A Politics of the Body—Sport, Masculinity, and Chinese Albertan Men

by

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Abstract

With a focus on the construction of masculinity in relation to confrontational sport, especially ice hockey, this qualitative research explores Chinese Albertan masculinity in day-to-day settings. Data was collected via five in-depth life history interviews. Drawing on leading gender scholar Raewyn Connell's hegemonic masculinity theory, I first analyze representations of Chinese masculinity in historical contexts in Canada. Not only were the Chinese workers institutionally subjugated, they were also ideologically emasculated. Their resultant location in the economy and the discursive framing of them as sexually deviant worked in tandem to place them in a subordinate position in the gender order. I then examine the ways in which components of hegemonic masculinity are constructed in the data of the current research and the participants' self-positioning in relation to the conceptualization of this masculinity. Through a two-phased analysis involving thematic analysis and a critical discourse analysis approach, I first attend to the local constructions of masculinity in the data. I then situate these constructions within the broad cultural celebration of physical toughness which finds expression in hockey and critically analyze the participants' strategies for negotiating their masculinities. The study concludes by outlining a tentative link between Chinese masculinity in historical contexts and in contemporary Alberta, evident in its consistent occupation in lower or subordinate positions in the gender order.

Keywords: masculinity, sport, Chinese Canadian, Alberta

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Qingyan Sun. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Negotiating Hegemonies—A life History Study on Chinese Masculinities in Alberta", No. Pro00074830, August 30, 2017.

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Introduction

Rationale for the Research

When it comes to representation of Asian men in the media, being stereotyped as short, small, nerdy, non-athletic, effeminate, and asexual constitutes one major theme in scholarly discussions (Eng, 2001; Hutchinson, 1999; Kang, 1997; Park, 2013). Eng (2001) claims that the general emasculating approach to such representation is tantamount to "racial castration"; within sexual politics of gay men, Asians are believed to eternally occupy the position of the bottom (Hoang, 2014). According to Robidoux (2011), the glorified image of the rugged men of physicality who marked the treacherous terrains in the colonial imaginations still figures prominently in contemporary Canada and finds expression in ice hockey. It is thus conspicuous that Asian men are represented as mirror opposites of such masculinity.

The effeminate wimp stereotype took form during early stages of nation building in Canada and North America. The early Chinese workers suffered many injustices after they arrived in Canada in 1858, including unfair pay, disenfranchisement, and across-the-board exclusion from the mainstays of a Canadian society planned to be forever white (P. S. Li, 1998; Ward, 2002). Apart from institutional discriminations, the imperative of displacing the Chinese from the nation (Lowe, 1996) was also achieved through powerful ideological strategies. Around the turn of the century, a profusion of racist stereotypes were promulgated, embedding the idea of the Chinese as a lowly race into the consciousness of the public (J. K. Anderson, 1991). Such ideological subjugation manifested gendered properties and was obsessed with the body and sexuality. In this context, the "Chinamen" were said to be both sodomites and deviant effeminate "fiends" secretly lusting after white women. The recurring theme of effeminacy is thus congruent with the contemporary media representation of Chinese/Asian men.

Though there is a body of research discussing these discriminations (J. N. Li, 2000; P. S. Li, 1998; Heaman, 2013; Satzewich, 1989), Chinese Canadian men's masculinity is consistently under-explored. Taking into account the scholarly discussions over biased media representations of this group and the emasculation thereof in historical context, it is implausible to imagine that the ideological consequences do not translate into Chinese Canadian men's day-to-day lives. However, research on this topic has yet to take form.

Research Objective and Focus

Leading gender and masculinity theorist Connell (2000, 2005a) suggests that masculinity in regionally-specific contexts should be explored. The objective of this project is

to explore Chinese men and masculinity in Alberta in day-to-day settings. There is evidence that Canadian masculinity places great emphasis on the body and celebrates a brand of rugged and often aggressive masculinity that found expression in confrontational sport, not least in ice hockey (Allain, 2008). Moreover, in the handful of studies documenting Chinese/Asian masculinity in daily life settings, being perceived as nerds and non-athletic results in exclusion of these men from sport and physical activities (Chen, 1999; Millington, Vertinsky, Boyle & Wilson, 2008; Nakamura, 2012). Research into sport and the social construction of masculinity outlines the pivotal role sport plays in the construction of the rugged stoicism that marks Canadian masculinities, as it is the remaining bastion of justifiable violence and physical aggression in contemporary society (Kidd, 1990). Thus, the exclusion of Asian/Chinese men from sport effectively negates their role as "proper" men and causes distresses for them (Lu & Wong, 2013).

