence, particularly between children and father* (GU); *never confiding* (GU); *keeping feelings to self* (PW); *solving problems* (C97); *and endurance* (E).

The importance of hard work is a central Chinese value which is referred to by many of these male migrants.

"*... energies were put into work and business and they didn't care about sport ..." (CM)*

"*... work hard, and study hard ..." (PW)*

"*... Chinese people will work very hard" (S)*

"*You'll succeed, an enormous work ethic ..." (AIN)*

"*... a person who really do something, find something out of life, particularly to gain high positions, gain more power, to have control over your life and people and regarded as successful if they can do that, and I think that this is generally very true among Chinese males" (C97)*

A major difference between Chinese men and Chinese women, which is based on tradition, was emphasised by one male. He believed that the Chinese male is more capable of having a more global outlook. This respondent believed that according to Chinese tradition, the male is expected to take into consideration the macro relations while the female in the family is more concerned with things more closely proximate to them, i.e., their micro world of children and family. This point of view seems to

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contrast with that expressed by many males that their fathers were very distant people, while their mothers were the ones who demonstrated caring qualities. This discussion has introduced a number of important minor themes allied to Chineseness, which will be examined in the following section.

Centrality of the family

Throughout the interviews the importance of family, more particularly extended family, and the interdependence of family members were highlighted. The extended family and connectedness of family members were places where respect, sharing, obedience and closeness could be practiced and demonstrated.

> *"First of all most Chinese families are still ah extended family concept ... um even though things are eroding away at this point in time due to a number of factors ..." (BT)*

> *"Yes to go obedient to your parents but if you still do, you do that and you look after your parents, you respect them. I think your children will learn from it, they will see what you did, then" (PC)*

The notions of responsibility for older parents and being responsible were raised. Some respondents believed that as older parents became more financially independent there would be less need for children, particularly older sons, to support them in old age. The concept of sole responsibility for the care of older parents by older sons seems to be changing. More collaboration among siblings seems to result in a greater sharing of responsibility and, as more women (daughters) become educated and take on careers, the opportunity for them to take on this responsibility is heightened. In some instances, responsibility for assisting older parents falls to the child who is most successful and

wealthy. This appears to be an area where the absolute power and influence of males (fathers and sons) is decreasing, especially in urban educated professional groups.

Traditionally, the head of the Chinese family was the male. This was most frequently associated with his role as the sole income earner. While this appears to be changing in some Chinese families as more women enter education and the workforce and careers, there are examples in these interviews of the persistence of this tradition. Among the younger Chinese male migrants, there appears to be some indication of a change of attitude towards their wife working. Some referred to this being the choice of the spouse, while others qualified their position by suggesting that they would prefer to be the sole breadwinner. In most households of married couples, the female was responsible for household tasks and the children. This will be discussed further in the theme "Expectations of a Wife".

Respect for the authority of parents and particularly for hierarchy is demonstrated by a non-physicality in relationships with parents. The conduct of non-physical relationships, was a demonstration of honouring parents as well as a way of demonstrating that you are not equal with them. The public display of respect was associated with personal conflict for some respondents, particularly where they did not agree with a particular point of view or a decision that parents had made. Respect was shown by some respondents because they believed they owed their parents who had supported them financially during periods of, for example, extended education.

In nearly all instances in the family of orientation of these respondents, the father was perceived to be the head of the household, the protector, the provider and the guardian. The male head of the household most frequently made the important decisions as would have occurred in traditional Chinese families. This however seems to be changing with these migrant Chinese, where the whole family appears to be involved more in the decisions about big issues.

"... all the bigger decisions involved the whole family. We will have a discussion and then we will vote as a family and the parents will listen to everyone" (NE)

"... our household is not that far removed from average Australian one ... in the sense you have more household democracy in making decisions" (CM)

"But I think compared with my parents we are more open on the issues and well um, um, and even we, we try to share quite a lot of things" (C-W)

"... very strong family commitment and yet I'm very democratic in allowing them to (laugh) take part in the er ... decision making" (C96)

This centrality of family seems to be a characteristic of all Chinese families despite country of origin. The increasing collaboration among family members over important decisions, seems to be influenced by such factors as level of education, career of female spouse and urban living, as well as the migration experience. Even in these cases however, the ultimate authority appears to lie with the male head of the household. There appears to be an influence in some Chinese households of *"fiercely held independence of Chinese women"* (CL) and the *"importance of a strong woman on decisions made by males"* (NE). One respondent (AIN) referred to the public face of the Chinese family where the male appears to be culturally dominant, but the important influence of women is in the private sphere of the home. Even in the case of this respondent however, there was reference to the influence of the sexual needs of the male as remaining dominant in most Chinese families (AIN). For some, the importance of family has prevented them from pursuing ambitions.

In the one case in this study where the respondent lived with his wife and children in the house with his parents (M), there was a strong sense of patriarchy. Even

though the respondent had lived in Australia for more than twenty-one years and had been educated through secondary school in Australia, he deferred to his father and expected respect from his children. He was strongly of the opinion that his wife should stay at home with the children and he should provide. The respondent's wife felt a strong sense of surveillance from her mother-in-law and felt restricted particularly in what she could do with her children. Where several generations live together, some of the effects of traditional hierarchy seem to be experienced irrespective of the length of residence in the new country.

The theme of centrality of family is a major one emerging from the data, but associated with it are strong sub-themes – connectedness, responsibility for the care of parents, hierarchy and respect, role of the eldest son. In the next section, a discussion of the relationships of respondents with father and mother demonstrates the importance of family.

Relationship with father

The relationships these Chinese male respondents experienced with their fathers were described by a number of dimensions which can be organised into an array of continua.

close	distant
punitive	non-punitive
respect	no respect (hated)
gentle	tough
expressed feelings	inward ascetic

wanted independence for son (children)	wanted dependence for son

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open	closed

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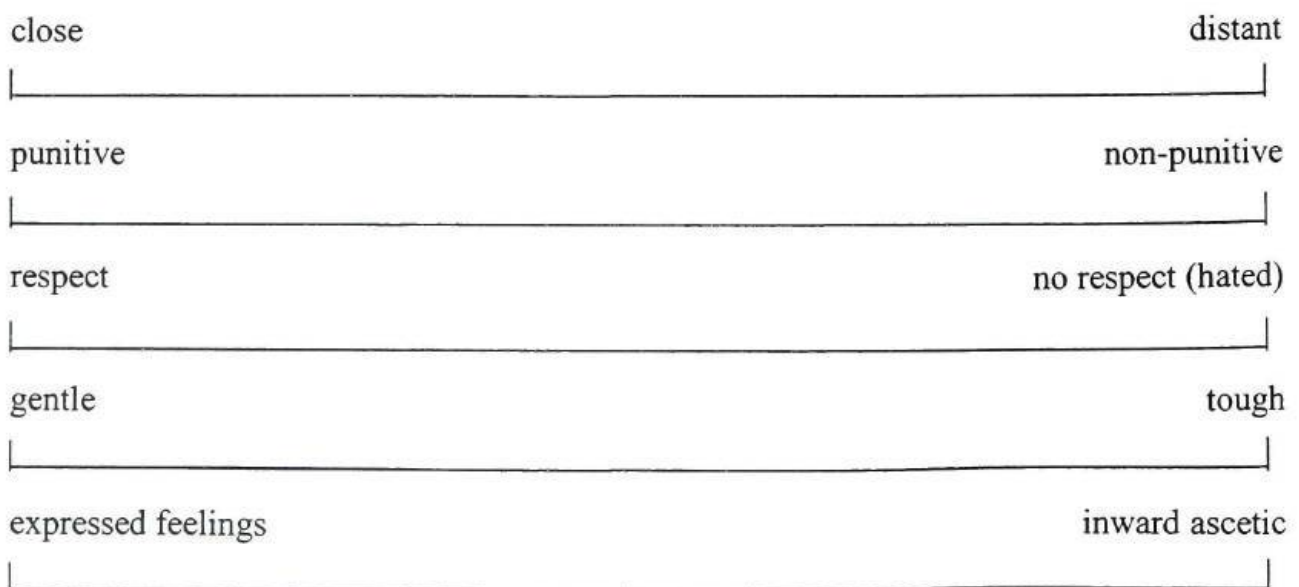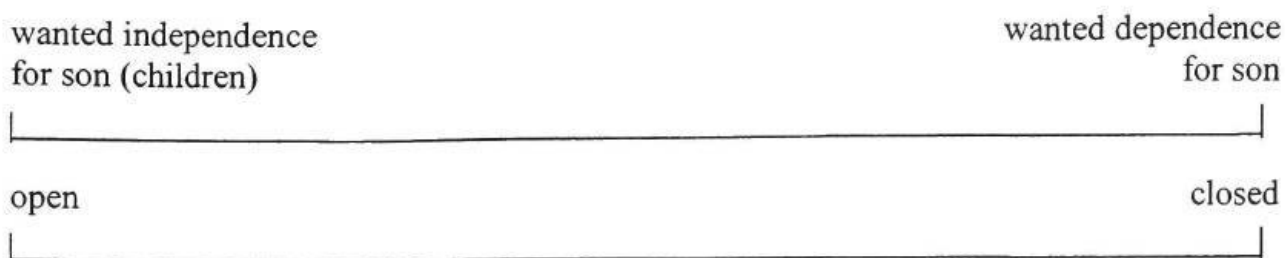
For many of these respondents, their relationship with their father was particularly distant and sometimes quite punitive when they were young up until late adolescence. After that period and sometimes with marriage, some respondents found that their relationship with their father improved. This frequently meant that they commenced communication with their father. Many of these informants indicated that they were scared of their fathers and believed they were treated like children in a "pupil – school master" situation. Fathers for many of the respondents, were figures who were distant, rarely talked and appeared to be heavily involved in hard work and careers. These qualities appeared to be significant measures of masculine qualities in fathers. Respondents referred to the following characteristics: *never felt close* (DI); *he was too busy to talk to me* (A); *never gave me any opinion* (W); *spend less time at home* (FY); *seldom talk about his feelings* (H-W); *don't talk much* (N); *don't have much things to talk about* (NEL); *and spend much time in his career* (PC).

Many of the fathers of these Chinese male migrants, emphasised the importance of education and hard work for their children and were not averse to administering physical punishment if expected high grades were not achieved.

"Um, if we doing well yes he will ah give us ah um say um compliment and say oh you are doing well. But if we are not doing well and he I can't remember he punish us but he will say you know you have to work hard and I expect you to do better ..." (PC)

"Oh yeah, when, when we are in primary school sometimes it is physically ... like careless mistake in the exam ..." (CC)

"Um, well I remember when I was a child he's a more or less a more authoritarian type person. He is responsible for all kinds of punishment ..." (C-W)

"Father physically punished ... but not for doing well ... you know if we mischief or disobedient" (FY)

"... insisted on teaching Chinese symbols if unsuccessful would physically discipline" (MY)

"... father emphasised hard work and study" (MY)

Some fathers, on the other hand, placed no emphasis on education, never commented on education or physically punished offspring who did not succeed. Most of the fathers of the respondents however, did emphasise the importance of success in education to achieving status and a well paid job. This occurred even for fathers who had left school at elementary level.

There is no doubt that in the majority of cases the respondent's father was the head of the family, the sole provider and the most powerful person in the household.

"My father is more, more powerful in the family" (PN)

"... father is main person in the family" (IS)

"... so again in the Chinese family it's always the man's side not the woman's side ..." (IS)

"... father is centre of the household ... still ... um I think still, yes" (CC)

"... authoritarian type person" (C-W)

"Well no, my memories of my dad was that it was arms length distance. This facade of no expression ..." (CM)

"When I was young sometimes I had problem you know my father, you know hated me" (N)

"... he's the son you know and we have to orbiting around and everything" (CT)

A small minority of the informants had close relationships with their fathers. In nearly all instances however, this did not involve close physical relationships, e.g., hugging or kissing. In a few cases, the relationship between the respondent and his father had mellowed over time and after migration there appeared to be more communication between them. In some of these cases, the topic of conversation was cars, children or business. Some of these male respondents indicated that they would be different with their own children. They believed they would be closer, more physical and spend more time with their children. They would encourage their children to learn about the new culture from their classmates at school rather than from them as the nominal head of the family. It is unclear if this is linked with the migration experience, or greater education, or gradually becoming more "Westernised".

In only one case did the father of the Chinese male respondent explicitly "demand" that his children be independent.

"Like my father has these theories about he don't like his kids to live with him. That's how the kid learn to grow up and everything ... was only fourteen or fifteen when he got sent away same as me. I got sent away my myself, yeah" (CT)

"... just before I came to Australia ... and he say oh ... you are on your own now and everything" (CT)

In another case, in which the respondent described his father as a "John Wayne-like character", the father expected his children to be independent. He tended to cultivate his own life and expected his children to do the same.

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"... my father, spent much of his time in his career, his job ... he wanted me to go into tertiary study and succeed in a career" (PC)

For a small number of the respondents, separation from their father occurred because of the political and military situation in their country of origin. In these instances, the sons became reunited with the fathers after many years, but knew little of them because of their deep involvement with work.

The model of masculinity presented by most of the Chinese fathers of the respondents had the following characteristics: distant; serious and conservative; emphasised the importance of education; rarely expressed feelings or emotion; hard working; centre of the family as the main, if not, sole provider and punitive. This figure was powerful and tended to make most of the important decisions in the family. The division of labour tended to be one where the father worked outside the home and the wife (mother) was expected to look after the children, household and take responsibility for cooking. This theme leads naturally into that of the relationship between the respondent and their mother.

Relationship with mother

Several dimensions of this relationship emerged from the responses provided by these male migrants.

punitive   non-punitive
|_____|

available   non-available
|_____|

could express feelings to   couldn't express feelings to
|_____|
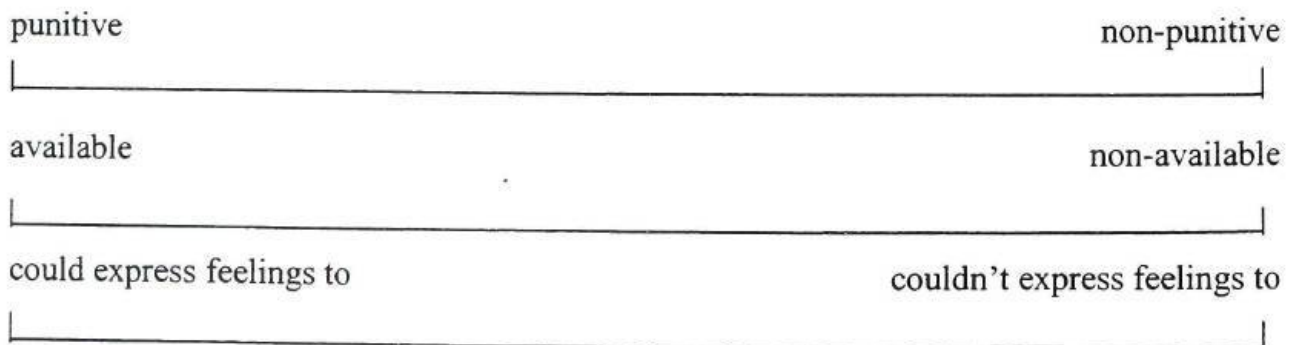
In some instances, mothers were used as intermediaries between the respondent and his father because they found fathers too serious and distant.

"... if I want to talk about things then I'd talk to my mother and mum would talk to dad" (BT)

"... I talk to my mum first I think I talk to my mum first before I talk to my dad" (IS)

For these males, their mother was more approachable in their eyes than their father. However, this distance between father and son had reduced over time for some of the respondents.

Several respondents (W, C-W, K-T) when discussing responsibilities both inside and outside the home, described their mother as hard working and sometimes having no choice but to care for the children (C-W, K-T). It is clear from these responses what the nature of the division of labour was like in the households of the respondents. Women were responsible for housework (BW, C-W) and to look after the family and children (BJ, ET). In some households (A, H-W, ET) mothers were responsible for the punishment of the children. This was sometimes associated with the traditional responsibility of Chinese women for children, and the more outward orientation of the father to outside work.

For some of these Chinese migrants, their relationship with their mother was emotionally close. This closeness between mother and son is a characteristic of traditional Chinese families. In two instances, the respondents' mother was the person to whom they could talk and express their feelings. While many respondents did not express their feelings and kept them inside, some respondents expressed their feelings to their sister(s) or mother.

"I tell my mother everything" (MY)

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*"I would describe my relations to my mother more closely. Um ...
I think ah she always available ... she spend much time with us, she talk to
us – so ..." (PC)*

*"... very close but ah she's very you know concerned about us ..."
(E)*

*"... and even up to this age we are always you know young boys in
her hearts" (E)*

*"Oh very close. Yeah, I'm I mean I am always talking about
things, in our leisure time holding her hand" (H-W)*

*"She'd care for me more than my father during my childhood, so
I'd respect to her very much ..." (K-T)*

In some cases, the respondent believed that their mother was the dominant
person in the household. There was little qualification of the instances in which this
occurred, but the remark was often made in association with the mother's responsibility
for the care of children.

*"... ah I would say my mum ah is the more, is the dominant person
who ah I would say ah we same ah my father ..." (PC)*

*"... I think my parents they influence more is my mother's opinion
is quite important ... I think before I marry they have a lot of say into my
life" (H-W)*

*"My mum plans things now my mum push him (my father). My
father still head of my family but my mum push him. No I think things
changes since Taiwan towards my mum" (NE)*

*"Yeah. Oh my mother is the sort of mother that she would stand up
for herself. She is still very strong minded woman" (IS)*

In the case of two gay male respondents who had not "come out" to their parents, there was a belief that their mothers with whom they enjoyed close relations were sensitive to or suspicious of their sexuality.

"... really suspicious (of my boy friends) ... so my mother says oh you don't get influenced by those boys ... I didn't tell her straight that I'm gay. I will tell my mum, ask my mum to visit me and say yeah I have some company and he is a good guy and maybe you don't have grandchildren but you can gain another son" (IS)

"... No, never 'came out' to my parents. She can feel it (my homosexuality) but she just don't talk about it" (NEL)

For one gay migrant male, his mother was concerned when he migrated.

"... my mum is quite upset but she don't understand it's just a transition period. After a couple of years I went back again, she find no problem because that's the way she expects me to be. I remember when I went to Hong Kong for three weeks and my mum actually call to say I know son that you completely different now and she can't accept it because ... I stuck with my own idea, I want to do, I don't want to be controlled by my mum" (NEL)

The significance of the mother-son relationship was indicated by one respondent who supports his divorced and now widowed mother financially. Together with other members of the family, he sent monthly remittances to his mother. This support resonates with the views expressed by many of the respondents, that they felt obliged to support parents who had supported them in the earlier part of their lives.

In general, mothers appear to be much closer to children than fathers, can be punitive, but are also persons that can be communicated with more easily and are

available if sons want to express their feelings. The strong mother-son relationship in Chinese society is demonstrated particularly in the remarks made by the gay males. There is some evidence in the responses about the ambivalence of the position of women in Chinese families. Some believe the woman is very powerful and persuasive while others view women as oppressed and deferential.

The oldest Chinese son

Traditionally, in Chinese society having a son was significant in the lives of older parents. More particularly, the oldest son had a role of taking care of parents as they aged. The older son was also expected to have a son, therefore providing the parents with a grandson who would be treated to particular favours. This child would also be responsible for carrying on the bloodline. While the importance of sons appears to remain in Chinese culture, the exclusive responsibility of the eldest son to look after parents appears to be changing.

> *"... the parents may not expect the son to pay back ... is good if the son take care of them. But it is not the reason that they support the son and not because they expect the son to do something for them. ... I mean is not the expectation but it is the hope maybe or the wish" (ET)*

This particular respondent introduces a particular notion of reciprocity between parents and older sons. Parents frequently provide material, physical and financial support to sons, thus enabling them to receive education and establish their careers. Several respondents referred to the need to support their parents because of this assistance provided during their lives.

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"I am the oldest son ... traditionally I have to take care of my parents and I have to live together with my parents when they are retired ..." (J)

For many of these males the notion of the oldest son was still important.

"But usually people say that if you are the eldest son, you've have more responsibility, which I think it's true ... usually people look up on him" (FC)

"Yes in the sense that um his (older brother) probably set up an example as a model ..." (BT)

"Well, Chinese family prefer to have an older son. Cause they can take responsibility of looking after the family ..." (S)

In some instances, older brothers (oldest sons) were considered as heroes by some of these respondents because of their ability to be successful in business, their confidence, their endurance and fortitude. Some of these qualities are valued in traditional Chinese social networks. Issues of responsibility, authority and even power suggest that being an older son is like a training ground for patriarchy - a place where one practices the skills of being the head of the household.

"Um the main thing ah is he (oldest son) is he has to carry out the family traditions and ah say we worship an ancestor and so ah he's the key person supposed to carry out ... give ah birth to the child, especially boys so that ah they carry out our surnames" (PC)

One of the most significant changes that is occurring in some families is that responsibility for older parents may fall to the wealthiest child, whether it is male or

female and irrespective of birth order. Despite some changes reported by these respondents in the traditions surrounding eldest sons in Chinese families, particular symbolism and rituals have persisted for example, the serving of the eldest son first by grandparents, the giving of gifts to eldest sons by grandparents, the inheritance of property and money. There is also a persisting attitude that sons are precious and there is a preference for sons in Chinese families. It would appear that males still dominate in the thinking of many Chinese families.

The importance of hard work

Associated with the centrality of the family and traditional Chinese values for these Chinese male migrants, is the importance of hard work, of having employment and of working hard to succeed at the highest levels of education. Most of the respondents had modelled this strong work ethic on the example presented by fathers and, in several cases, their mothers. A consequence of this is a de-emphasis on sport, recreation and leisure. The centrality of hard work and its outcomes for the Chinese male are depicted in the following statement:

"But um ah we regard ourselves as, as um, as a person who really do something, find something out of life, particularly to gain high positions, gain more power, to have control over your life and people are regarded as successful if they can do that, and I think this is generally very true among Chinese male" (C96)

The importance of working hard is frequently associated with achieving well in education, attaining a good job (preferably professional occupation), and the eventual attainment of status and power associated with the accumulation of wealth. Many of these males worked in occupations which required the use of mental capacities rather

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than physical capacities. Where they worked physically, sometimes in multiple jobs, these men preferred more mental preoccupations for their children.

"Study is central ... to getting a good job. ... I work hard but I don't play hard. I think that's that my lifestyle" (PC)

"... when eh work in the restaurant ... I no time to play football. And stop everything. I stop everything" (M)

"Hard work is central ... very essential" (K)

"It's quite true in a sense that um, um Chinese people will work very hard, cause I did work very hard when I came here ..."(S)

"... say in Malaysia where I was brought up their energies were put into work and business, and they didn't care about sport because sport didn't make money" (CM)

While the theme of the secondary importance of sport, leisure and recreation will be discussed separately, it is obvious from these statements that work was dominant in the lives of these males. Hard work in a productive occupation was perceived to be the way to wealth, status and power compared with engaging in "frill" activities like sport and recreation.

"... work situation is fairly important issue. Like leisure is not much important now ... the successful don't view this as symbol of being success in life ... always busy" (J)

"We never went anywhere, he was basically working all the time um I come this sort of idea of what kind of life we live ... work, work, work..." (CL)

In only two cases, there appeared to be a significant change of direction in regard to the strong work ethic. In one case in particular, a respondent had moved from employment in the private sector to that in the public because he believed that he needed to balance his life. This respondent was the only one to refer to a contemplation of role reversal with his spouse. On the other hand, this respondent referred to the importance of making money from one's occupation and to the importance of the males income to support the family. This male migrant, referred to the discussions about role reversal he had engaged in with his spouse

> *"The thing I'm trying to negotiate with my wife, I said why don't we reverse our roles (laughter) right ... I look after the housework, I'll look after the kids, in between I'll go and have a game of golf (laughs) and you work full time (laughs)" (GG)*

There was a degree of light hearted banter from some respondents who laughingly suggested that they might consider giving up work if their wife could earn the equivalent of what they earn, or better. There was a suggestion in most of these cases, that this would not occur and therefore they could retain the role of sole provider for the household, and the status associated with this position.

While some respondents referred to the lack of balance in their lives because of the emphasis on hard work, either in education or at paid work or both, others referred to the increasing stressfulness of hard work.

> *"... being a male has quite a stressful life because working hours quite long ..." (J)*

> *"... family and work takes up to far too much time. In recent years I was very involved in my work" (CL)*

Some of the Chinese males had migrated to Australia to have a break from the stresses of work in their home country. These males were sufficiently wealthy to have one or two years unpaid break from their previous occupations to make decisions about the future. This break from work routine permitted them to reflect on potential career changes, to learn new computer skills, to attain new qualifications, to spend more time with their family and children. None of the males appeared to be concerned with these changes in lifestyle. Most had experienced increasing amounts of stress in a highly competitive work environment. In none of these cases of male migrants spending a period of reflection about future career did wives work. It appeared that most were able to live comfortably without paid work for a short period of time. Furthermore, at no stage during this hiatus was there any fear of unemployment among these males.

Unemployment

With the emphasis on the value of a strong work ethic in Chinese culture, it is understandable that for most of the male Chinese migrants the thought of being unemployed is anathema. Being a provider, protector and guardian of the family seem to be central measures of masculinity among these respondents. To be unemployed for these males, would be to feel less than a man. These respondents indicated that being without a job "*would be difficult*" (RT), "*traumatic*" (CM) and "*would make me very upset*" (PW), and would be "*very bad and hard to imagine*" (RZ).

While some of the Chinese males complained about the stressfulness of work, they indicated that "*I feel bored if I don't work, restless*" (BT). Some of the respondents referred to the potential psychological damage that could be associated with being unemployed. Other respondents referred to their image in the eyes of the immediate and extended families, should they become unemployed. They referred to the potential or actual pressure that could be applied by the extended family.

"It's quite ah, it's quite unacceptable for a Chinese family to get a man without a job" (BW)

"Everybody will treat you like dirt" (A)

" If you don't do that you'll become, you loose everything. Your...reputation. Reputation. And social position." (A)

Because of the perceived seriousness of being unemployed, some informants referred to taking their lives.

"No never. For me I prefer not to live if I do not have a job. That is too hard ... for me" (W)

Some of the Chinese male respondents referred to the problems of getting employment in Australia and to a number of friends who have returned particularly to Hong Kong, to seek employment. In some instances, a family remains in Australia while the male either seeks employment or actually works in Hong Kong.

"Well very upset ... sometimes later they go home to Hong Kong ... go back to Hong Kong to find job back there" (PW)

"So, we can come here to ah, ah, to um wait to see if we can get used to the environment here. If we can then we may stay here – looking for a job. If it is not the case we do not like here, ah we prefer to go back to Hong Kong" (W)

"Some of my friends they have to er go back to Hong Kong to look for a job as soon as get the citizenship because Chinese men um just can't afford to ... lose their ... credibility ..." (C96)

One respondent in particular, referred to the problem of lengthy dependence on their family.

"I think my family can support me if I don't have a job, I don't want to because I don't want them to support me for too long ... I'm sort of workaholic" (NEL)

Very little reference was made by these respondents to either dependence on their wife being employed, sharing part time employment with their spouse or living within the "welfare system". One respondent referred to the potential sharing of employment between spouses.

"... wife or the husband ... but both are working towards making the family better ... so doesn't matter which one and if the the lady can provide ah ah ah better environment in that situation with her earning capacity, so be it" (BT)

This same male paradoxically would be "bored" and "restless" if he did not work. However, this Chinese male migrant referred to the change of focus which might be associated with retirement.

"To me retirement is change of focus on different things maybe things that I love doing ... not having to do it so that I need to depend on it to survive. For pleasure and for enjoyment ... I need to have control ... when I want to work that day I can work" (BT)

The only other time in these interviews where retirement was raised by a respondent, was in association with the problem of retirees not knowing what to do with extra time. That respondent referred to potential problems for males of *"feeling devalued upon retirement"* (J). He believed that many of these men would require resocialisation for leisure and spare time.

The important link among centrality of family, the importance of hard work and the significant problems associated with unemployment is obvious in the preceding discussion. Much of this importance is associated with issues of traditional Chinese values such as, patriarchy, hierarchy and respect, status and power, and saving "face" for the male. However, at no point did any respondent indicate explicitly that these issues were central to their masculinity or to perceptions of themselves as men.

Sport, recreation and leisure as secondary

Throughout these interviews the respondents referred to playing children's games when young, often in mixed sex groups but frequently in mono sex groups. These games could be played on the tops of residential apartment blocks or less frequently, in school or in local urban parks where available. Very few of the respondents had engaged in competitive sports and sports became increasingly de-emphasised as more emphasis was placed on study, examination success and educational achievements. Some of the Chinese male migrants referred to the heavy emphasis on sport, particularly competitive sport, in Australia.

"Here I understand there are kids, that compete against each other in sports but ah academically it seems that they don't care that much. No it's very different from Asian society" (PIN)

"Sport ... I don't like it very much. Sport was very important and the school captain has to be a sports person ... sportsman of the week will get an award ... prizes ... certainly weighted heavily toward all sports people ... sports heroes. I'm still not aware of them ... I never follow sport in terms of sporting heroes" (CL)

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"... during my all boys school day I'm not very keen on sport. I think I pick up sport in the later stage ... it's forced by school you have to do all the physical training when in school (in Australia)" (IS)

The emphasis on educational success imposed by parents was obvious in several interviews.

"... in primary school ... actively to about form 3 or form 4 ... not as actively in form 5 and form 6 when the external examination pressures began to mount". And after form 6. I've never found myself on a soccer field any more" (L95)

"... in the school um or in the family they expect the student, the children to study harder in academic rather than sports ... gradual reduction in the amount of time given to sport ..." (PC)

One particular respondent (CL) like several others, found companionship and challenge in "nerd groups". These groups were sometimes multi-ethnic and contained students who were more interested in academic achievement than sporting prowess. These groups often found that they were labelled by the sporting heroes and sometimes violated by these groups, or their activities, e.g., tennis and tabletennis were labelled as "sissy".

"... the sort of sport I play is probably a bit of tennis which is in those years they classified as sissy (laughs) especially in engineering terms, or table tennis ..." (BT)

Several of the Chinese respondents who were either engineering students, lecturers in engineering or practicing engineers found the culture of engineers to be

highly masculine, involved with sport and, frequently, heavy drinking of alcohol. Some of the respondents would pretend to drink in the company of other students, to be accepted. Others sought the company of other Asian (Chinese) students. These Chinese males implied that drinking capacity was seen frequently by Australian males to be one important measure of masculinity.

Some of the male migrants referred to the changes that were occurring across the generations in attitudes to sport and recreation.

> *"... the last generation they don't know how to enjoy the, the leisure yet. They just know ah start hard work, work hard and earn enough money to support my family. But now this, for my generation, my generation all next generation the concept of ah life is different, it's changed. But the leisure is more important, now more and more it's getting important in our lives" (A)*

This change was indicated in the social conversation among men in bars and taxis in their home countries. There also appeared to be a heightened awareness of national teams. Some of the respondents were able to recognise the names of local sporting teams in games like Rugby League, and Australian Football. These respondents would watch important matches on television e.g., State of Origin, while one particular respondent believed that he knew more about the rules and skills in Australian Football than most of his non-Chinese neighbours. Implied in several of the comments, was the perception that sport participation and knowledge of sport are important rites of passage into the masculine world of Australian males. In general terms, unlike Australian culture and sport in the lives of non-Chinese men, sport and recreation do not feature heavily in the lives of these Chinese male migrants. They

place a different emphasis on sporting activities. The emphasis was on health, diversion from hard work and study, and opportunity to mix socially.

Those Chinese male migrants who had travelled to Canada or the United States for educational reasons, pointed to the importance of sport in both of those cultures. This importance was measured by the amount of coverage by mass media and the amount of male conversation devoted to sport. There was also a belief that playing sport increased one's popularity.

> *"Ah, I would have to say very important. Um, if ah, the way I've been brought up is um you know it seems like if you, you can play sport, and you are very good at it you can be very popular, and make your life a lot easier. No, I hadn't known sports before America" (X)*

Again, sport participation and sporting team support appear to be an important measure of masculinity among Anglo-American males, at least as perceived by the Chinese respondents. One respondent referred to how playing sport allowed him to have fun and helped him socialise and meet people.

These Chinese male migrants had experienced progressive reductions in the amount of time devoted to sport over their life course because of parental pressures to study hard for the eventual achievement of a good job. This pressure appeared to be more typical in secondary school than in later years.

> *"... at the end of my secondary school I was quite interested in all kinds of sports, and, and I start to, to, to learn swimming and learn lifesaving and diving. I think (the interest) came from watching TV ...*
>
> *Well ah I mean they expect me to pay more time in study ... they think if I don't study, I don't study hard I can't find job. I've got a problem later. But at that time I'm, I'm quite ah, ah interested in sport*

and think about developing a career in sports. But that's not accepted, I mean according to traditional Chinese point of view they think sport is no good, they think just a hobby or leisure but not a job" (C-W)

More important, participation in sport and recreation was not perceived by Chinese parents to be an avenue to the accumulation of wealth and therefore, status.

This general de-emphasis on the competitive aspects of sport in particular among the Chinese male migrants, points to a significant difference between Chinese and non-Chinese males. These males however use sport for social reasons, to interact with other Chinese and Asian friends and in some instances, to talk about business prospects and exchange information on the Chinese community. Sport is also seen as a diversion from the more serious and stressful aspects of life. As is shown in the next section, sport and recreation for most of these males were increasingly de-emphasised as they moved through secondary school to higher education.

The importance of education

In Chinese tradition, education is important to the gaining of knowledge and wisdom and to the gaining of prestige and power. In keeping with classic tradition, the respondents in this study valued education and the acquisition of knowledge, which were associated with status and power. The acquisition of knowledge was referred to as a worthwhile investment because of its long-term benefits. This particular theme has been discussed in the related themes of: Chineseness and Sport, Recreation and Leisure as Secondary.

Many respondents linked the gaining of knowledge, to the attainment of a good job, the acquisition of wealth and then status, prestige and power. The gaining of

knowledge could also enhance the parents' status in the eyes of other kin or the community.

"Because we couldn't you know let our parents down, because I mean you know we had to compete, we had to be good you know on top of everyone else ... as soon as I got into uni I think her family (mother's) start to recognise the fact that she's a great woman. I mean because actually you know when I graduated from uni ... everyone want to talk to her again ... ah ... because obviously she had power herself ..." (DI)

Parents of nearly all the respondents emphasised the importance of education for attaining a good job, and would often punish children who did not succeed in examinations. This emphasis on education occurred even for those respondents whose parents completed education at primary school. Virtually without exception the importance of education was extolled in these Chinese families.

In some families who were poorer, it was more likely that education would be emphasised for the oldest male child. Daughters were expected to enter a job to support the family. It was believed that daughters, the sisters of the respondents, would marry out of the family and be supported by another male and his family. Older sons, on the other hand, were expected to receive education so that they could get a job and accumulate wealth to support the parents in old age. The emphasis on this tradition varied across the cases. The male respondents had received pressure and support in most cases to work hard and succeed well in education, in order to get a good job. As parents, these respondents in general valued education and emphasised its importance to their children. Reference was also made to the ferocity of the competition for places in education in the home country and the effect this had on parents, who in turn placed

pressure on the respondents. This pressure made life quite difficult for several of the respondents who did not achieve well.

The emphasis in education was on the development of mental capacities rather than the use of physical capabilities. In general among these respondents, physical capabilities were de-emphasised whether in education or sport.

Friendships

Several dimensions of this theme emerged from the open and axial coding of the transcripts. These dimensions are arranged as continua in the following display.

commitment	transitory (lack of commitment)

long term	short term

affective	instrumental

multi ethnic	mono ethnic

broad	narrow

permanent	temporary (transitory)

romantic	instrumental developing network connections
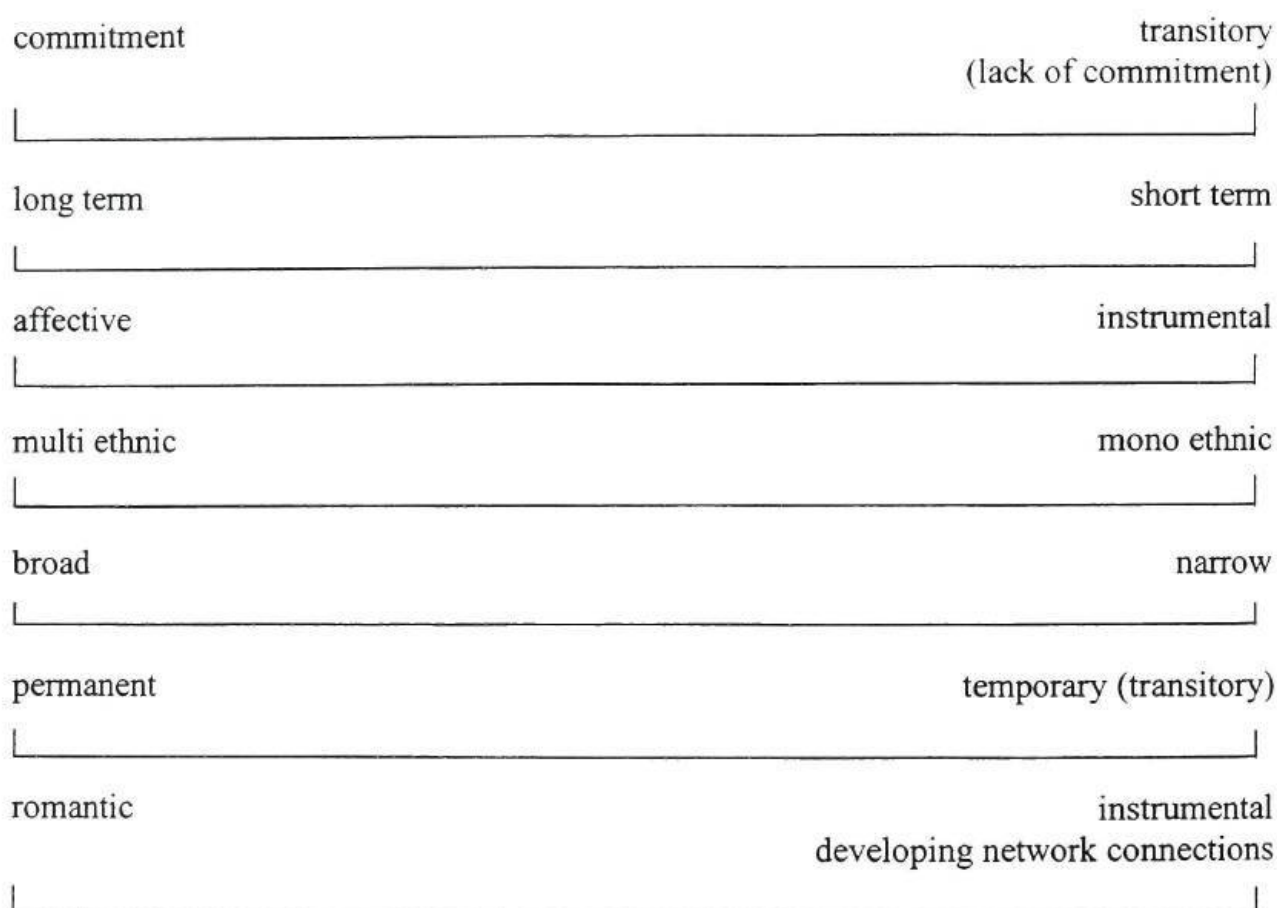
A great majority of these Chinese male migrants had exclusively Chinese friends. So, friendships for most of these men are mono ethnic. This occurs for a variety of reasons including language, interests, food preferences, and similar cultural expectations. In particular, the depth of relationships and the differences in perceptions

of the nature of friendships of Chinese people compared with non-Chinese people, was raised by several respondents.