As such, the focus of my project is the construction of hegemonic masculinity through participants' discourses regarding day-to-day settings in relation to sport, and the ways in which they position their masculinity. Subsequently, two research questions were formulated to navigate the project:

1. How do some Chinese Albertan men frame (some aspects of) hegemonic masculinity in relation to "cultural resources" [1](Wetherell, 2003), especially confrontational sport?

2. How do they position themselves in relation to (some aspects of) the hegemonic masculinity?

Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

To answer these questions, I collected data via five in-depth life history interviews with Chinese Canadian university students from a metropolitan area in northern Alberta. Under the guidance of Connell's theorizing of hegemonic masculinity that stresses both institutional and ideological aspects of power (Connell, 2005a), I carried out a two-phase analysis. As I explain in greater detail in Chapter Three, the data was first analyzed for themes. Thence, I grouped the themes according to their utility in answering the research questions. As expected, the data was replete with (implicit) cultural meanings that warranted further excavation. Thus, a critical discourse analysis approach ensued. I attended to both local meanings produced in the

[1] Cultural resource is a term borrowed from Wetherell (2001; 2003). It refers to the discursive resources available for a culture-sharing group to make sense of and to represent themselves and the world as they see it. Cultural resources enable in-group members to occupy specific discursive positions when they speak, for instance, when they speak of the "mad woman", the "autonomous woman", the "powerful nerd", and the like. Thus, by analyzing interview, it is possible for us to gain insight into the cultural settings at a specific historical moment.

participants' discourses and the broader regional/societal context in which these meanings are situated. In doing so, I have followed the four dimensions of gender analysis Connell espouses in the historical analysis of early Chinese workers in Canada, namely division of labour, power, emotional relations/cathexis, and symbolism, while focusing on the later three in analyzing the current research.

Overview of the thesis

In the first part of the thesis, Chapter One and Two, I conduct an analysis of the historical contexts wherein an "effeminate Chinamen" discourse took hold. Respectively, in Chapter One I first look at the processes wherein the Chinese laborers were delegated to the margins of Canadian society in a key stage of nation-building. I underline that such processes involved representing the Chinese as a lowly race, unworthy of incorporation into the nation. The success of the marginalization thereof relied heavily on the creation of racist stereotypes regarding the Chinese, and marked one principle of hegemony, i.e. institutional domination of the Chinese workers by white Canadians. In Chapter Two, I engage with the gendered properties of these stereotypes. I argue that these gendered racial stereotypes were an effective strategy to symbolically emasculate the Chinese workers against the backdrop of hardened gender division and tightened control over sexuality. The deployment of such a strategy was manifested discursively in both official texts and journalism of the time. Thus, through the formulation of an "effeminate Chinamen" discourse, the hegemony of white masculinity was achieved ideologically. Overall, the first two chapters follow Connell's advice to examine the ways in which hegemony is secured through both institutional and ideological dominations.

Before proceeding to the current research, in Chapter Three, I discuss the theoretical insights that informed and guided my investigation and the methodological approaches employed to undertake the project.

Chapter Four commences with a review of important studies of sport and the social construction of masculinity. The review underlines the simultaneous expressions of bonding of men who are up to the somatic standard of the hegemonic masculinity and the difference of these men from women and other men who are not. The enshrinement of the sizeable built body in confrontational sport thus lays the ground for the exclusion of men who do not possess such physique from the hegemonic ideal, sorting them to disadvantaged positions within the gender order. I conclude the discussion over this literature by pointing out that Asian masculinity in and in relation to sport is under-explored, thus pointing to the need of undertaking the current research. In the remainder of Chapter Four, I discuss some findings of

the research in regard to the emphasis on the built body of a certain size as one aspect of hegemonic masculinity in Alberta. In doing so, I highlight that this aspect of hegemonic masculinity precludes the participants from positioning themselves within it and even excludes them from the position of masculine.