"They (Australian men and women) are very friendly ... sometimes a bit naive about Chinese things. The feeling toward each other is very important ... we are willing to sacrifice some part of our self and the that's to me is very important because of course we enter into the relationship we want to keep it ... I want the relationship forever" (FC)

"... in the West friendship is perhaps something transitory not as permanent as you know your relationship between your you and your spouse, but whereas China and Chinese culture friendship is just as permanent in fact I mean throughout ... once you're friends you're friends for life ... being a friend entails life commitment ..." (DI)

"... it's silent understanding ... you know exactly what the other person want ... like I suppose soul mate ... the whole notion of friendship is different ..." (DI)

The emphasis on the romantic dyad of the male and female was seen as a Western perception compared with the strong affective ties between male friends in particular, in Chinese culture. Often these friendships involved strong reciprocal ties emotionally, financially and in business.

"Sometimes. always my fiance, say that um your friends always important than me. Yeah, you always take care of your friends but never take care of me ... Once we become a friend I think we should help each other ... in the future I want, I want to run a business then the relationship, the relationship is very important ..." (A)

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"My very best friend he is a Filipino ... like a brother" (M)

Some respondents referred to the importance of friendships, networks and connections for the development of a competitive edge in business. This network building was occurring for some of the migrants but more especially for their spouses. Other respondents gave as their reason that their spouses were not employed, that they had not developed their networks and connections sufficiently. Several respondents referred to the narrowness of their friendship network and the association of this with their occupation. Most of these narrow friendship circles contained mono ethnic links with people of similar academic interests. Further, these more exclusive friendship networks persisted for these males wherever they had migrated. Migration experiences and mobility it was reported, had influenced friendship formation and deformation. Because of relatively constant geographic mobility and changes of educational institutions, some of these Chinese males had experienced difficulty maintaining friendships and retaining their friends.

Heroes

At various points throughout these in-depth interviews, respondents referred to people who were significant at particular points in their life course, to people who inspired them, to people they aspired to be like and to their heroes. For many of the respondents, men in uniform were significant in their childhood. This could include brothers in scouts uniforms, or military figures or policemen. For some, these figures changed during adolescence and youth into political and military figures who, in many instances, were promoted through propaganda in school, or the government-influenced media. In later years, heroes became teachers, philosophers, academics, writers or even entertainers and movie stars. In a few cases, close relatives who had been successful in

business were models for the respondents. Some respondents referred to "official" and "unofficial" heroes. It is significant that all of these heroes are male.

In only one case did a respondent have a woman as a model. More importantly, it was the qualities of the woman that the respondent appreciated.

> *"The exception was the mother of ahhh, um, very famous Chinese*
>
> *scholar ... she tried to bring him up ... she was a very strong woman"*
>
> *(K-T)*

Models for many of the respondents were presented in story telling, pictures, propaganda, videos and movies, or by relatives. In some instances, models were non-Chinese.

> *"Heroes were presented in story telling ... pictures ... in China*
>
> *everybody have heroes um ah even models that the communist party*
>
> *promoted so mostly PLA soldiers" (CL)*
>
> *"My brother ... smartest in the family he's really very intelligent,*
>
> *always done very well in in school, university um and um he's the best*
>
> *looking one too ... he really was a guiding force that I look upon that gave*
>
> *me courage to to move forward and leave home and go for the studies you*
>
> *know through his encouragement" (BT)*

Many of the heroes, models and significant figures in the lives of these men had qualities such as strength, endurance, control, mental capacities, honesty, success in business, courage, a mind of their own, wisdom, capacities for succeeding with women, bravery, tolerance, capacity to balance the mental and the physical, capacity to give the respondent opportunities, and a protectiveness toward others. Some of these heroes were successful relatives who had taken risks and accumulated wealth in business.

Others were attracted to protective and caring qualities in their heroes, while some found the sacrifices their heroes had made for them appealing.

Some of the respondents chose non-Chinese models, heroes or significant others. These Western models were often received through television, movies or videos. In the case of some of the Chinese male migrants, they became attracted to these models in childhood or adolescence.

> *"... in secondary school ... I like some movie stars ... James Dean ... Clint Eastwood ... Clint Eastwood ... a bit cunning" (PW)*

> *"Mel Gibson ... ah Braveheart ... because he showed them ... um, he was very, very, very um wise wise man ... he had wisdom and was a protector ... he got a very strong emotion to help his people" (A)*

It was frequently the case that where these respondents had non-Chinese models they were attracted to qualities in these significant persons that were more typically traditional Chinese. This included their ability to accumulate wealth. Some of the respondents believed that Western movie stars like James Dean articulated the frustrations of youth and therefore, they could identify with them. It appears that some heroes or models were chosen because they had the ability to express emotions or feeling that were being experienced by respondents at particular stages of the life course. In the case of Marlon Brando who exposed a masculine body and particularly revealing clothes, the appeal was a raising of consciousness about the importance of body image which had never been promoted in Chinese movies or culture. Very few of these males nominated sporting heroes in the non-Chinese world as significant in their lives for their physical skills, but rather for their capacity to make money.

It is interesting that very few of the respondents mentioned marital arts exponents like Bruce Lee or Jackie Chan, as models or heroes. Where they did

however, these figures were associated with their wealth or their capacity to look after a community or poorer people, not their violence or physical feats. An important issue about heroes, models and significant others which emerged out of the interviews, was that they were people who had been successful in business and were wealthy, they were strong and prepared to take risks.

Sexual "conservativeness"

While there are reports of more liberal attitudes toward sexual relations in the present generation of Chinese people even in mainland China, these respondents were more traditional in their sexual relationships and in their relations with women. Many of these Chinese male migrants were characterised by a lack of physical demonstrativeness, particularly in public. Several dimensions of this theme emerged from the responses of the male migrants. These are as follows:

conservative   liberal
|_____|

closed   open
|_____|

repressed   expressive
|_____|

no prior migration experience   prior migration experience
|_____|
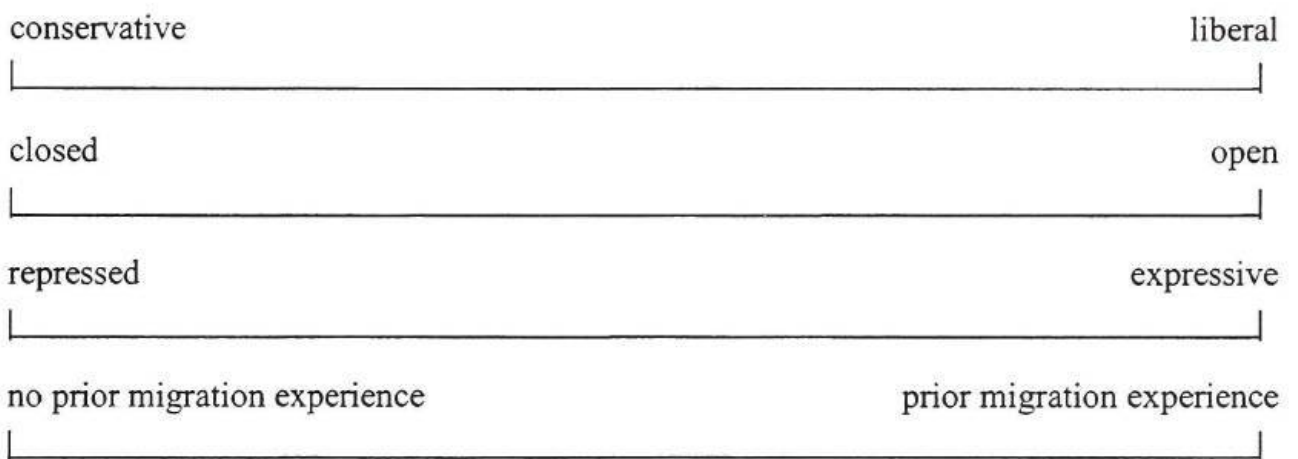
Most of these male respondents indicated that their first sexual experiences were with their wife after marriage. This was attributed to traditional Chinese mores concerning sexuality and sexual relations, to conservativeness compared with Western people, and to the suppression of conversation about sexual matters in some home territories.

Those respondents who had had experience of sexual relationships prior to marriage were generally those who had migrated overseas to study, or were gay, or indicated they were exceptions in their society.

"I had sexual relations in USA. Ah I think if I was in Taiwan it would be much different. Ah, but at that time when I was in US, I have been very Americanised" (X)

Only one Chinese male respondent referred to having sexual relationships with his girlfriend several years before marriage.

"Fairly early. At that stage I think I'm ahead. Ah it (sexual relations) is not seen as very common I think. I think I'm a bit too early"
(TON)

This particular respondent, who had been a captain in the merchant navy for many years, referred to the treatment of women by Chinese sailors and crewmen.

"... (Chinese seamen) ... see women as just a sex object ..." (TON)

The same respondent, had also been a member of male fraternities and secret societies during his college life in the USA. Many of these groups practiced initiation ceremonies and particular sexual rituals. Many of the Chinese gay male respondents had had sexual experiences from early adolescence and had extended those experiences beyond ethnic boundaries to include non-Chinese males. On the other hand, a large majority of the heterosexual males had limited sexual experiences even with women of Chinese background and almost exclusively post marriage.

Several of the Chinese males who had migrated to Australia to complete secondary education had experienced pressure from the non-Chinese peer group to engage in sexual relations.

"... none of us really want to have sexual relations with any girlfriends in high school ... everyone like pressure each other you know even though no one want to do it themselves" (CT)

"This is high school. You are supposed to enlarge the number by ten digits or something. That happened nearly for everyone just a little bit to have popularity ... if you talk like that in Taiwan ... people think think you are dickhead ... They don't care. So people don't show it that way" (CT)

"... Ah sometimes I listen to my other Australian friends talking, so I heard it (sexual relations in secondary school) from them. And also my parents said Australian may be more open so that's why oh, they only start worrying me because since ah if I home in Taiwan with girls there are certain point you have to stop and after you get too close you should stop or keep it as business" (K)

It appears from these responses that non-Chinese males in Australia measure their masculine status and popularity by the extent of sexual experience with females, even though this might be embellished. The Chinese male who had experienced sexual relations in the USA while studying, added that popularity for males in the USA also appeared to be enhanced by participation in sport. Participation in sport and engagement in sexual activity are important rites of passage for Western males which Chinese males find significantly different from their attitudes to sport and sex.

A number of these Chinese males indicated that Chinese attitudes to sexual relations were becoming more open, even in their countries of birth. This suggests generational differences both within the sample and across the generations in the home countries.

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"Sexual experience for Chinese girls now more common but still later than Westerners" (MY)

"I was sexually conservative when young but today it's different" (RZ)

"I think it's getting more and more what you call it ... common. I think is about 15% or so ah girls under 16 years old have sex" (ET)

"... premarital sexual relations ... I'm looking at my friends, I think many of them, they just live together ..." (ET)

"... changing today only in Taipei ... but not in rural parts" (CT)

"Much more open today. Yeah! Much more exploration of sexual things" (E)

"It might be changing particularly with the very young now but even with the very private no well its very um Chinese" (L96)

Some of the respondents referred to the privacy of sexual relations in Chinese society, to not talking about sexual matters in public and to the resistance of governments to talk more about the need for sex education.

"... don't talk about sex in the public ... no big deal" (DI)

"In the Chinese way. No you never you never you know, you never tell anyone if that happens" (CT)

"Ah as for womanising, having sex all that well um for Chinese you tend to do it quietly. You don't brag about it, if you want to do it" (L96)

"Sexuality is a very suppressed subject in the Chinese community" (TON)

"... we are not talking about that, that kinds of topic (sex, sexual relationships) ... we seldom talk about, about our own sexual relations or, or, or experiences of that kinds of things" (C-W)

Very few of the men had experienced sexual relations in their own country prior to marriage or migration. Those who had, either married the first person they had had sexual relations with, or visited prostitutes. Males in this study, referred to the repression of sexual drives and to being afraid to talk to women because of lack of contact until early adulthood. Some respondents linked the lack of sexual experience, of sexual experimentation and exploration with the size of the spaces in which large Chinese families lived.

"Oh that would be ah when I was about I suppose 18 or 19 (first sexual experience). We went to ah, to the, what do you call it ah prostitute" (FY)

"... we were very much interested in sex and ah there were a few, a few boys in our group who has got brothers you know who have got um girlie magazines at home and stuff like that ..." (FY)

"... the first girl I had a sexual relationship with so I go into it so I thought that's it, that's my wife, I want to marry this girl ..." (H-W)

"... you know as a boy you must think about all the sex" (H-W)

"No I was repressed. But the girl say only when we got married" (W)

Some reference was made in a few responses to the regional differences in attitudes to sexual relationships. Generally, it was believed that rural areas in most home countries would be much more conservative than major cities. It was also

suggested by some that the more educated would have more liberal attitudes to sex and sexual relations. This was not born out however, in the majority of responses.

Some of the male respondents referred to the greater openness to sexual matters and greater exposure of the body in public places of non-Chinese people during their experiences overseas. This sub-theme emerged also in the main theme of Chinese males and others.

> "... when they were taking showers together and they would start doing it and I thought God, I mean, what am I getting myself into? ..."
>
> (DI)

The army experience of some of these respondents tended to be the time when sexual experiences occurred. For these males, this was a period in which they were removed from the immediate social control and influences of family and kin and placed in an all male setting for an extended amount of time. Sexual experiences often occurred immediately after the training period in the army or when on leave from the army. The army experience for many of these males was tough physically, highly competitive and in a few instances, a testing ground of their sexuality and gender identity. Those who did not succeed in meeting expectations were labelled and often physically abused.

This discussion of sexual "conservativeness", leads to a broader theme of relationships with women and expectations of a wife.

Relationships with women

The dimensions associated with this theme that emerged from the coding are as follows:

conservative	liberal

closed	open

late in life	early in life

non-physical	physical

no sexual commitment	strong sexual commitment
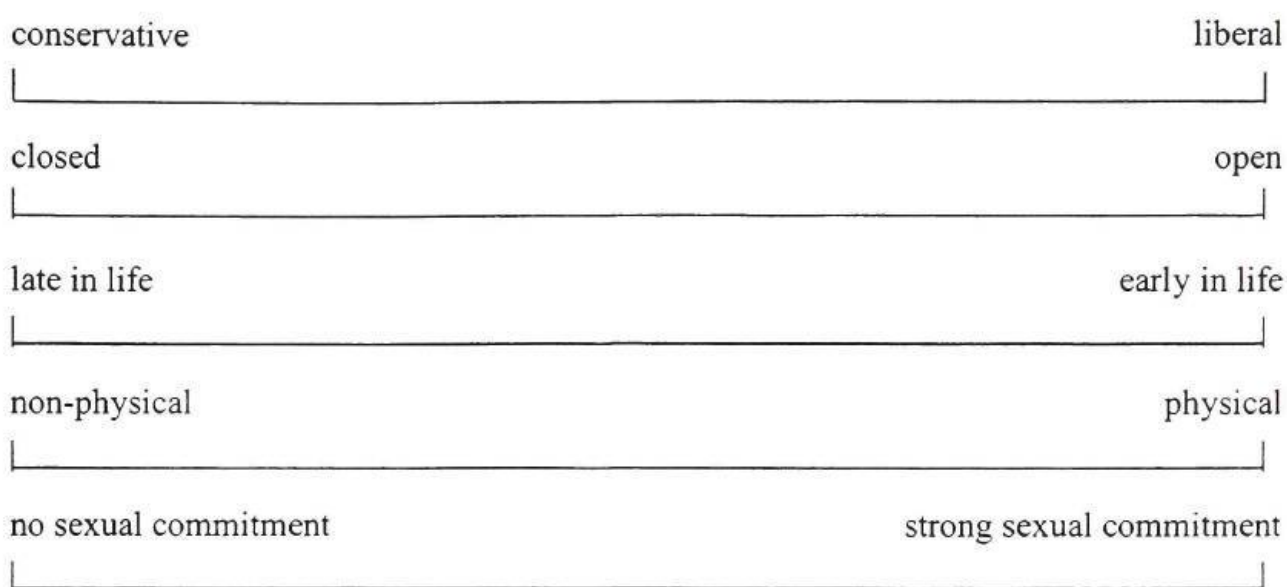
Many of these respondents did not have extended serious relationships with women until they had completed their education and had established themselves in their careers. Some of the males tended to be afraid of women because of lack of experience in establishing relationships, while others considered that all Chinese women were like their sisters because of the strong influence of women in their upbringing.

> *"Well we didn't talk to them (girls). In their own worlds ... we didn't know anything about them. There was no way for us to to, to be close to a girl, unless and until you were to marry her. First, ah I was afraid. I was afraid of talking to girls although I was interested ... the repressed, repressive attitude of society" (PIN)*

The factor of class appeared to influence the relationships of some respondents with women. Those of higher socio-economic status who were sufficiently affluent to have maids, were more likely to have parents with more liberal attitudes to relationships between the sexes.

"Ah yes yes I was actively dating ah, ah but particularly when we have school dances ... then actually allowed us to organise our own parties" (DI)

Then, there were those respondents who viewed all Chinese women as relatives and kin because of their close relationship almost exclusively with women when they were young.

"... my early associations were all with women ... there is Chinese woman who is extremely fierce so that not surprising that I don't find them as sexual object for long time ...Um, and in terms of opportunity in the real physical environment at the time there were few Chinese women around... Yeah because western women were people you formed relationships with. Chinese women were my sisters and aunts..." (CL)

"I have no very special feeling for my first ... I think she is my relative, very close relative" (W)

There was a tendency for most of these males to move from mixed gender friendship groups in childhood, to mainly mono gender friendship groups in adolescence and early adulthood. The exception to this were gay Chinese males who frequently mixed with females and enjoyed the mutuality of the relationships with women.

"Um, I think we can share their problems (with girls) more than straight boys. I think they feel more fun with gay boys. Maybe. And share the same interests when they buy things. I think we can choose things better than straight boys can and for them they like going shopping with us" (IS)

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"Most of my friends are girls. No! I've never been involved with girls sexually ... I would say that I need to protect them ... I will be there, the one who protect them ... it's still a bit tradition Chinese characteristics. ... they say thing a bit more humility I mean more human relation and emotion involved" (NEL)

It is interesting that a strong Chinese tradition of the male being the protector of the female is sufficiently pervasive to cross sexuality boundaries.

Only one respondent referred to the reactions of other males when he played with girls in primary school and early secondary school.

"... if you played with girls quite often then the boys would laugh at you" (K-T)

This reaction was similar to that of males who were different from the rest and perceived to be "sissy, "girlie", "fairies" and effeminate.

Most of these Chinese male respondents referred to the emphasis in their lives on education, and hard work, rather than talking about sexual matters or engaging in sexual activity, particularly with women.

Some of the respondents referred to issues of dependence and independence, of language and differences in cultural expectations when Chinese women were compared with non-Chinese women. Some experienced difficulty with the independence of non-Chinese women as well as their lack of understanding of Chinese friendships. These differences in expectations were generally experienced by those males who had migrated elsewhere prior to Australia.

"... for all Chinese it's very important that you know when a boy and girl go out you have to buy everything. Even up to marriage, a guy is supposed to pay for everything through our whole life" (CT)

"... I'd thought this was a Taiwanese girl and I need to chase her in a Taiwanese way ... but this person has been out here for few years and seems like she has been Westernised ... it didn't work out that way" (X)

"Yes, because I think mainly the culture and the um, language. Because I think to me I think ah the couple of boyfriend – girlfriend communication very important. I can't express say ah, my thoughts and my feeling" (PC)

"There was the Chinese New Year ... she (non-Chinese girlfriend) expected me to drop all of my other family obligations to be with her. And of course I couldn't" (DI)

There was a suggestion by some males, that attitudes to the relationships between boys and girls, as well as men and women are becoming more liberal and that increasing physicality is often a feature of such relationships. However, Chinese girls still tend to be more conservative than non-Chinese women.

"No. In Asian culture the girls are more innocent than here. They always think when you get married then you can have sex with your husband" (IS)

"No. I have repressed (sexual experience). But the girl say only when we get married" (W)

"... the repressed, repressive attitude of society. It was considered very dirty for boys or for men to ... to be friends with a girl or woman, without without intention to marry her" (PIN)

This response places more emphasis on socio-cultural norms and expectations concerning relationships between men and women. In many respects, this theme of the Chinese migrants' relationships with women is linked to that of expectations of a wife.

Expectations of wife

The responses of the Chinese male migrants in this study to the issue of their expectations of their wife to working outside of the home, can be arranged along a continuum, from a preference that she did not work to an expectation that she works. Outside of the continuum was an expectation or more a suggestion. that it should be a choice made by the woman. A number of respondents displayed an ambivalence toward the issue. Ideally, some of these males would have preferred a more traditional Chinese family situation where the male was the sole provider, but economic reality intervened to the extent that they believed it was a necessity for their wife to work.

Of the Chinese males who mentioned their expectation concerning outside work for their wives, the majority preferred their wife not work. For many of these males, the first priority for women should be to the family and the children or to create a comfortable environment for males.

> *"I am the one who make more money than her, I don't want her to make money for me ... But for me I want also as the family of the head I am the one to make money not her, not another one y'know ... I mean if I can make her happy, she look after the kids we live together we trust each other" (M)*

> *"... if we have a choice I rather want (Jenny) not to go work ... not just at leisure but spend time with the kids and that sort of thing" (CM)*

"But the priority, the first thing is she has to manage the housework well. Because mainly I say, I would tell her I will carry on the main income" (PC)

"Oh I still like the more traditional type (of wife) like, when you can go home, you.

The ages of the respondents did not seem to influence these expectatins. One of the respondents for example, was young and had lived in Australia since secondary school, was married with two children and has two jobs. His wife was also university educated and was completing a second undergraduate degree. This couple was living with the husband's parents who had traditional expectations concerning the division of labour in the household which might have been a factor influencing his response.

Several respondents were at the other end of the continuum of expectations concerning outside work for wives. The issue of economic necessity is an ever-increasing reality facing many of the males, in spite of their attitudes about being the sole provider. Other men, displayed a certain ambivalence to the idea of a wife working outside the home. Again, the age of the men did not seem to affect the response.

"Yeah, I expect her to work yeah, outside the home, because I think that ah as a woman, or as a wife it is not necessary for you to stay at home. Your career, your job is not at home" (K-T)

"Yeah, I would (expect my wife to work) because ah if I just my work, if I work then the money would be not enough to support the family, because everything is getting expensive. I expect my wife to go out to work" (A)

Three of these respondents had lived in Australia for nearly twelve years and their age range was 29 years to 45 years. One respondent's comment summarised an extreme position compared with other respondents, of the centrality of the male in several important areas of family life.

"Their home relationship it's everything to satisfy the male, including your sex life, your personal life. You don't work unless you're actually told to by your husband. You have to go to work, then the husband finds the work for you" (AIN)

Several respondents introduced other dimensions to the reasons that their wives did not work since migrating to Australia. In some instances, it was suggested that wives did not work because there were no jobs available in their area of expertise e.g., garment designer, merchant banker. In other cases, the importance of knowledge of connections and networks was offered as an important reason that wives did not work. It was suggested that in these cases both husband and wife were developing this knowledge and establishing appropriate networks. These networks were particular to the Chinese community, but reached out to the broader community. Others, referred to the problems experienced by some women who did not know the language.

It appears that while opinions and attitudes and even behaviours are changing in the area of expectations concerning wives working outside the home, most of the male respondents preferred to be the sole provider and protector of the family. Such an approach retains power in the hands of the male, and is supported by a rather traditional division of labour. This leads to the next theme concerning the relationships of these Chinese males with their children.

Relationships with children

Relationships with children among these Chinese male migrants seem to have the following dimensions.

demonstrative   non-demonstrative

| |

close   distant

| |

punitive   non-punitive

| |

active   passive

| |

physical   mental

| |

The relationships several of these men had with their children had changed over time and were very different from the relationships they had had with their parents. These men had become more physically demonstrative.

> *"I kiss my kids, very friend, my my son always tell joke ... as a friend (way I want to be seen). I like him to talk to me ..." (M)*

It is interesting in this case where the respondent had a son and a daughter, his remarks referred predominantly to his relationship with his son. It appeared that his wife and daughter had a closer relationship. In some instances, there appeared to be a preference for the birth of sons as the first child rather than daughters.

> *"I think its ... very close with my son ..., I can play with him a lot.*
> *And I don't see my daughter a lot" (M)*

Furthermore, this man also wanted respect from his son in a traditionally Chinese way.

> *"... I don't want my son to call me (by my first name), I want my son call me Daddy ... I want a little bit of respect from my son" (M)*

"... we are different in that ah personal touch. I don't remember my father you know hugging me or my sisters" (PIN)

Many of these Chinese males emphasised the importance of education with their children and the cultivation of mental capacities rather than physical.

"I like him to be educated ... don't do like me, like me now I have to work very hard for money. I want them to use their head to make money ... not use their physical" (M)

"... I've been, I've been, I've been speaking with ah people around me about what, what um best careers for my daughters ... probably I'm going to suggest my daughters be professors" (PIN)

"I was trying to encourage him to do PhD because he's a very smart kid ... and a daughter did very well ..." (GG)

"... we're still very conscious about how our kids perform in school. I must say I am very demanding for my daughters to do well in school" (C96)

Some of these men used physical punishment with their children. This was associated often with misbehaviour but also poor performance at school. Many of the men indicated that they had experienced physical punishment at the hands of their fathers or mothers. Most of these men suggested that they were less severe on their children and attempted to use non-physical means of punishment. Some of the males believed they were unnecessarily demanding of their children and were attempting to moderate their behaviour.

"Yeah I think on one hand ah still there's a big image of those dictatorship but not ... many you know as compared to my father and ah

but we are quite open. We are, I mean my wife and I are willing to talk to the kids. But for physical punishment, it's still myself to carry out" (E)

"But talk about physical punishment is the only, the only situation will happen is just to the son. My daughter is very behaving ... but my son (8 years old) is a little bit innovative ..." (E)

There is some evidence here of a less authoritarian attitude adopted by fathers and the presentation of a less distant image and a desire for a greater closeness with children. This seems different from those masculine characteristics adopted by the fathers of many of these respondents. These men believe that they spend more time with their children, play with their children and make more physical contact with their children, than their fathers did with them. These recreational activities are engaged in after school or on weekends.

"My daughter was doing ballet, studying from Hong Kong. So she just continue doing ballet here. But she also take a tennis class you know. And she also you know represent her schools in the ball games you know athletics. So she got training after school, so a lot of time goes to those areas and they also learn Chinese on Saturday morning" (E)

"... I can have a lot of free time to do what I want like ah you know to playing with the kids or taking the kids here and there you know. You know you've got a lot of oh after school activities you know with kids you know they going like soccer club or football club or gymnastics you have a try" (GG)

There is a suggestion here that children's sporting and recreational activities are demanding different attitudes from fathers to what was more common traditionally. In

these few instances, the children seem to be adopting attitudes to sport and recreation of the new culture more readily than their parents. One man in particular referred to changes in children, as they become educated and more informed on issues in the new culture. Some of the respondents believed that their children acted as conduits to the new culture.

"So they (two daughters) became two important sources of information ... they must widen their social um circle ... they need to gain things ... I encouraged her to make friends ... within the class and also friends ... and you know er Aussie/Australian families" (C96)

It appears that among these Chinese migrant males in their relationship with their children, compared with their relationship with their parents (or father in particular), there is more communication, more closeness, more playfulness, and less seriousness. There is a "softening" in the relationship between father and children, but fathers would still prefer to be paid respect. It would appear that being married with children may have a mellowing effect on traditional male parental attitudes. These children who are more acculturated into their adopted culture bring home values and expectations different from those which were more characteristics of traditional Chinese culture. Rather than a macho image, these males appear to be cultivating their feminine qualities. This in turn, may influence the gender identity of these Chinese male migrants.

"Me" as a person

Central to perceptions of themselves for many of these Chinese male respondents was a valuing of hard work. For some males, associated with working hard were their family networks. Further, while hard work was central for some of the

respondents they also indicated they were *"ambitious"* (ET); *"uncompromising ... determined"* (NEL); *"competitive"* (CM); and *"need to prove myself"* (DI).

Other respondents described themselves as *"honest, helpful, gentle"* (K-T); an *"ordinary man"* (K-T); *"just a normal person"* (NEL); *"rebellious"* (CL); and *"someone who like respect"* (PW). These particular respondents while not wanting to project a particular image, hoped that others perceived these qualities in them. Some respondents indicated that increasing education and migration had given them greater scope for making comparisons, particularly between different males in different cultures. Others suggested that education in particular, had exposed them to issues of sexuality that they had never previously considered.

The issue of language was raised by a number of these Chinese migrants. A lack of expertise in the English language had contributed to feelings of uselessness and powerlessness in a new culture. Many found they could not communicate with non-Chinese spontaneously. For these respondents, there was a belief that they were much more relaxed and spontaneous with fellow Chinese because of language. Some referred to loss of confidence and fear of making mistakes while talking to non-Chinese.

Occupational characteristics

The frequency with which particular occupations were predominantly pursued by these Chinese male migrants were engineering (8), information technology (7), importing and exporting (3), academic (6), students (10) and other (6). Those in engineering, referred to the dominance of men in the professions but also to the diversity of types of engineering some of which attracted some females, and the influence of technology on a reduced requirement for *"... hard labour, strong men"* (BT). Reference was made to the stereotypes of engineers being men who were sexist, hard drinking, sporting and tough males. Some of the Chinese male engineers who

believed this stereotype to be accurate had difficulty attending work activities like "smokos" where males drank heavily and talked sport or told sexist jokes. Some of the younger Chinese engineering students who attended student parties often interacted with other Asian students and would, if necessary, pretend to drink the amounts of liquor being consumed by non-Chinese students. This was done to obviate criticism or racist comments. These students also referred to the diversity of women in engineering. They suggested that some female engineering students attempted to be like males, while others "*are still pretty ah lady-like*" (PC). One respondent explained the behaviour of females in management as "over-reaction".

> "*They react emotionally not naturally ...they (women managers) tried to overdo it ... they overreacted ... I need to prove I'm as good as you guys ...*" *(CM)*

Some of the Chinese males who had worked in engineering companies in several countries, believed that in Australia engineering offices tended to be less hierarchical and less serious.

> "*... in the Australian context ...still have those hierarchy but certainly ah there is more equality ... no need to sort of ah be ah subservient to, to your boss. You can speak your mind ... my experience in this company, certainly less intense ... always time for a joke ...*" *(FY)*

This respondent referred to an issue pertinent to the attractiveness of engineering for males. Here, a distinction was implied between occupations that were more masculine and others that were more feminine.

> "*... facts and figures ... different from dealing with people who are difficult ... (uncomfortable dealing with people) ... we are not trained for it ...*" *(FY)*

Most of these respondents had undertaken degrees in science and mathematics rather than in arts, humanities or social sciences. In one case in particular this was exacerbated by the nature of the occupation. For example, in the nautical sciences males enter the navy and train usually exclusively with other males to become sea captains.

"... very different culture ... relationships are being cut off while you are on the ship. You have, you're totally dependent on yourself ... the major impact is you lost all your support ... males dominate nautical sciences ..." (TON)

This was an occupation which attracted virtually no women and women were usually seen by these males as *"sex objects" (TON)*.

One respondent referred to the effect of rapidly changing technology in information technology on stress levels among managers and people employed in this industry. This respondent believed that with ageing it became more difficult to keep abreast of changes. For males in this position frequently there was a decision to undertake further education and take a change of direction in career.

"... to keep up with technology change (in computing) ... changes every three years. It's too demanding so I think it's time we better go to another area (finance and accounting)" (E)

One of the most significant reported characteristics of the group of academics was their insular and cloistered friendship networks. In most instances, friends and acquaintances were Chinese and fellow-academics wherever the respondents had migrated. Some of these academics referred to the problem of retaining friendships

because of constant geographic mobility as children, as adolescents and as mature adults.

Homosexuality

Several of the Chinese male migrants in this study were gay and responded to issues surrounding their sexuality. However, all other respondents had particular views on homosexuality and homosexuals in their home countries, among their friends and in Australia, as well as other Western countries.

It was clear from several of the respondents that their Christian religious beliefs particularly concerning the family, influenced their attitudes toward homosexuality. Some said it was sinful, while others indicated it was against the teachings of the Bible. The general belief about attitudes to homosexuality and homosexuals in their home countries expressed by the respondents, was one of opposition. Several informants preferred explanations associated with physical or mental abnormality. Some respondents perceived gay people to be a minority, isolated from the remainder of society.

It is clear from many of the responses that homosexuality was not a common topic of conversation, that very few respondents knew about the phenomenon until much later in life. Some became aware of homosexuality in university. For others, there were always "others" among the males at school or elsewhere who were different and frequently were labelled by their peers.

> *"So um when that person is really the fairy then you describe him as 'Kai dai'. You need to insult him ..." (L95)*

> *"the word homosexuals like the words like dickheads, asshole you know ... make fun of people ... or bisexual, homo or bisexual" (CT)*

"For student you got a quite a lot of social pressure if you are gay or homosexual. And people laughing at you and you got, got problems in your education or in or in your employment" (C-W)

"And boys studying in arts class have always been teased by boys in the science class ... you are just more female type" (TON)

"... some soldier where their physical is not very good so they call some 'woman', 'women', 'boys', type of thing and some of them were beaten up by other soldiers" (H-W)

"In Malaysia when we're quite young we used to, they used to be effeminate boys" (CM)

There are indications of homophobia among these reactions to males who were perceived to be different. This homophobia was typical of some of the comments made directly about the reactions of particular respondents.

"I felt squeamish I mean, it was obvious from the way he behaved and I I guess I suffer a little bit from homophobia" (CM)

"I don't understand it what's makes a homosexual say turn on to a man or man turn on to another man, yeah so I can't relate to that just curious ... I think I still lot of homophobia going on ..." (CM)

"... if I got a son who is gay I would feel ashamed ..." (A)

"They make me feel a little bit sick and especially like in uni. I never take a shower in there after I do sport at uni" (CT)

On the issue of "coming out" there were several opinions held by these respondents. In particular, gay males had great difficulty coming out to parents, because of the strong emphasis in Chinese culture on marriage and reproducing sons.

The issue of coming out may well have been perceived as a construction of heterosexuals who believed that anyone different from themselves needed to make it public. Some gay males believed that their feelings, attitudes and behaviours were "normal" until other observers made them aware that their sexuality was "different", "wrong", "immoral", "not natural". In some of these cases this label of being unnatural, precipitated a more unnatural feeling of the need to come out. For many of these gay Chinese males, having same sex relations was not seen as a phenomenon someone needed to "come out" about because it was not unnatural or abnormal. In other cases, a more socio-cultural explanation was offered because of the perception of cultural sanctions against homosexuality.

"... so only few of them that we 'come out' to each other that we are gay but there's a lot still ah still too worried to come out. I'm frightened to let him (my father) know it, because ah to me he want me to get married, things like that as a normal person" (IS)

"No, it's really hard (if you 'come out') you suddenly don't have a family" (AIN)

"I do not usually discuss my to, my sexuality to new friends or strangers. No actually I feel more comfortable to, to be here than in UK. Actually, I I have, I had the feeling that I need a stronger male friend beside me" (RIC)

"... my sexual preference I thought this is really personal stuff" (NEL)

"... I have to think of their feeling (because not 'come out' to parents) ... they might feel really upset ... it may not be a good idea to tell them" (NEL)

"In Hong Kong I did go to my gay friends so I talk with them
because I can trust them" (NEL)

"No. We still can't expose to everybody. We just keep it to
ourselves" (IS)

The majority of the gay respondents believed that their mothers could "feel" their sexuality, even though they had not come out to them.

"No, I think my mum at that time was really suspicious" (IS)

"I always thought your mum always I know about this. I mean she
can feel it" (NEL)

Most of these gay Chinese migrants believed they needed to be circumspect in their general behaviour in Australia. They had dual concerns about racism and homophobia and therefore found it necessary to restrict their spatial sphere of influence. Overall, most of them felt more comfortable with their sexuality in Australia rather than in Hong Kong or Taiwan. However, some of the respondents perceived that Chinese homosexuals were "fighting back" in their home countries and consequently were helping make people more aware. Others, were opposed to the amount of media coverage given to events like the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras.

"... gay community tried to fight back and um, they have uh, gained
ah acceptance from the ah, wider social community especially they gained
support from social workers, they gain support from other professionals ...
um gave them a better position" (K-T)

"I mean the male homosexual is more, I mean getting peoples
forces toward them. The people seldom talk about ah, ah lesbians of that
kinds of things in Hong Kong. And that's I would say that's not a problem
up to now, yeah" (C-W)

"... Mardi Gras I think it's obscene to put it on TV ... like R rated movies ... because I really think its its glorifies something that is not right" (CM)

"Oh, I don't like that yeah (Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras). Ah, I upset with, all this action ..." (PW)

Generally speaking, those respondents who made comparisons between Australian and Chinese attitudes to homosexuality believed that Australia was a more open society toward this sexual practice. Most of the gay respondents also had a preference for remaining in Australia, but were more likely to believe that homophobia exists in this country and that they needed to be careful about communicating their sexuality to others. Some reported a fear of violence associated with racism and homophobia, particularly from young adult, non-Chinese males in public house environments.