In Chapter Five, I first locate the expression of the hegemonic masculinity in hockey violence. The institutional sanction of hockey violence and the consent to it evident in the data reveal the cultural celebration of this "hard-hitting" brand of masculinity. Through some scholarly discussions around hockey and Canadian national identity, I argue that the type of masculinity hockey represents and the Canadianness it signifies do not include the research participants; this exclusion and their disadvantaged positions in the gender order thus mutually inform one another, which in turn problematizes their sense of belonging to the nation. They thus adopted strategies to negotiate their masculinities and were only partially successful.

In Chapter Six, I conclude that there is a consistency regarding the subordination and marginalization of Chinese masculinity against the authorization of the white rugged mesomorphic masculine ideal in Canada.

Limitations of the Research

Owing to the resources and time frame available for the project, there have been two primary limitations pertaining to the sample. My participants were born in the 1980s and 1990s. As I discuss in detail in Chapter Three, participants from this age bracket were thought to best reflect the dynamics of gender and masculinity in contemporary Canada. Yet, the five viable interviews were all collected from university students. Their accounts of experiences and encountering of masculinity thus concentrated heavily on their years as students. Another limitation concerns the geo-cultural location of the participants. At the time of recruitment, I aimed at locating participants from different parts of Alberta. Among the final five, one spent his K-12 years in a different city. The other four were all concentrated in one metropolitan area.

Speaking from Privileged Positions--Self-Reflexivity

One of the rudimentary tenets of human communication is the impossibility of entirely occupying someone else's ontological position and speaking directly therein. As such, for some, the idea of articulation, of, in one way or another, representing thoughts constitutes the construction of realities. Creswell (2007) reminds us the importance of positioning ourselves as researchers adopting an interpretive approach. Trying to avoid being overly confessional in practice, I attempt at such positioning here, so as to proceed the undertaking of my project

consciously and ethically.

With the appropriate chagrin, I identify my social location in multiple positions of privilege. Having left my home country China in the Global South in pursuit of education—something so personal and fulfilling—my presence in Canada in the Global North speaks to the fact of mobility. The privilege I inhabit and harness to my advantage, as a sort of an ideal-come-true, constitutes only half of the story. Kimmel (2012) shares a personal experience where listening in on a conversation between two feminists, one black and the other white, marks his rebirth, as it were, as a white man. As I embarked on a new phase of life in a country bearing qualitative distinctions from China, having to navigate terrains where I am a marked subject thrusted me into the realization that I had been a member of the dominating Han ethnic group in China. I had the privilege of growing up not having to hear about stories of my people being, for example, excellent singers and dancers in exotic attires. I had inadvertently spent my entire life watching other people being made into such subjects. I had brooded in frustration when I heard that a classmate had received extra marks in college entrance owing to their ethnic minority status. It is such "moments of truth" that afforded me the empathy to relate when one of my participants shared the following, commenting on his school life in predominantly Asian schools:

> Being Asian is a non-dominant culture group in Canada. But my elementary and my junior high experiences show me that it was a dominant culture. So I forget sometimes I'm Asian because I'm surrounded by Asian. When you're able to forget that, that is a privilege in itself already.

Since my arrival, I have managed to gather tacit knowledge regarding the process of racialization, some of it based on my exchange with my international Chinese students at my part-time teaching jobs. As I looked back at my interactions with students and my own experiences as a queer person of color, one fact kept coming back to me: some subjects are consistently glorified against the vilification of others. I was indignant when I started to read works documenting the injustices earlier Chinese workers had to sustain; I grew incredulous when I saw TV programs portraying men of Asian descent in unbashfully racist ways. I came to realize that failing normativity is of grave consequence; it means being a "bad queer" when being a "good gay" refers to gender-conforming, middle-class, and often white (Bell & Binnie, 2004), with the last pointer unattainable for many looking like myself.

I decided to undertake such a project about masculinity, as I see in the location of race a saturation of gendered rendering everywhere I look. Scanning through the studies on Chinese/Asian in Canada in daily life settings, the scarcity of the term masculinity solidified

my decision that I shall try to give expressions to silenced voices and excavate buried knowledge. The voices and knowledge are important, as they are some people's realities[2].