Generational differences

Many of the respondents referred to the changes that they perceived between their parents' generation, their generation and that of the young adolescents today. Generally, these Chinese male migrants believed there was an increasing openness among young adolescents, particularly in relation to physicality and sexual relations. Some indicated that this was associated with the increasing influence of the West and others suggested that increasing education particularly for females, was an important factor.

Some attributed this greater openness and physicality and even greater emphasis on relationships and romantic love to increasing education for women, greater independence or greater individuality.

"... more and more women are establishing their own career and making themselves an identity ... becoming very independent" (L95)

"But at the moment, I think most um er young people um um see their idols as as as a source of inspiration in their daily life and the major part of daily life is about love. You know, the expression of love – how they can make friendships with their, you know the girl they like. Um, well normal romantic love, OK!" (C96)

It appears that a major change for the respondents between their parents' generation and theirs, is an increasing expectation for women to go to work and earn an income. This has contributed to greater financial independence for some women.

"Women become more independent where ah will having an independent income ... group of women who are more financially independent" (ET)

"... women, young women today in marriage are expected to work, go out to work ..." (C)

"Women go to work much more now. This is just the norm these days" (L95)

"... when they are in their mid 20's with, with some/most of them with a professional degree like er like er being an accountant ... they can find jobs. I mean, I mean, I'm talking about the wife here" (C96)

In some instances, changes had occurred in the division of labour in the household with women going to outside work. Some references were made to greater sharing and equality resulting from women being employed.

"... I think in this few years I try to ah ah ah playing level with my wife. Sharing, I think in this few years after I migrate to Australia a lot of change has happened to me being a dominant male now to a more accommodating. I think I have already a lot of change, my wife notice it" (TON)

"Ah equal, yeah (husband and wife) I think they will, yeah (treat each other equally)" (PW)

For some of the respondents, there was a belief that while there was increased sharing of responsibilities in the home, neither male nor female were predisposed to such work.

"... neither party wants to stay home and take up the household chores. We make more money and for somebody else to do the work" (L95)

(This respondent was referring earlier in the interview to the employment of maids in his home country but the problem of affording maids in Australia. Nevertheless, some of these respondents use home help to take care of household duties).

Some respondents believed that the role model for the younger generation is the *"wealthy person"* (PIN) in particular the businessman, and others suggested that one of the biggest changes in the younger generation was *"... less respect for the elderly"* (ET).

"Global Man"

During the interviews, the Chinese male migrant respondents were asked to react to a proposition that at the international level of multinational corporations, all men were alike irrespective of their ethnic background. It was suggested that the respondents consider the notion of a "global man" who had the characteristics of power, economic success, fought "battles" in the boardroom or the stock markets of the world, usually "had his way" with women and was aggressive in debate and decision-making.

Several dimensions which can be represented as continua, emerged from the coding of transcripts.

Eastern	Western
male	female
collectivity is emphasised	individualism is emphasised
behaviour governed by boardroom	behaviour governed by tradition
business-influenced	family-influenced
particular ethnicity is central	more universal person
family is central	family less central

Respondents referred to whether this "global man" was based on an Eastern or Western model. Some suggested that the global man was based on the Western model or Western images like Clint Eastwood, because this was the model most frequently portrayed in the media and in movies and on billboards.

"I think it's still Western ... older American film stars ... Western images...

This global man has wealth, has way with women, has boardroom power, presents a body and is aggressive physically and mentally" (CL)

This particular respondent, believed that middle and upper-middle class Chinese males model themselves on this particular image while working and lower class males model themselves on the martial arts exponent e.g., Jackie Chan and Bruce Lee. He also suggested that Chinese students had voted for a European actor as the *"No 1 ideal man"* (CL) among an array of representations of males presented to them. They aspired to be like this non-Chinese person. This respondent attributed this orientation to the disproportionate number of Western models presented by the mass media.

"... until publicity machine is more equally shared between the different races then I'm afraid that the um um we have the same situation whether where people talk about the global man were basically western ... maybe thirty years when resources are more equally distributed" (CL)

Some of these Chinese male migrants referred to the sexual exploits of some successful Chinese businessmen. Reference was made to concubines and the need to display status symbols to influence women. This display of wealth it was suggested, was mainly a characteristic of successful Taiwanese businessmen, but the need to *"have their way with women"* (CL) and to have *"concubines"* (S) was characteristic of mainland Chinese, Malaysian males and Taiwanese men. This appeared also to be a symbol of success. It was suggested that having concubines was a rite of passage and an expectation associated with corporate success.

Some respondents believed that this "global man" was a model because of their business success and their capacity to be wealthy. Others, believed that this model of wealth was influential in mainland China as well as Taiwan, Malaysia and Hong Kong. "... *money ... includes mainland China ...*" (FC). For some of the respondents, this model could have Chinese female as well as male aspirants, especially as women increasingly developed careers and contributed to family incomes.

"We could have a global female as well as man" (K-T)

For this respondent, the global female is as aggressive in the corporation as the global man.

Most of the respondents believed that the business world was a mans world and that boardrooms were places where males "spilt blood" today, rather than on the sporting field (C97). There was a belief that global images held by Chinese men would be dependent on level of education and social class. While some of the respondents indicated that the multinational corporation was a place where ethnic distinctions were blurred, others suggested that globalisation was happening but that ethnicity was still important in the boardroom. However, respondents also argued that even the global man had to return home to his family which was still important to him, and that this was a place where "global men" could still retain their ethnicity.

Other respondents suggested that there were cultural elements which persisted in the boardroom and that these were more customary. They referred to the more instrumental and independent thinking and behaviour of non-Chinese Western corporate executives, and the greater use of networks and thinking more about connectiveness of the Chinese corporate person.

"For Chinese they sometimes actually they have to think about you know the financial support of all the people behind them. And they would

also treasure the relationship with people ... So the Chinese is more deep in heart I would say but once they feel you know um angry or, or they think, they think badly about a person, it's hard to remove as compared to western, you know to western style you know" (E)

One respondent referred to the strong influence of technological development on the "global man". Such developments had reduced the necessity to travel constantly and increased the ability to work from an electronic office. Also, the speed of air travel today reduces the amount of time that corporate executives need to spend away from families which are central to Chinese culture.

"Yes I I think that that definitely is a trend towards that and that's helped by technology advances ah being able to do all that especially travel and still be part of a family because it's it's quite unthinkable in the thirties ..." (BT)

While some respondents referred to the changes in the model of the "global" man which some might have misinterpreted as the "ideal" man, the present dominant representation was Western (non-Chinese, non-Asian) because of the control of media sources and the portrayal of non-Western ideologies. Generally, very few Asian or black models were presented of the "global" man in the news media or the popular media. As well, the successful "global" man was perceived by some respondents to be a sexual being who was dominant and successful with women. There appear to be views that there are ethnic masculinities in the board room, but also "global" identities which are more multiple in character and change between the board room and the family home. Even in the boardroom, the gender identity of any one male may change chameleon-like, depending on the persons with whom he is interacting.

While some references have been made in this chapter to the influence of migration on some of the themes, the theme of migration itself, has not been discussed in full. In the following chapter, the theme migration will be elaborated on and the links between migration and respondents perceptions of themselves and other males explored. Further, the strategies of adaptation to changes in their lives used by the Chinese migrants during the settlement process will be explored.

CHAPTER 7

MIGRATION, THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS
AND GENDER IDENTITY

As a major focus of this study is to explore the effects of migration on constructions of masculinities this particular chapter takes up the major themes of migration and comparisons made by the Chinese male migrant respondents between themselves and other males. This latter theme includes consideration of how the Chinese men perceive relationships between men and women in the new culture, as well as their perceptions of families and children. Migration also includes periods of adapting to new customs, symbols, values and norms in the new culture. One strategy of adaptation used by migrant groups is that of insulating themselves from outside influences by restricting social interaction to mono ethnic connections. Therefore, the theme of insularity will be elaborated on, and the differential effects on this theme of sexuality, duration of settlement, level of education, marital status and occupation will be explored.

Migration

The Chinese male migrants in this study migrated to Australia with a variety of visas including student, business, skilled migrant, family reunion, and "professional" migrant. Some had arrived in Australia when they were young and had been in Australia many years, while others had arrived relatively recently and had been in Australia for one or two years. The duration of settlement of migrants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: *Frequency of Duration of Settlement in Australia Among the Sample*

No. of years	No. of migrants	
0-2	1	(2.5%)
3-5	9	(22.5%)
6-8	9	(22.5%)
9-11	5	(12.5%)
12-14	8	(20.0%)
15+	8	(20.0%)
	N = 40	

A few of the respondents had made visits to Australia prior to migrating. In these cases some had taken holidays, some had visited relatives and friends, while others had visited to make observations of business opportunities and to compare climatic conditions with those at home. Some of the respondents had migration experiences in other countries prior to arrival in Australia. Most of those with prior experience had completed educational qualifications in the UK, USA, Canada or Holland, or had taken up job appointments away from their home country.

Among the respondents were males who had migrated to Australia to commence or complete educational qualifications. Reference was made to the highly competitive educational system in home territories and to the reliability of educational systems in Australia, as well as safety and security for self and family. Others had arrived in Australia after resigning from positions in their home country. Most of these males were relaxing from stressful lifestyles while considering future options. Their intentions were to spend several years in Australia while considering occupational futures. For a small number of the respondents, political reasons were the motivating factor for their decision to migrate. Some believed that their political affiliations prevented promotional opportunities in the home

country, while others were reuniting with one of their parents who had escaped from particular political and military situations.

The theme of migration emerged from the interviews in this study. It was related to other important themes like Chineseness, insularity, and the settlement process. In the following section the core idea of migration as it was inductively developed from the interviews, is discussed. The links among these core ideas are shown in Figure 3.

Many of the respondents had no knowledge of Australia prior to arriving here. In some instances, there had been no or little contact with non-Chinese people before migrating. Others, had some knowledge of Australia through prior study or reading specific literature. It is of interest that several respondents had fairly well developed stereotypes of Australia, Australian families and Australian men and women prior to or immediately after arriving.

Some of these Chinese male migrants had experienced particular psychological or physiological states immediately after migration.

"... headaches ... I mustn't have been coping in this new world away from my mother, and never see my father, because he is working all time ..." (CL)

"... so no ties with anyone, loneliness pretty shocking initially ... learning a new culture ... later on being little bit more sensitive to racial differences" (CM)

"... people look totally different when I came over here and, and I hardly speak any English ..." (M)

Figure 3: Migration Theme

GENDER IDENTITY

SOCIAL CLASS
OCCUPATION
DURATION OF
SETTLEMENT
SEXUALITY
AGE
COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN

INSULARITY

ADAPTIVE
STRATEGIES

SETTLEMENT PROCESS

DIVISION OF
LABOUR

EXPECTATIONS OF
WIFE

RELATIONSHIP(S)
WITH WOMEN

RELATIONSHIPS
WITH CHILDREN

HEROES

MIGRATION

CHINESE AND OTHER
MALES

CHINESENESS

PRE-MIGRATION
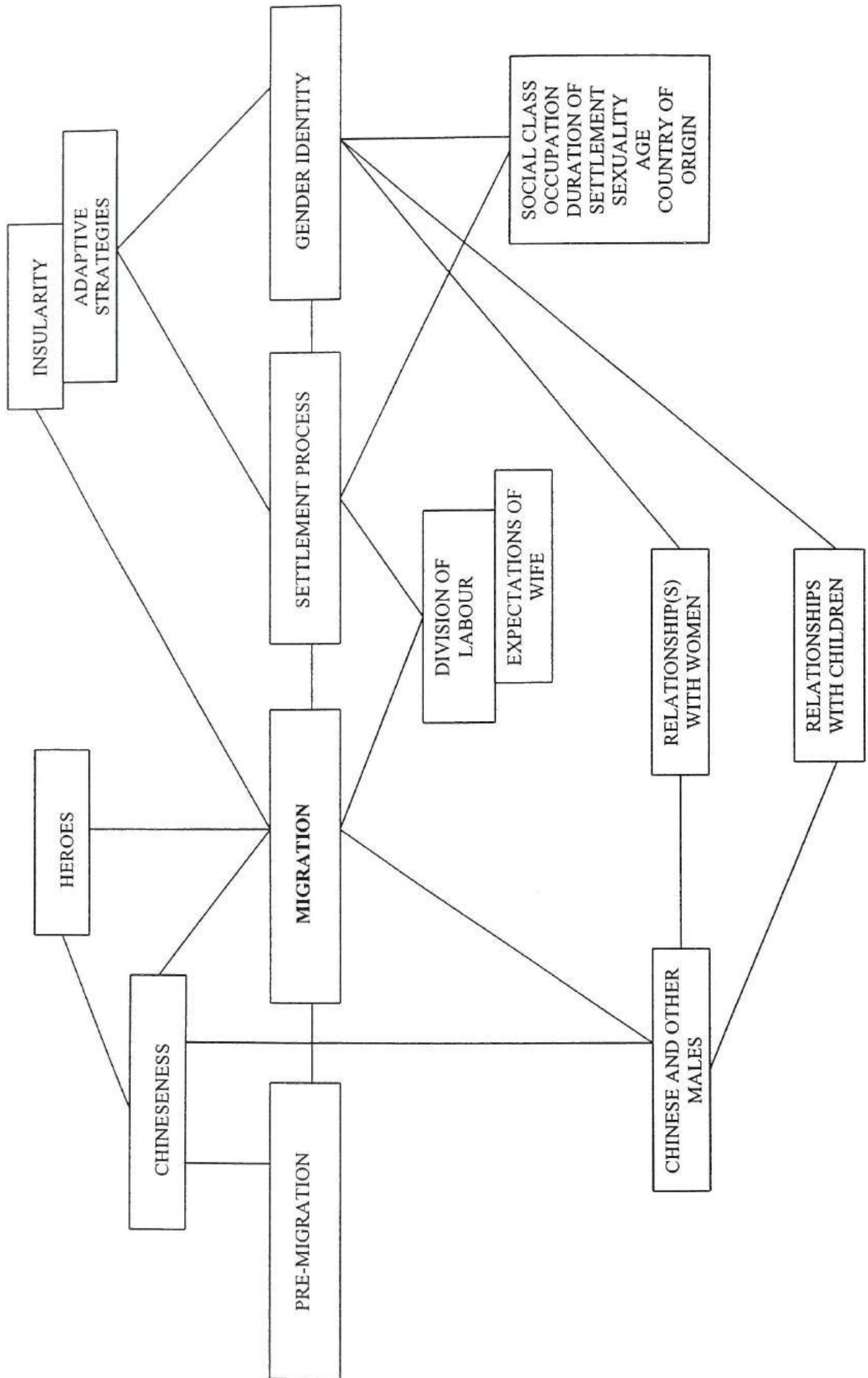
The issue of language was raised by many of the respondents as a problem in their adaptation to a new culture. Some used their lack of English proficiency as a reason for the inability to form friendships with non-Chinese people. Others, suggested that it reduced their ability to communicate and therefore placed them in a vulnerable and powerless position. In some cases spouses were learning English, developing connections and social networks prior to seeking employment.

Reasons provided by the Chinese male respondents for migrating to Australia included the following: climate, safety, educational opportunities for child(ren) and/or self, a change of lifestyle, better life, refugee, "retirement", political reasons, greater economic opportunities, job opportunities, and greater political stability. While most of the respondents were satisfied with their migration experiences others were dissatisfied with the lack of job opportunities, the slow pace of Australian life, the difficulties of coping with "Australian" attitudes to hard work, the over-emphasis on sport and competitiveness in sport, the lack of incentive to work hard, the difficulties of making wealth quickly, some racist and homophobic attitudes and changes in the political environment. While they remained in Australia at present, some were merely "testing the water" (sojourners) to see how economic opportunities developed. Others were prepared to leave their extended families in Australia (astronaut families) and return to their home country to make money quickly, retire early and then return to Australia. Financial success was central for many of these Chinese male migrants.

Reference was made to problems associated with racism and discrimination. Most of the overt instances involved name calling and in one case physical violence. Some covert racist actions it was indicated, may well have affected careers.

"... I was fortunate to meet good people who really genuinely um taken to me ...

quite a number of migrants who did suffer um uncertain um drawbacks ...

imprinted on their current character as a person" (BT)

"... as a migrant I don't expect too much. Yeah. Unbelievable isn't it?" (BW)

Several respondents referred to the desire to blend in with the new culture, or at least heed the advice they had been given by relatives who had migrated earlier, about the need to blend in with the new culture.

"... blend to the culture and I try to be like her (my sister) and blend to the culture so it turn out to be OK" (CT)

"In Australia now some time I think to myself I have to remind myself that I don't look like all these people walking past" (CM)

A fear of racism and homophobia was held by most of the gay Chinese respondents. These males consequently had rather well-delineated social circles, were constrained to particular leisure spaces, and were circumspect in conversation about their sexuality.

One respondent explicitly referred to changes that had occurred in the division of labour in his family since arriving in Australia.

"... personally um I help my wife more than in Hong Kong. In housework"

(BW)

Other respondents only mentioned changes that had occurred in their division of labour in the family, after they were prompted or probed for a response. Some of these male migrants indicated that spouses had commented on changes in the division of labour where there was greater equality and sharing of responsibilities.

While some respondents had migrated to Australia alone either as children, youth or adults, others had arrived with spouses either alone and/or with children. Some of the Chinese male migrants had migrated without relatives in Australia, while others had brothers or sisters, or fathers, uncles or aunts that had preceded them. Many of these respondents, irrespective of their type of entry to Australia still remained insular in their social lives in this country and retained a high level of Chinese customs and traditions, as well as language. Even those who had lived in Australia since childhood, retained mostly Chinese friends and interests. Only one respondent indicated that while he had many Chinese friends, he preferred

the company of non-Chinese people because he could be more himself and feel less controlled. Others felt they were more themselves when they could use their own language and cultivate Chinese interests with their Chinese friends.
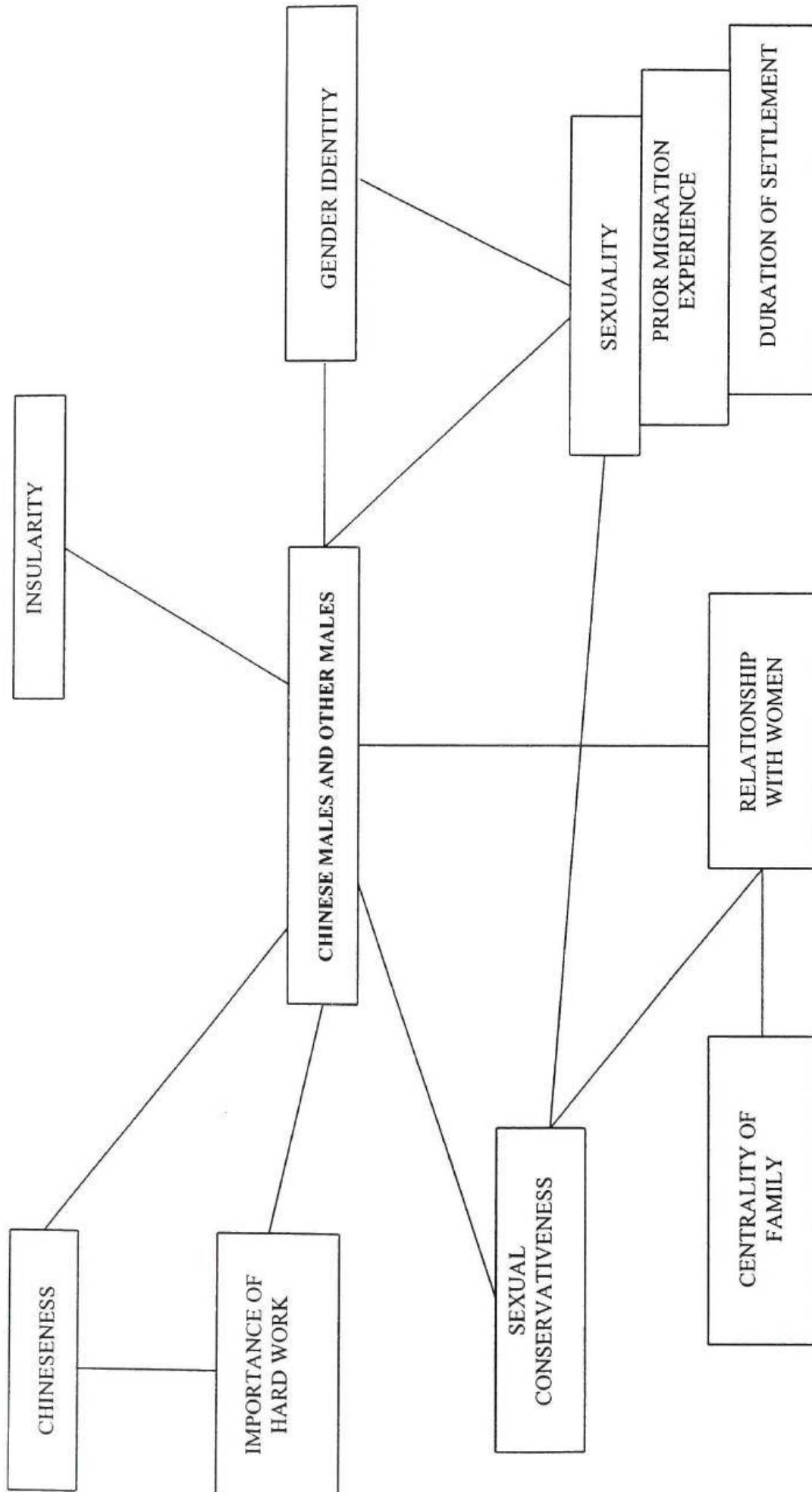
One of the most significant reasons offered by these Chinese male migrants for migrating to Australia, was the education of themselves and/or their children. Generally, they believed the education system was less competitive in Australia. Their decisions to migrate and their ongoing deliberations about remaining in Australia or returning to their home country, were influenced by a weighing up of their careers and the education of their children. Sometimes children of the migrant males introduced them to sporting and recreational activities in Australia, as well as to non-Chinese parents of school friends. In this sense, children reduced some of the insularity but most parents wanted their children to learn Cantonese or Mandarin and to practice respect for adults in the home.

Chinese males and others

While it is important not to reduce Chinese or non-Chinese males to a collection of traits, to atomise them to particular qualities, these respondents did refer to a number of characteristics pertinent to Chinese males and to stereotypical qualities of non-Chinese males. These traits were often used as one end of a continuum, counterposed to a quality at its polar opposite which was typical of the "other". Some of these traits have already been discussed in context in previous sections. It is also important to recognise that Chinese males are heterogeneous and subject to, at least, regional, socio-economic and cultural differences. The major themes relating to Chinese males and others are displayed in Figure 4.

Words used to describe Chinese males compared with non-Chinese males, by the migrant respondents include: less physical, collective, dependent, non demonstrative, more mental, introverted, committed to friends and relationships, private, hard working, dominating, "cultured", non-sporty, sensitive, closed and distant. Many of these words were

Figure 4: Chinese Males and Other Males Theme

- INSULARITY
- GENDER IDENTITY
- SEXUALITY
- PRIOR MIGRATION EXPERIENCE
- DURATION OF SETTLEMENT
- CHINESE MALES AND OTHER MALES
- RELATIONSHIP WITH WOMEN
- CHINESENESS
- IMPORTANCE OF HARD WORK
- SEXUAL CONSERVATIVENESS
- CENTRALITY OF FAMILY

used frequently throughout the interviews. In some instances, they were used in association with qualities describing traditional, historical Chinese males but in others they were stated as a generalisation about Chinese males in Australia today.

The antonyms of these traits were frequently used to describe stereotypical "others" who were non-Chinese. For example, terms used in relation to non Chinese males included: physical (active), individualistic, independent, demonstrative, physical, open and extroverted, uncommitted, public, lazy and laid back, collaborative and consultative, simple and narrow, sporty, less sensitive, open and closer, immature and uninternationalised, unfit and consumers of alcohol.

The stereotype of the Australian male for these Chinese male migrants, which some had drawn from representations in the mass media, referred in particular to his enthusiasm for sport especially football and cricket and fishing, for drinking beer, for his sexual openness and for talking about sexual exploits.

"... they talk sport all the time... overweight, drinks a lot, loudmouthed" (S)

"... real significant difference between Chinese and Australian men ... participation in sport" (L95)

"Australian men are ritual greeting is sort of did you see so and so scoring and conversations are of sport" (CL)

"... image of Australian men they're drinking beer ... football ... that's all there is and fishing" (L95)

"... beer is a big thing here and you know the football and cricket is a big thing here ..." (X)

"... yes I I know some Australian men drink a lot but not all Australian men drink a lot, yeah... such as sporty, I I know some Australian men like fishing very much ..." (BW)

"... aggressive. Very aggressive. Bit er like rural people. Footballers. More like muscles it's more important. Football is central for many Australian men" (MY)

"Australian men, when drunk, ah, certainly were very different from Australian men when they are sober ... were much more sexual, would even fondle other men ... hugging, dancing, feeling each other up ..." (DI)

The frequency with which sporting interests, sport participation and conversation about sport was mentioned in relation to Australian men, suggests that Chinese males perceive these qualities to be elements of the rites of passage of Australian males. However, an important point was raised in these responses about the heterogeneity of Australian men. Some of these respondents, referred to a greater openness with respect to the public display of physicality toward women, of the body and the emphasis on muscles. Those males who had studied overseas referred to public nudity and sexual relations in university dormitories. For many of these men, this was the first occasion they had experienced such physical openness.

"Much more open ... more exploration of sexual things" (E)

"More physical. Physical closeness. They kiss and they touch type of thing" (H-W)

"I think that are all open on the male and female relations" (C-W)

"... emphasis toward sex ... much more literal" (L95)

"... the other thing about Australian men ... the social conventions are different. In that you can't talk about what kind of tea you like or cooking you like" (CL)

"... when they are taking showers together and they would start doing it and I thought God, I mean, what am I getting myself into?" (DI)

This respondent was referring to his amazement at the exposure of and worship of the body in the USA in public spaces.

In comparing boasting about sexual exploits and performance between Australian and Chinese males one respondent suggested the following:

"... people they think you are a dickhead (if you do this in Taiwan). You are asshole ... Oh yeah maybe you're good ... They don't care. So people don't show it that way" (CT)

This response implies that frequency of sexual relations with women may not be viewed by Chinese males as an important a measure of masculinity as it is by non-Chinese males. Openness in many of these responses, was contrasted with the sexual conservativeness of Chinese males and to the closed and private nature of their sexual behaviour. Sexual experience was not a significant indicator of masculinity for these males, either prior to or after migration.

In referring to Australian families, many of the respondents mentioned the openness in relationships, the independence of children and of women and the preparedness to express feelings. The physical distance of Chinese couples in relationships was contrasted with the closeness of male-female relationships and parent-child relationships in Australia. This particular feature of Australian life was immediately obvious to the male migrants.

"... girls much, much more freely than in China and also ah, ah parents, parents encouraged their kids to be much much more independent than the situation in China" (PC)

"Australian family are more independent" (IS)

"Australian Anglo Australian family also a lot lot more freedom in monetary especially the daughter and so on...Australian women, boys and girls were given a lot of freedom" (CL)

"... the children is more apart from the, more independent with the parents and so on ...Australians they act alone and more independently and alone" (CC)

"... they're (English, Anglo people) more open on political. I think that are all open on the male and female relations. It's more open (sexual relations), I mean compared with Hong Kong" (CW)

"More physical. Physical closeness. They kiss and they touch type of things" (H-W)

There was some ambivalence among the respondents concerning the dominance of males in Australian culture.

"... group of Australian men tend to especially when women around the men tend to try to dominate... I tend to find ... trying to be the best trying to be at the top" (CL)

Reference was made to the way non-Chinese men, in the presence of women, attempt to dominate the speaking turn and conversation. One consequence for this Chinese male, was to become increasingly quieter even to the point of silence in mixed company. This contrasted with a view that females played a less overtly powerful role, most likely in the private sphere of the family home.

"... a male dominant culture but deep, deep down inside it's probably a little bit more towards women than men. I believe women in this country has a lot more protection sometimes than man does" (X)

In his conversations with educational bureaucracies and other government departments, this respondent had experienced discrimination against women where little action was taken on particular issues until he made contact with particular authorities.

His perception was that men were taken more seriously than women in Australian culture.

"... ah men's role play in Australia ... is having um a high respect than female

... when they are dealing with the mother ... they won't take it that serious" (E)

Some of the respondents believed that non-Chinese males in Australia are lacking in confidence, have low self-esteem and are searching for identity. They believed that this search for identity and vulnerability explained why Australian men tend to dominate.

"Australia men are clutching on or grabbing at up for some rights and rituals ...

rights and ceremonies to give them something to support their manhood ... just

how defenceless they seem to be and yet they react with this real bravado and

attitude ... many of them apparently feel that they're lost" (AIN)

"Australians are still looking for their identity ... they are looking for their own

culture. I do feel that (there is a lack of confidence among Australians) ... They

lack of confidence most of the Australian men that I have met. Everybody

exaggerate things ... Australians exaggerate things that are not real...

Australians ... I think so uninternationalised. Australian men ... a few they are,

their view is too narrow, just too narrow. (IS)

Australians in general, were pretty simplistic ... showed a lack of culture ... lack

of awareness of other cultures ... demonstration of their insecurities" (DI)

There is a feeling implied in some of the responses that Australian men lack strong emotional commitment in relationships and friendships.

"There seems, it seems to me that Western people are, are usually not quite

committed to ... strong emotions. One-to-one relationships" (RIC)

"I think the differences are the relationship between any is short and our/we have longer relationships because we have family bonding ...Because we're more collective when you think about break with someone you have to think what is the background, alright" (MC)

"... they (Chinese) would also treasure the relationship with people ... Chinese is more deep in heart ... Western people maybe tend to be ... more direct. I feel that it is a little bit (pause) short term planning than the Chinese one" (E)

Deep friendships appear to be an extension of strong feelings of connectedness based in family bonding. Further, Chinese males indicate a breadth of feeling about bonding that seems to extend beyond the dyad or the individual.

A number of respondents referred to the readiness of Australian men to express their feelings in public in much more direct ways than Chinese males. Many of the Chinese males emphasised this line of demarcation between the public and private spheres of life on many issues that emerged in this study. Non-Chinese people in general, were perceived to be much more public than Chinese people.

"I think they (Australian men) are quite honest in their reaction ... they express their emotions in quite freely without any false constraint" (J)

"I used to keep problems to myself. I think this is very typical of some of the friends I know ... the male is the centre of the family. They're not supposed to give problems to their families, particularly they will keep problems from from their children ... we don't want to talk much about our feelings" (C97)

"Private life is ... private life ... that's Chinese way of dealing with things" (HW)

"Chinese keep feelings in their heart maybe forever. They try to deal with the problems. Western people express feelings first" (RZ)

The issue of protectiveness was raised by several respondents particularly, in relation to male-female relationships. Links were made between dependence-independence and protectiveness and being the sole provider in relationships.

"Australian men are different in a sense ... Asian male ... they're very protective of you when you go out with them. They pay the bills and they take you out and they really look after you ... Australian men ... more they expect you to pay your share of it ..." (S)

"Even up to marriage a guy is supposed to pay for everything through your whole life" (CT)

For some males who had migrated when attending secondary school, the issue of independence among non-Chinese females emerged as a problem in relationships across ethnic borders.

There appeared to be ambivalence among many of the respondents concerning the courtesy or rudeness of Australian males.

"I think they (Australian men) respect women a bit more, than Chinese ... let them through the door first and things like that" (CIN)

"Australian men ... Physically they are bigger in size, they are less sensitive too and they are more narrow-minded" (ET)

"... ah men's role play in Australia ... is having a high respect than female ... when they are dealing with the (Chinese) mother ... they won't take it that serious" (E)

"... more rude and um (pause) rude and is uneducated" (MC)

"They're actually quite caring ... um, um, than the Chinese. But, they are not so committed ... (RIC)

"... some of them are a little bit rude" (S)

The image of the Australian male was summed up in words like: *strong, hero, brave* (K-T), *vulnerable but wanting to dominate* (AIN), *willing to give only so much* (L95), *relaxed* (A), *talk a lot about sport* (ET), *more lazy* (CC).

One respondent emphasising the similarities and significant differences between Chinese and non-Chinese males made the following statement.

"... a very stereotype male role, whether it is East or the Western, strong man making decisions – you don't cry, you only sweat ... probably a little bit rough. You're tough, you're independent ... 'endurance' to be more Chinese, to be more Eastern-natured ... endurance rather than toughness. One is more offensive and one is more defensive ... consider the whole picture ... care for other people around you not just yourself ... 'good provider' for the family"
(L96)

This statement has a strong Chinese emphasis on the male as provider, protector and guardian. These are central features of Chinese masculinity and are associated with hard work and success in accumulating wealth.

One of the most interesting observations overall from these interviews with Chinese migrants, is the lack of awareness generally, of "representations" of Australian males and females and Australian families. Many of these respondents lack social contact with non-Chinese people either physically or through the mass media, and are therefore uncertain of the characteristics of Australian masculinities. The insularity of many Chinese males and families is developed in the following section.

Insularity

Since migration, most of these Chinese male migrants lived lives in mono ethnic social environments. One respondent described many Chinese migrants as a "museum

culture". In this socio-cultural setting, the migrant group interacts almost exclusively with people of their own culture and quite frequently practices customs which are more typical of tradition than of contemporary changing and dynamic culture. This is a particular adaptive strategy adopted by new migrants to a culture quite different from their own.

Many of the respondents associated this insularity with language differences. Language difficulties were associated with: *lack of confidence* (NE); *being able to communicate* (K); *fear of being wrong and worried about what other people think* (NE); *slang* (MC); *and feeling odd* (A). Other respondents referred to problems associated with: *language and customs* (C-W); *lack of common interests* (NE); *different social conventions* (CL); *comprehension problems* (PC). These difficulties and differences are linked to mixing mainly with their own ethnic group, which results in a lack of knowledge about and understanding of Australian families and gender relations in Australia.

Friendships for most of these Chinese migrants were almost exclusively mono ethnic (PC, BW, CC, K). One respondent (J), referred to the power of language because of its association with ease of communication and potential leadership of groups. This respondent, indicated that in his home country he had been a leader of groups but since migration because of language problems, had lost his power to influence and lead others (J). Other respondents mentioned that because of a lack of facility with English language they had become quieter and more silent since arriving in Australia. Still others referred to loss of confidence.

Some of the respondents while they mixed with non-Chinese people, did this mainly or even exclusively in their occupational groups.

> "... *Australian men that I mix with tend to be um academic or middle class not the Crocodile Dundee types*" (CL)

> "*Outside the university, no ... I'm sorry no, no. I'm very embarrassing (no contacts)*" (PIN)

Even for those respondents who had migrated for shorter periods of time to other countries prior to more permanent migration to Australia, there was a strong inclination toward mixing exclusively in mono ethnic Chinese groups.

"... did not mix with the Dutch a lot" (BJ)

"No, not many Australian friends" (BJ)

"Um, not many (Canadian families). We all stay in groups, we all stay with the ah, people with the same colour and the same culture" (RT)

It appears that as students, these Chinese males who had migrated to other countries to complete educational qualifications mixed mainly with other Chinese or Asian students, spoke Mandarin or Cantonese most of the time and practised Chinese customs.

Those Chinese male respondents who had migrated to another culture when they were young, for example, early secondary school or even primary school, were more likely than those experiencing migration for the first time to modify some of their customs and take on the characteristics of the local culture. One respondent in particular (X), referred to the way he became involved with the American high school and college cultures through non-Chinese Americans and American-born Chinese. He became involved in college fraternities and engaged in sexual activity much earlier than most other respondents. Eventually, however, he referred to a return to more "mainstream" Chinese ways where the male pursued the female, and where the expectation persisted that the male was the sole provider when dating. It was as if this Chinese male migrant was describing a "cultural mistake" or a regression into a lifestyle that he should not have been practicing. He did refer to this return to Chinese mores as a conforming to the wishes of his parents.

Where Chinese male respondents had completed secondary or primary education in Australia, there was a greater awareness of the rites of passage for Australian men viz, sport participation, conversation about sexual exploits with women, and consumption of alcohol.

Even in these cases, however, there was a tendency either to join in a pretence of engagement or to mix with other Chinese males or to engage with non-Chinese males who were more "nerdish". In the case of capacities to consume alcohol as a measure of masculinity, Chinese males pretended to drink or mixed with other Chinese males or did not participate.

Some of the respondents referred to a type of "censoring" of relationships which were not Chinese. In these cases, parents had indicated that they did not want their children to marry non-Chinese people or to date non-Chinese.

"I really like my son to marry the Chinese ... when I go back home its 100% Cantonese yeah ..." (M)

"... I think I prefer the outlook to be Chinese ..." (CC)

As well as experiencing "censorship" from their own fathers, some of these respondents with children were inclined toward a similar censoring of friends for their offspring.

This attitude, when linked with language difficulties and perceived differences in social conventions, provides a strong determinant of insularity among the Chinese diaspora represented in this study. This theme of insularity, is strongly associated with the theme of Chineseness among these male migrants. Insularity appears to be a significant strategy used by male Chinese migrants as part of their adaptation to a new culture. Even in those instances where migrants had arrived when they were young there was a tendency toward affiliation with mono-ethnic groups. The exceptions to this were gay Chinese males who tended, at least in their sexual relations, to move outside their ethnic group. These males however, were very careful to remain in delineated sexual networks because of fear of homophobia.

Other themes

Less significant themes which emerged from these in-depth interviews with Chinese male migrants were: expression of feelings; language; individuality and collectivity; "openness"; division of labour; respect for hierarchy; racism; the class factor; geography, gender identity. Significance here, is measured in terms of the frequency with which these ideas emerged from the open and axial coding processes. While each of these minor themes will not be discussed in detail, most of them have been linked to other major themes which have been exposed more comprehensively. In the following section mention will be made of these minor themes.

Two significant themes were "Chineseness" and "Chinese Males and Other Males". In the discussions of the characteristics of Chinese males, it was indicated that they tended to be more introverted, more oriented to mental pursuits, more socially distant and less communicative and open than non-Chinese males. Moreover, Chinese males tend to "play their cards close to their chest" and are less likely to express their feelings and attitudes to others. This tendency not to express feelings and emotions, has been argued to be a quality also of many non-Chinese males – a sign of real masculinity. Chinese males in this study, generally indicate a desire to keep feelings to themselves and not to share their problems with anyone. This is considered a trait of traditional Chinese males associated with strength, mental toughness and endurance. Some of the males in the research suggested that their fathers generally were characterised by this lack of expression of feelings to a greater extent than they were. These males, were more inclined today to discuss their problems and feelings with their spouse. In no instances would they expose their feelings to their children because they desired to be a role model for and to be seen as, a guardian and protector of their children. Some of the Chinese males indicated that in their childhood they might express their feelings to their siblings, more rarely to their mothers and virtually never to their fathers. Generally, women were perceived to be more inclined to express their feelings, and

particularly to "wear their hearts on their sleeves" in the office or workplace. Women, it was suggested by some of these males, were more emotional than rational.