As I witnessed a participant's silence upon my inquiry about his pride in being a Chinese, I realized, once again, the fact that my markedness was a recent acquirement and that had exempted me from such silence, affording me the privilege as the investigator who had not sustained the consequences of inhabiting a gendered racialized identity (Cui, 2013) as had the participants. Being able to see this privileged position and occupying it have been a source of inspiration that gives me the strength to undertake the project.

[2] I discuss my philosophical assumptions in Chapter Three.

Part One Gendered Racism—On One Genesis of Chinese Masculinity in Canada

Chapter One Demarcating the "Chinamen"

Since the outset of colonialism, the empires' bountiful encounters with the "Other" have not occurred on an equal footing (Coulthard, 2014; S. Hall, 1992; Veracini, 2010). Orientalism as a discourse, argues Said (1979), authors an archive of information that not only gives shape to lenses through which the West gazes upon the East, but also enables a unified, in a way, unanimously consumed "political vision of reality of the Orientals" (p. 43). Without this reality, the mundane beneficiaries on the sidelines of the colonial plundering back in the metropoles would not have gained access to such a world by and large outside their daily practicalities. The mainstays of this reality include, of course, "the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority" (Said, 1979, p. 42). Although for the most part, Said only uses the Middle-East as the referent when he discusses Orientalism, the concept is adopted by studies on broader issues of colonial representation (S. Hall, 1992) and is applicable to other systems, such as white supremacy wherein the imbalance of power creates entitlement of whites over other racial categories (A. Smith, 2006). In exposing the many injustices in a Canadian society where early Chinese workers struggled to survive, research has also benefited from Orientalism as a useful analytical framework (K. J. Anderson, 1991; A. B. Chan, 1981).

In 1881, a delegation consisting of eight constables attempted to collect school tax from the Chinese railway labourers (Francis, 2006; Heaman, 2013). The laborers, outraged by the unfair treatment, for the constables were forcing them to pay taxes for a service they could not access[3], had every intention to put up a fight. Little did they know that all eight men were armed. This armed band was forcing the Chinese workers with blatant violence such that they appeared to resemble more "brigandage than law enforcement" (Heaman, 2013, p. 378). In a local newspaper, the Cariboo Sentinel, the workers' initial resistance and ensuing submission upon seeing the pistols were consistently portrayed as "comical and amusing"— "Capt. Todd placed his men, all well-armed with first-class revolvers in battle array, and this caused the anti-taxers to weaken, and becoming docile again they paid their taxes like 'little' man" (as cited in Francis, 2006, p. 181). The characterization of the labourers as little men and becoming docile *again* reveals that a specific perception of Chinese labourers had already formed, as they were believed to be weaklings (Francis, 2006; P. S. Li, 1998). Looking at the specific language in which the "lesser man" stereotype was formulated, I argue that it is indeed a type of

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[3] The workers' offspring were banned from attending white Canadian schools (Francis, 2006). Besides, workers who had children were extremely rare (P. S. Li, 1998), and thus the tax was entirely arbitrary.

orientalism as a result of the Chinese workers' occupying a subordinated position in the gender order shaped by the socio-economic structure in the frontier society and racial ideologies, which was most aptly to be named gendered racism (Cui, 2013). Examining important moments where certain dispositions towards earlier Chinese labourers were vocalized by politicians and dignitaries of official capacities, I contend that not only did their remarks reflect a discourse of the "Chinamen" as an inferior race, but they also actively participated in the construction thereof. Looking at the discourse of the "Chinamen" as gendered racism and a form of Orientalism on the Canadian frontier brings to the foreground the many gendered strokes in painting the racial discourse and provides a critical vocabulary via which aspects of the perceived Chinese Canadian masculinity can thus be enunciated.

Therefore, situating this work within the theoretical frame outlined in Chapter Three, in the first part of the thesis, I focus on the discriminations discussed in the literature against the Chinese workers in a key stage of Canadian nation building within both politico-economic and ideological spaces. Then, I make evident an institutional-ideological congruence[4] in the subjugation of Chinese (male) workers as a different, inferior race, thus exposing the workings of hegemonic practices that rendered them less/non-masculine subjects. This then prepares for analysis of my research findings in Part Two, as I attempt to mark aspects of consistency regarding Chinese masculinity in Canada. Respectively, in Chapter One, I first look at the many ways in which the Chinese workers were consigned to the margins of Canadian society, as they were represented to be unfit for the nation, followed by an examination of the stereotypes created in such processes. In doing so, I draw on important works within the fields of Chinese Canadian studies and anti-racism studies. Specifically, my discussions benefit significantly from P. S. Li's (1998) examination of Chinese' experiences in Canada up until late 20th century and K. J. Anderson's (1991) analysis of Chinatown as both a material location and a racial imaginary. In Chapter Two, I tend to the gendered properties of stereotypes concerning the Chinese, and thence, I analyze these gendered stereotypes against the backdrop of a hardened gender-division and tightened control over sexuality around turn of the century in Canada. I outline a "non-male" existence of the Chinese workers framed by the strategic subjugation thereof in the process of Canadian nation building.