In the discussion of insularity and friendships, the minor theme of "language" was mentioned. Language here refers to capacities to speak English. Many of these respondents emphasised that their inability to speak English meant they never felt comfortable in the presence of English speakers. Some experienced alienation in the sense of powerlessness and meaninglessness, particularly where local idioms were being used. Others, were afraid of making mistakes in the presence of other people and some linked this with the "protection of face". Language and the ability to communicate were often associated with power and influence in social interactions. Some experienced greater degrees of freedom in communicating with fellow Chinese in their own language. For some it was like being another person, quite different from their identity in non-Chinese company.

Discussions of "Chineseness" and considerations of "differences between Chinese males and other males" included mention of the contrast between individuality and collectivity. For most of these Chinese respondents there was a strong emphasis on family and kinship networks. This frequently was linked with dependence and interdependence which extended beyond the family, into business and the ethnic Chinese community. Contrasted with this was the perceived independence and individuality emphasised in non-Chinese families. For some of the respondents, this difference between Chinese and non-Chinese families was quite a revelation. In particular, they referred to the stress on financial independence in non-Chinese families from childhood and adolescence. Some referred to the extensive financial support given to them by parents to be educated overseas, and the consequent obligations they felt to support their parents in later life. In some respects this valuing of collectivity extended to Chinese friendships, which some respondents believed non-Chinese people had difficulty appreciating. In some instances, this contributed to

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conflicts because of differences in meaning attributed to cultural differences where the intimate relationships were between a Chinese male and a non-Chinese female.

"Openness" was a minor theme which some respondents used to describe non-Chinese families, and relationships between non-Chinese people or non-Chinese women. While most respondents did not counterpose this to "closed" as a descriptor of Chinese families and relationships, the antonym was implied. Openness referred to a greater preparedness among non-Chinese to discuss sexual matters, to engage with others physically, to explore sexual relationships, to expose the body and to express feelings. Some of the respondents who had travelled to several countries for educational reasons prior to migrating to Australia, experienced degrees of openness in themselves. They believed they had taken on the qualities of the locals (non-Chinese) during their period of residence. This was like a period of wavering from the true path prior to finding their "Chineseness" again. This "experimentation" with non-Chinese "openness" was practiced by a minority of the males who had travelled overseas. Others retained a Chinese insularity when they went to other countries to study.

A number of the respondents referred to changes in division of labour in their families since migrating to Australia. These males had experienced more sharing of household tasks and the care of children since arriving in Australia. This minor theme was discussed in association with "relationships with children", "expectations of wife", and "centrality of family". Other males, however, had not moved toward a greater equality in the household and retained the Chinese tradition of women being responsible for children and household tasks. The social class of the respondent did not appear to influence this theme nor did duration of settlement in Australia. There remained a great deal of ambivalence, even among the younger Chinese male migrants, about being the sole provider and expectations about women going outside the home to work. Some reference was made to the economic circumstances of families necessitating women working, to the increasing expectations of

women to have a career, and to the lack domestic assistants in household tasks since arriving in Australia. Few of these males suggested that changes in their attitudes to and practices of division of labour in their homes were influenced by non-Chinese models or "representations". The only examples of representations of division of labour in non-Chinese families for many of these male migrants, was what they had seen on television or videos.

The nature of division of labour was associated with the geographic location, and rural-urban differences of particular provinces in mainland China, by some of the respondents. Generally, it was indicated that rural provinces were more conservative with a greater probability of more traditional division of labour. Some provinces in mainland China it was suggested, were more traditionally male dominated than others e.g., Fujian. In these, the position and status of boys and men was much higher than that of women. Often this was associated with greater physical punishment of children and sometimes violence toward wives and women in general. One respondent from this region, indicated that he had moved to greater equality in the division of labour in the home and that his spouse had recognised this. The issue of "respect" was mentioned by several of the respondents. Respect was frequently associated with gender, age and hierarchy within families and the community. Generally, respondents referred to desires to demonstrate respect for their parents, and where they were married with children, a desire to be shown respect by their children. Some of the respondents linked respect with a knowledge of Chinese customs and language. Many respondents were inclined to emphasise learning of Chinese language by their children. This sometimes led to conflict across the generations and occasionally physical punishment. For some of the Chinese male migrants, there was a desire that children would give them respect naturally (of their own volition) rather than be the outcome of a demand from the parent. None of the male migrants referred to demanding respect from their wives, but considered that mutual respect existed and that children witnessed this. Given the nature of traditional

patriarchy in Chinese societies, it is likely that respect was a strongly patrilineal phenomenon for generations of males and females.

The "class factor" was mentioned by several respondents in association with the major themes "expectations of wife", the "division of labour", "importance of education" and "sexual conservativeness". In particular, class was associated with level of education and occupation and perceived to be linked to variables which differentiated people's attitudes to sexual relations in particular. More broadly, the class factor was used to differentiate whole nations for example, mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia. For many of the respondents, Hong Kong was a superior class to all of the others. Generally, class was perceived to be a factor associated with more liberal attitudes to sexual relations, but not toward homosexuality or division of labour in the household.

Some of these male Chinese migrants had experienced degrees of racism since arriving in Australia. In only one instance did this involve physical violence. Other cases involved verbal taunts, generally by young adult males and adolescent males. In some instances, fears of racism were associated with fears of homophobia, thus contributing to the insularity of gay Chinese males in this study. A small number of males in the study referred to the indelible effects of racism and discrimination on some of their friends. Others, indicated that they had blended so well with the local culture that they often forgot their "Chineseness" until some racist instance which raised their consciousness. A number of the Chinese males indicated that it was only on the occasion of visits by friends or relatives from their homeland that they realised how much they had changed.

In their relationships with women, gay males tend to be more open and freer than heterosexual males. The gay males in the study indicated that women feel happier in the company of gay males than they do with heterosexual males because they are not perceived to be a threat, but enjoy common interests in clothes and are fun to be with. None of the gay males in the study had non-Chinese female friends, even though sexually they had moved

across ethnic boundaries. There was also a certain ambivalence of feeling toward Australian males held by the Chinese gay males. They considered many Australian males to lack a cultural identity, to be overweight and to drink too much and to be uninternationalised. Even so, the gay males were prepared to engage sexually with non-Chinese Australian males. Chinese gay males rather than heterosexual Chinese males, were more inclined to refer to aspects of the body in their preferences for sexual partners. In general, Chinese gay males tended to be less sexually conservative than heterosexual men, but were constrained by fears of racism and homophobia.

While older Chinese male respondents were more inclined to practice a traditional division of labour in the household and to have a strong preference for being the sole provider in the home, younger more educated respondents had an ambivalent attitude toward their spouse working. In some cases, economic necessity forced the issue and males rather begrudgingly allowed their wife to work. In other instances, highly educated women with careers expected to be able to pursue their professions. This ambivalence even among younger males, suggests the strength of the value placed on the importance of males being the sole provider even after migration. Being the sole provider is strongly associated with status and power, and is a significant indicator of Chinese masculinity even among those in the Chinese diaspora in Australia.

Storyline memo for the study

The following is the storyline memo that emerged from this study. It summarises the way in which the rites of passage of Chinese male migrants into masculinity are different from the initiation rituals for non-Chinese males in Australia.

These Chinese male migrants practice gender behaviours that are more typical of traditional Chinese values than Western-oriented males in Australia. The rites of passage for these migrant men are hard work, success in education, the accumulation of wealth and

therefore status and power, and being the sole provider for the family. In contrast, the initiation ceremonies and rituals for non-Chinese men are more often consumption of alcohol, knowledge of sporting achievements, ability to engage women sexually and tell others about it, and sometimes the practice of homophobia. Even young Chinese males are ambivalent about women (their spouses) working. They believe that an important measure of success for Chinese males is their ability to be sole provider, protector and guardian of their family. This is demonstrated among single Chinese males in dating relationships as well as young newly married males. Many of the single males expressed surprise at the extent of freedom and independence among non-Chinese girls they had dated. Most of these males eventually "saw the error of their ways" and returned to relationships with Chinese and other Asian women. This was a matter of preference, flavoured by expectations of and even censorship by parents and extended kin. Some men expressed fear of making mistakes with non-Chinese women because of language differences.

Fulfilment of traditional Chinese values is important to the vast majority of these males and this lies behind their actions. This objective influences relationships with both Chinese and non-Chinese women and, in particular, contributes to sexual conservativeness. Unlike Australian men in general, these Chinese migrant males deferred sexual experience until marriage. Even those males who had spent extended periods overseas gaining educational qualifications remained faithful to their spouses. This was facilitated by insularity in mono ethnic friendship groups. The exceptions to this pattern were gay males and single heterosexual males who had migrated when younger to achieve their educational ambitions and those of their parents. Gay males in particular, were more enthusiastic about sexual behaviour (experiences) and referred to physical features like body shape more frequently than heterosexual males. Many of the gay males had experienced sexual relations from an earlier age and migration experiences did not seem to reduce this behaviour. Some of these males were critical of the physical appearance and the drinking behaviour of Australian

males as well as their immature cultural identity. While the gay males remained relatively insular after migration, this was influenced by fear of homophobia and racism rather than a desire to have mainly Chinese friends, even though they often did. They were circumspect about their social milieux as well as the physical spaces they frequented.

Those single males who migrated to achieve educational ambitions in secondary school and then university, were more likely to join fraternities (in North America), recognise the importance of sport in gaining popularity, and engage in sexual activities with non-Chinese women. Even these males eventually formed relationships with Chinese women because they preferred to be sole providers, even though in the initial stages of relationships they needed to adapt to the women's dependence on the male. These males were fulfilling traditional Chinese expectations of the male role, as were these women.

Only one of the Chinese male respondents who had migrated to Australia to join his father found it difficult to have relationships with Chinese women. This male had arrived to attend primary school, rarely saw his father who worked two jobs, and experienced stress headaches which he perceived to be associated with the changes accompanying migration. This male eventually was reassociated with his mother and several strongly independent Chinese women. Because of this, he believed that he could not be sexually involved with Chinese women as he saw them as kin. It was much later in his life, after a divorce, that he realised that Chinese women were sexual. Eventually however, he married a second time to a non-Chinese woman. For this male now, all women are "sex objects".

The majority of males in this study remained insular after migration. They mixed in mono ethnic friendship groupings, retained several Chinese customs in their families, and wanted their children to learn Chinese and practice respect, not because of obligation but rather out of desire and friendship. Insularity was also practised in general, by those males who migrated to other countries prior to more permanent settlement in Australia.

It is clear that the respondents in this study adopted particular strategies for adapting to changes associated with migration. Males who migrated when young, for example, as children, often adopted local masculine qualities but eventually returned to more traditional Chinese male characteristics. Gay males tended to interact sexually with non-Chinese males but were relatively insular in terms of social interaction. They tended to mix with other gay males and in particular social spaces. One exception among the heterosexual males, mixed with other "nerd" males of mixed ethnic backgrounds at school and had relations with non-Chinese women because all Chinese women were perceived to be kin. All of the males, whether during periods of migration elsewhere or during more permanent settlement in Australia, were insular in terms of social interaction. Some were insular in terms of ethnicity, others in terms of occupation and still other in terms of sexuality. They tended to have stereotypes of local males, females, children and families because of little knowledge and infrequent social interaction.

Very few of these Chinese male migrants played sport competitively or were interested in sport. Some were able to relate the names of local sporting "icons" but very few retained strong interests. Educational achievement, hard work, and success in accumulating wealth were more important as " markers" of success as a man. The exceptions among the respondents who played sport, did so mainly for social reasons and in mono ethnic groups. The most common sports participated in were: badminton, table tennis, basketball, volleyball and golf. For most of these men sports participation decreased progressively as they moved through the life course. Only one respondent believed that he knew more about AFL than most locals. In fact unlike other respondents, he invited neighbours to his home to celebrate the grand final in AFL. This man had lived in Australia for twenty years. Locals introduced a few respondents to popular sporting events. Sport and recreation were generally seen as diversionary and "frill". One respondent expressed some regret at the lack of balance in his life, and suggested he would like to be involved in more "blokey" behaviour which is where

Australian males talked sport rather than about the flavour of tea or cuisine. Upon reflection he believed he had spent too much of his life in work.

Importance placed on the ability to work hard and to achieve status and power associated with success in the workplace, was reflected in attitudes to unemployment. Most male respondents viewed unemployment as a problem for their manhood. They referred to it as "being less than a man" and believed it would result in pressure being applied by kin. In general, informants believed that unemployment for the male would mean a decrease in status in the eyes of their children. They reflected upon the negative effects of unemployment on acquaintances. This took the guise of overconfidence in some, depression and alcohol consumption in others. Some males had returned to their country of origin and become part of the "astronaut" family phenomenon. Other males had returned to their homeland to earn more money more quickly than they could in Australia, to enable them to retire early.

Some of the males in this study were aware of the stress associated with hard work. These males had migrated to Australia to have a break from jobs while they made decisions about changes in their careers. Some believed that pressure in the information technology business was caused by constant innovations in technology, which made keeping up to date difficult. Males who were taking time away from their occupations, were sufficiently wealthy to either complete educational qualifications over several years or merely relax while reflecting on potential career changes. These males spent time with their children, helping them adapt to a new culture and educational system. In most instances, the wives of these men did not work.

While many of these males believed that there were generational differences in terms of attitudes to physicality in relationships and to sexual activity, there was no substantial evidence of this in the sample. It appeared that the younger males in the study, those around 19 years old, were quite similar to those aged between 50 and 55 years in terms of sexual conservativeness, insularity, Chineseness and friendships. Several of the younger males

reported reactions to alcohol consumption at student parties. These males believed that Australian men use alcohol consumption as a marker of masculinity, but also become uninhibited with other males and act towards them in physical ways they would not when sober. The reaction of these males in the study, was to either pretend to drink or to mix with other Chinese or Asian males. Many of these younger males were either IT or engineering students. In the case of engineering students, they reported a tradition of heavy alcohol consumption, male dominance in the profession and popularity of particular codes of football.

The majority of non-gay males in this study had strong negative attitudes to homosexuality. Religious beliefs, cultural mores or family traditions influenced these reactions. Many of the males viewed homosexuals as abnormal, and homosexuality as an outcome of a medical condition. Followers of particular religions believed that homosexuality was not in keeping with teachings about appropriate male and female behaviour or the family. A few of the respondents reacted with strong homophobic sentiments. Some of the reactions included statements made about males who were insufficiently physical during army training, males who played with girls in childhoods days and males who studied arts/humanities rather than science/mathematics. There appear to be similarities between these reactions and those often made by non-Chinese males in similar contexts. The gay males never "came out" to parents because of the stigma attached to homosexuality but more importantly, because of the importance placed on being married and having a son who will be the oldest grandson for the parents. "Coming out" was also seen as a Western concept, and had associations of "deviance" and was an action which heterosexual males did not have to perform.

One of the most significant findings from the study is more implicit than overt. Very few of these males referred directly and in an unsolicited way, to themselves as males or to their male gender identity. While the researcher never used the word "masculinity" unless it was first referred to by the respondent, only two males made overt statements using the word.

For most of the sample, gender did not appear to be sufficiently important to warrant mention. It was as if they took their gender behaviour for granted and other issues in life like family, education, hard work and achievement of wealth took precedence. The issue of sex and sexual behaviour was not raised by the respondents and was only mentioned after questions were asked about sexual relations by the researcher. Therefore, another issue which is central to masculinity in the West was not emphasised by these Chinese males. Family responsibilities and obligations, status and ability to accumulate wealth or at least the potential to achieve this, seemed to be more important markers of masculinity among Chinese male migrants. As sexual behaviour and gender identity are secondary to these males, the effect of migration appears to be negligible. These males appear to protect the status quo however, by practicing ethnic insularity in their friendships and marriages and even in their work relations.

These Chinese men believed they perceived friendships differently from non-Chinese people. They suggested that friendships in the West tend to concentrate on the romantic dyad and are individually oriented. They saw their friendships as based more on connectedness and greater depth as well as breadth. Reference was made to feelings so strong that one would "die for a friend" and that one could "anticipate the needs of a friend". This depth of emotion in friendship contrasted with the perceived superficiality of non-Chinese friendships. Some male-to-male friendships could involve a degree of physicality, for example. Some of the respondents experienced difficulty when Chinese friendships intervened in their relationships with non-Chinese women. These Western women wanted the undivided attention of the male and could not understand why the Chinese male would allow interruptions in their conversation and, sometimes depart with their friend. Western women could not understand the strength of Chinese friendships. Reference was made to the frequent lack of physicality in male-to-male friendships among non-Chinese men. However, this was

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seen to change dramatically on the sporting field where men hugged each other and off the sporting field when amounts of alcohol had been consumed.

Heroes for these males changed over the life course. In childhood, some of these males had heroes who were military or political figures. Some referred to the "public" and the "private" heroes. Public heroes were those promoted by the state and were frequently political or military figures. They were promoted for their contribution to the state and their endurance. Private heroes were more frequently philosophers or scholars who were adulated because of their wisdom. Some males referred to Western movie stars like Marlon Brando, James Dean and John Wayne. In general, these males were heroes because of the way they displayed their bodies or the way they expressed the feelings of youth or because they were winners. Several Chinese migrants thought Jackie Chan was a hero because of his great wealth rather than his physical capacities. Some believed that working class Western youth worshipped Jackie Chan for his physicality, while middle class youth followed his wealth. In some instances, Western sporting stars were also heroes because of their wealth rather than their physical abilities. Some males suggested they did not have any heroes except their relatives who had been successful risk takers and had accumulated wealth. Other males did not have any heroes because they wanted to be themselves.

Among these Chinese male migrants, those who are married with young children often found that their children acculturate them into the new culture. Children often play sport, engage in cultural activities, as well learn languages and go to school. They play local games and visit the homes of their friends. Some of the males therefore, went to concerts and other performances, watched their children play sport or took their children to practice. These occasions provided opportunities for the migrant males to interact with non-Chinese people. However, apart from conversation, these males did not form strong friendships with the parents of other children. Insularity of friendship groupings by ethnicity seemed more typical.

These married Chinese males with children may well be the first wave of males in the Chinese diaspora who witness more significant changes in the patriarchy among Chinese male migrants in Australia. It may not be these males in this study who undergo socio-cultural changes in gender identity, but rather their male and female offspring. At the same time however, their children will have significant effects on their masculinity.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings from the study in association with the research questions, and existent literature. Given that the central focus is to explore whether recent Chinese male migrants reconstructed their masculinities in the process of migration and settlement, it is important to examine their constructions of male gender identity prior to their migration. Of particular interest, is whether these migrants had experienced new representations of masculinities during their settlement period and how they responded. Most importantly, the issue of how the central markers of masculinity for the Chinese male migrants were defined have raised some significant questions about the existing theories, as the validity of some of the latter has been based largely on Western assumptions derived from Western culture and cultural practices. It is therefore the aim of this discussion to rethink and to re-orient the directions of future research on masculinity and to aspire to an approach that will be more comparative, and less Eurocentric in understanding not only the many possible forms of articulation of masculinities, but the very conceptualisation of masculinity itself in different cultural settings.

The conclusions of this study are based on a discussion of the findings from a relatively small sample of Chinese male migrants. Most of the respondents in the sample either had completed or were in the process of completing tertiary education. Further, the occupations of these males were based in the fields of engineering, information technology, importing and exporting, hospitality, and tertiary education/academia. Both the level of education and occupation combined, would place the vast majority of these males in the middle or upper middle class, thus making it difficult to generalise the findings beyond this particular social class or to all Chinese

migrants. These males are representative of a present cohort of skilled, professional and business migrants who have been relatively recently attracted to Australia.

The significance of gender identity for Chinese male migrants

This research began with the question of how significant masculinity (gender identity) is to Chinese male migrants, in particular after they settled in the host country. What has emerged from the vast majority of the respondents, is that gender identity has not been a central element in their daily lives especially when compared to the importance of the work ethic, educational attainment, career advancement and remaining competitive. However, it would be wrong to conclude that masculinity is entirely insignificant to them as most agreed that they were vaguely conscious of the way they projected themselves in different social situations. For example, although gender or gender roles were not explicitly referred to by the informants, it appeared that most perceived themselves as central in economic matters and particularly as sole provider for the family, as had been their fathers and grandfathers.

The gender roles in the households thus remained "traditional", with women expected to look after their children and perform household duties while men saw themselves devoted totally to their jobs and workplace Those who had settled for a lengthy period of time were more aware of the gendered division of labour, and they commented that feminism had changed expectations among women and led to a greater sharing of and cooperation in domestic chores in non-Chinese households in Australia.

Among the few younger married informants in our study there was ambivalence about their spouses working full-time outside the home. In particular, for those who were affluent enough in their country of origin to employ domestic helpers to perform household chores, life in Australia proved to be difficult, as they and their partners had to work full-time. In a few isolated cases where changes were seen in the gender

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division of labour within the household without any assistance from domestic helpers, the changes were necessitated by pragmatic and instrumental reasons rather than by a changing conceptualisation of gender identity.

Masculinity and sexuality among Chinese males

It became clear, that masculinity was expressed by our informants in terms of hard work, achievement in education, the centrality of family and social networks, a successful career and accumulation of wealth. Markers of masculinity that are common among men in Western society such as sports participation or spectatorship, sexual potency, alcohol consumption, emphasis on body image and hedonistic leisure pursuits were less typical and were not highly regarded by the respondents. However, our informants held definite views about their own sexuality and the sexuality of Australian men. Most participants in the study did not consider sexual conquest as a central feature. In their views, women were not sexual objects and sexual desires could be sublimated by more important concerns such as achievements in education and success in career. When they felt that sexual desires needed to be satisfied, consumption of "girlie" magazines or calling upon the services of prostitutes were not uncommon. However, these were not matters they would brag about. Homosexuality nevertheless, was considered a threat to their masculinity. The majority of our informants held not only negative views on homosexuality itself, but also justified their hostility on religious or cultural grounds.

Our informants, however, perceived Australian men differently. In general, they looked at Australian men as being open, more physical, less inclined to work hard, pleasure loving, more individualistic, very sporty, and having families in which women and children were more independent. Yet many did not interact socially with Australian men because they felt that drinking alcohol and conversations about sport were

particularly prevalent among Australian men. They viewed alcohol consumption, sexual jokes, and conversations about sport as central features of "manly" behaviour exhibited openly by Australian men. Some were surprised by the sexual openness expressed by their Australian colleagues in the workplace.

It was only the few respondents who had been in Australia for a long period of time who felt that they had been "assimilated" into the Australian culture and hence, "masculinity". One respondent claimed that he was introduced to playing golf and other sports by an Australian male, while another believed that his interaction with non-Chinese females when he was growing up in Australia made him more aware of Australian masculinity and the sexual rites of passage of non-Chinese males.

Masculinity and hard work

The emphasis on the work ethic and the pursuit of wealth and status among these Chinese migrants is not new. What is significant however, is that this study found that these values have also been used by Chinese migrant men to measure, express and confirm their masculinity particularly within their family settings. Their capacity to provide appropriately and solely for their family so that their spouses could perform household duties and care for the children was central to how they viewed themselves as men. Hence, being unemployed or underemployed was anathema and an indication of a loss of masculinity, and not merely a loss of status and becoming powerless (Harris, 1995:177). It was also about the loss of gender identity that defines who they were.

Previously, studies on Chinese migrants' settlement in Australia have emphasised their work ethic and their tireless efforts in becoming entrepreneurial in establishing their own business (Ip, 1993). These studies have overlooked the significance of the underlying gender crisis that could be one of the important motivating forces. Nor have the intricate links between gender identity and work ethic

and the pursuit of wealth among Chinese migrant men been explored sufficiently either, in explaining the common existence of "astronaut" families among recent Chinese migrants from mainland China and Taiwan.

Masculinity, the family and gender roles

Ultimately, masculinity is tied intimately to the traditional gender roles in which the work ethic is the expression of being male. Most Chinese migrant men felt they had to assume the provider responsibility of looking after the financial responsibility not only for their immediate family but also for their parents, especially where they were the eldest sons.

As part of that gender role, the Chinese migrant males therefore view career success or academic achievement as paramount, not simply as status and power, but as the driving force behind the rigid adherence to the gender role prescribed, and the confirmation of the meaning of being male. Seen in this context, it is easy to understand why some of the respondents felt ambivalent about their spouses working and relinquishing their responsibility as a sole provider. If hegemonic masculinity is about the rigid conformity and pressures imposed on one to perform certain prescribed duties and activities according to a set of unchallenged cultural mores about gender identity and roles, this is perhaps the Chinese version of hegemonic masculinity.

Masculinity and friendship networks

Masculinity, however, does not express itself only in a work ethic or the gender role of the sole provider for the family. For the informants, masculinity, although often defined most widely in heterosexual terms, allowed for the development of intimate friendships and friendship networks with male friends with little homoerotic or homosexual concerns. Where Western men tend to treat friendships as exclusive and

very individual, Chinese males perceive friendship much more broadly and view the reciprocity among friends as cementing relationships among larger groups of people. The Chinese male migrants referred to the depth of feeling in friendship relationships to "being friends for life" and to "giving their life for a friend". Male friends it was suggested, can anticipate each other's needs and are sometimes more physical with each other in public than is the case with the male-female dyad.

Sun (1991:35) suggests, that in Chinese culture a deep and intimate friendship is expected to be life-long and involves sacrifices by those who are involved in the form of indebtedness and obligation. Most of the male migrants felt that they were unable to develop such friendships with non-Chinese people and believed that superficiality was a characteristic of friendships with people of non-Chinese origin. Some Chinese male respondents, who were in intimate relationships with non-Chinese partners, experienced difficulty because their partners could not understand what is required of a "Chinese" friendship. Such friendships between Chinese male friends is part of the expression of and demonstration of spontaneous masculinity and male bonding in settings which do not necessarily involve sport, competition over sexual potency with women or alcohol consumption, more typical of Australian males where "mateship" is demonstrated openly.

Some of the informants were aware that the strong emotional and sometimes physical intimacy involved in friendships between Chinese males are often, in Western terms, reserved for romantic and spousal relationships and that non-Chinese males would react to them in homophobic ways. They also observed that among Western males, the expression of deep affection and physical displays between men only occur on the sporting field or when they are intoxicated after heavy drinking.

Masculinity, sport/recreation and leisure

It has been well documented in Western literature that sport holds paramount significance for displaying masculinity and everything else considered manly (Cole, 1996; Connell, 1995; Kilduff & Mehra, 1996; Messner, 1992; Parker, 1996; Thornton, 1993). For our respondents, participating in sport was only instrumental in gaining popularity and for meeting people. Some felt pressured to participate in sport from school administrators and sports teachers in Australia. Others expressed amazement at the centrality of sport in Australian school rituals and symbolism, particularly when academic achievement seemed to be placed in a secondary position. Most of all they did not feel that participation and success in sports are important "markers" of Chinese masculinity.

Many of the informants played soccer, table tennis and basketball, but their participation was generally seen as a social diversion rather than a competitive experience, let alone an exhibition of masculinity. As Fleming (1988:84) remarked, sport is a "frill" activity, unworthy of serious attention. Success in education, on the other hand, is seen as the path to a well-paid career in business or the professions. Perhaps the lack of successful sporting role models has reinforced the low priority status ascribed to sport in the Asian community, except where sporting heroes have demonstrated a capacity to accumulate wealth.

Masculinity and sexual activity

Very often in Western literature, sexual activity is part and parcel with the expression of masculinity. The open display of rapturous embraces and kissing, for example, is typical of masculinity in action. In this study, support for this view is strong in the reported lack of physicality between migrant men and their fathers and mothers and between the men and their wives or children, particularly in public. While this

seemed to be the case for older Chinese males in the sample, younger married men referred to greater physical contact with their spouse and children.

However, for many of the informants, generally sexual behaviour and sexual potency were not perceived to be important markers of masculinity. In fact, some were critical of the way many of their non-Chinese male school friends declared their "scores" (female sexual conquests), publicly. They considered that was an Australian measure of masculinity, quite foreign to Chinese males. They perceived sex and sexual activities to be a private matter and not a vital indicator of manhood. For many having sex was like eating food, a necessary and natural process, but of little socio-cultural significance in determining one's masculinity in total. The only notable exceptions were perhaps the gay informants in our study, who claimed they were not only more sexually active, but also placed much heavier emphasis on measurements of attractiveness and, perhaps, masculinity. In this respect, the Chinese gay informants seemed to have "assimilated" the traits of "hegemonic" masculinity typical of Western males.

Reproduction of masculinity

It is apparent from this study, that the values and practices of our respondents for expressing their masculinity are different from those used by Western men. Many reported that they had learned about masculinity mainly through their parents and, in particular, their fathers. This was despite the fact that many indicated that they had experienced less than a close relationship with their fathers. They learned, for example, the important elements of hierarchy, patriarchy, honour and obligations for being male and that it was their responsibility to provide adequately financially and educationally for their family and children to succeed in their education and career. This was not only

for achieving financial gains but for honouring the family with status, security and respect, and to be seen as a disciplinarian and a role model for their children.

The notion of masculinity among the Chinese informants in this study, however, did not seem to be much affected by the settlement process in Australia. Most felt that despite living in a new society with a different cultural milieu, it was not necessary for them to reconstruct their Chinese notion of masculinity. It was not necessary perhaps, because their masculinity had not been challenged given that most preferred to interact and socialise with fellow migrants within the Chinese community outside their work time and place. Perhaps they felt more comfortable with what they have constructed for themselves. Furthermore, they may also have disapproved of some of the extreme expressions of masculinity among Australian men, such as an emphasis on physical size, sexual conquest and a complete disregard for intellectual superiority. The consequence was that most of the informants tended to keep to their own ethnic circles, reinforcing and reproducing their masculinity in the Chinese way.

Some indicated that they had difficulties with the openness and independence of non-Chinese women and expressed fears of making mistakes because of language problems and different interests. Nevertheless, those who had become involved with non-Chinese friends had to adapt, as did some to less hierarchical workplaces . However, where peripheral modifications were made, their core values were retained. More specifically, in coping with the new socio-cultural environment, many resorted to the creation of stereotypes of the "other" to justify or reinforce their own gender identity.

None of the respondents claimed that they were marginalised or even subordinated, mainly because they protected themselves from outside potential threats by social interaction in mono-ethnic groups. While some referred to experiences of racism and fears of homophobia, most males indicated that they did not hold fears or

experience threats in the new socio-cultural context. The consequence of this was a limited modification or reconstruction of masculinity. Apart from very few exceptions, the issue of masculinity was conveniently avoided in the public sphere, while even in the private, constructions of masculinity were maintained largely unchanged.

Conclusions

Research on masculinity has been gaining increasing popularity among North American, British and Australian academics. Men's studies, in particular works exploring gender identity in reaction to feminist critiques of previous research, often did not consider the power and gender inequalities among men in Western societies. Many writers in men's studies follow the research canons promoted by feminists. Yet much of their work has a strong Western middle-class bias that has been characterised by heteronormativity and an inherent individualism. As Mac an Ghaill (2000:210) has argued, much of the work on masculinities from Western societies reproduces the pervasiveness of a unitary masculinity represented by *Macho Man* and *Jock Man* or, more recently, the *New Man*. One of the outcomes of such biases is that Western masculinity has been viewed as a benchmark for all masculinities, and more arrogantly still, it assumes that all masculinities are aiming at achieving a desirable Western model. Critics (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 1994) have since highlighted the significant omission of marginalised, ethnic or minority groups in both feminist writings and men's studies in the West.

While marginalised and subordinated masculinities become an important focal point of recent research few researchers have gone beyond a positivistic and psychometric approach that uses attitude scales and measurements based on Western presuppositions about the value orientations of the groups being studied (Bond,1991; Hofstede & Bond,1988). These scales are based on Western gender models.

This study found that the Chinese male migrants interviewed held a specific view of "masculinity" or had definite notions of what are the appropriate characteristics that define "being a man". According to the respondents, displays of masculinity in Western societies were seen to be more linked to sex, sexual activities and sexual conquests with women; sexuality and, more particularly, unambiguous heterosexuality; physical attributes (bulk, physical size and well-developed, "cut" muscles); competitiveness in work and on the sporting field (including aggression, assertiveness, and endurance of pain); sporting activity or engagement in sport (playing, spectating and talking); and the capacity to consume alcohol. However, Chinese men indicated that for them what it is to be a man is based on performing the traditionally prescribed gender role and assuming the identity of being the sole provider for the family's financial, social and material well-being. They considered parental obligations, respect for hierarchy and wisdom; social status associated with wealth and career; and lifetime friendships and commitments among men, were just as important. Certainly masculinity is a private and individual matter, but the expression and practices of it were of less an individual and more a collective concern. Perhaps one may argue that what concerned the Chinese informants was not so different from men in Australia or other Western societies. After all, it is not unusual to observe that Western men may subscribe to these characteristics. The main point here however, is that while this may be true, it is the absolute and paramount significance that the Chinese informants placed on these defining markers that sets them apart from Western depictions of masculinity. The comparison between dominant traits for Chinese and Western males is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: *Comparison of Dominant Traits of Chinese and Western Masculinities*

Chinese Males	Western Males
Collectivity (protector,guardian,provider, status in their eyes)	Individuality (greater responsibility to self; comforts and achievements)
Emphasis on work	Emphasis on sport
Consumption of tea and food	Consumption of alcohol
Deemphasis on sex	Emphasis on sexual performance
Deemphasis on DIY	Emphasis on DIY
Wellbeing of family and broader collectivity	Wellbeing of self
Dependence	Independence and greater freedom

The intention is not to argue that what defines masculinity among Western and Chinese men is worlds apart. However, what is unsatisfactory in many current studies investigating men and their masculinity is the tendency to assume and to view masculinity as a Western universal monolith without any reference to a comparative perspective. The findings have illustrated that not only are there many masculinities among men, but also their masculinities once solidly constructed and reproduced remained unshaken even when they were required to settle in another society with a different set of rules for experiencing and building masculinity. Yet the presentation of sexuality and masculinity of non-Western men in Western literature and media continues to be biased and misrepresented.

Fung (1995) in an analysis of representations of Chinese men in movies, observed that it had been only recently (in the 1990's) that Chinese men in films directed by white directors had begun to appear as regular sexual beings. By contrast, Tasker (1997) argued that typically masculinity in Western movies is represented by well-muscled bodies, either obsessively cut up or punished and presented as a sexual

spectacle or as a static, posed display more consumed with sexual commodification. The presentation of masculinity in Chinese movies by Chinese directors however, is varied. The body, for example, was articulated by quick-fire action rather than sexuality. Jackie Chan's combination of physical action with slapstick comedy, for example, is quite distinct from the earnest and anxious pains many white stars (e.g., Jean Claude Van Damme, Sylvester Stallone or Arnold Schwarzenegger) had to endure. In other words, masculinity should be seen beyond the Western fixation about sexuality, the body and physicality.

The informants saw Jackie Chan as their hero and indicated that they admired him because of his capacity to accumulate great wealth from nothing. Similarly, they respected Western sportsmen like Michael Jordan less because of their sporting prowess and more because of their wealth and assets. Some in the study had admiration for classical Chinese warriors, thinkers or military figures as masculine figures because of their endurance, wit, strategies or sage-like qualities. Similarly, successful and wealthy corporate businessmen were seen as ultra masculine and powerful.

At the outset of this research the main research assumption was that in the process of migration and settlement, Chinese migrant men would, as suggested in studies by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (1994:215), subject themselves to hegemonic masculinity and become marginalised or subordinated. The research findings have indicated this is not necessarily the case. However, this does not mean that the concept of marginalised masculinity is irrelevant and invalid. For example, while the informants may not be "marginalised" by hegemonic masculinity prevalent in Australian society, the reason for this may lie in the fact that the Chinese male migrants sampled in this study are largely from heterosexual, middle class backgrounds. As such, they are better resourced, thus enabling them to resist or insulate themselves from this process. The limitations of the sample and the generalisations must therefore be

acknowledged, and the scenario of marginalised masculinity should not be lightly disregarded, especially in view of the persistent discrimination some of the gay informants faced. What will be significant for researchers to keep in mind is that masculinity should be viewed as a process of constructions, which is often diverse, fluid, and possibly shifting. What has been documented here perhaps represents only part of the process of continuous transformation.

The differences found in the ways the Chinese informants define their masculinity do not imply any value judgments about the ways Western men express their masculinities. For this researcher, the differences mainly reinforce the necessity to further understand the spatial, cultural, social and temporal contexts upon which variants of masculinities are constructed, articulated and practiced. For social scientists who are working to explore, document and interpret masculinity, sexuality and gender identity of men, this is a timely reminder of the challenges, opportunities and richness lying ahead.

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APPENDIX 1

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AMONG

CHINESE MALE MIGRANTS

This study which is being conducted by Raymond Thomas HIBBINS for the award of PhD in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland aims to investigate the social construction of masculinity among Chinese male migrants to Australia. The study has received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee, University of Queensland.

Sixty recently arrived (within the last seven years) male Chinese migrants will be interviewed to collect data for the study. The interviews will each be approximately one hour in length. Follow-up interviews may be requested. These interviews will be conducted in places which are familiar to the respondents.

I seek your co-operation in being involved in this study as a respondent. The interview which I would like to do with you will take approximately one hour and I seek your permission to tape the content for purposes of later analysis. I also ask your permission to meet you again should I need to collect further information.

The interview will be more like a guided conversation in which you will have the opportunity to talk to me about particular aspects of your life, especially those that relate to you as a man. From time to time I might seek clarification or inject a new question.

Except for our meetings you will remain anonymous and your name will not be included in any publication from this study. The information you provide will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Should you have any questions about this study you could contact my supervisor Dr David Ip on 3365.3038 (W) or me on 3875.1603 (H).

Your participation in this study will be viewed as completely voluntary and you have the right to terminate involvement at any time, should you desire.

When I have transcribed the data which you provide I will return a copy to you for your comments and modifications if you deem this necessary. After analysis of the data further along in the study I will request your comments. When the study is completed I will provide you with a summary of the findings.

Yours sincerely

Ray Hibbins

Name of respondent _____

Signature _____