Chinese Laborers as Machines Exploited to Full Capacity

To outline an institutional-ideological domination of white masculinity over masculinity

[4] The necessity of concomitance of institutional and ideological domination to effect a hegemony is discussed in Chapter Three, under the heading of "Theoretical Limitations".

of the earlier Chinese workers, and therefore, mark the former as the hegemonic, it is important to examine the many systemic injustices the Chinese workers had to negotiate.

During the latter half of the 19th century, China was plagued with turmoil as a result of foreign invasions. Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Japan, the United States, Italy, and Russia engaged in a series of wars on Chinese territory between 1838 and 1900 and secured favourable trading and other concessions from the government. The Taiping Uprising (1850-1864), the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895; 1937-1945), the Boxer Rebellion (1898-1901), the Republic Revolution, the continuous internal struggles that finally led to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and famine all conspired to render the country in even greater mayhem (Hoe, 2003; P. S. Li, 1998; Wright, 1988). Thus, the discovery of gold both in California and along the Fraser River, the shortage of labour for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Cariboo Wagon Road made Western Canada one of the most popular destinations for Chinese immigrants searching for a livelihood outside of a country aching with social unrest (Hoe, 2003).

The first migrants arrived around 1858, many of whom were workers previously venturing their luck in California (Hoe, 2003; P. S. Li, 1998). The majority of later workers were directly contracted from China and around 15,000 (A. B. Chan, 1982) to 15,700 (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2013) were employed by Andrew Onderdonk during 1881-1885, when the B.C. section of the railway needed to be constructed (A. B. Chan, 1982; Heaman, 2013). According to some sources, they were not allowed to bring their families with them (Francis, 2006; Henry & Tator, 2010)[5]. Most of them were from very humble milieu with limited education and knew virtually no English (P. S. Li, 1998). Many of them had to borrow from their relatives to finance the trip. As they stated, "we were poor and starving, and we needed money at home. We had to borrow money to come over here, and when we came over here, we had to work hard to pay back the money that we owed" (P. S. Li, 1998, p. 23).

Because of their debt and lack of support from family and friends (P. S. Li, 1998), and owing to the extreme difficulty for them to naturalize and garner full citizenship (Francis, 2006; Stanley, 2011), they were living an exceedingly frugal life on a wage significantly less than other labourers. According to A. B. Chan (1982), white workers were paid 1.50 to 1.75 dollars a day working on the railway, with skilled workers paid up to 2.50. Onderdonk also provided cooks, cooks' helpers, and "a potpourri of provisions to accommodate the taste of his white

[5] The sources as cited claim that the workers were not allowed to bring their families. However, there is evidence that a very small number of immigrants were able to bring their families to Canada, such as richer businessmen (A. B. Chan, 1982; P. S. Li, 1998).

employees", whereas all the Chinese workers were paid one dollar per day (A. B. Chan, 1982, p. 519). With regard to provisions, two choices were presented to them—buying from over-priced company stores or purchasing from local shops. The latter would bring down their wage to 80 cents per day (A. B. Chan, 1982). Underpaid, the Chinese workers ate a monotonous diet almost every day, comprising of rice and stale ground salmon. The resultant scurvy cases amongst them increased as they did not have access to medical services, for the situation back in China meant that the workers were always expendable (A. B. Chan, 1982).

The Chinese railway workers were a "lynchpin" for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Francis, 2006, p. 180). Facing severe shortage of labor, Onderdonk decided to hire 10,000 Chinese workers, which was supported by Prime Minister MacDonald, who told the parliament that "If you want the railroad, you have to accept the use of Chinese labor" (as cited in J. N. Li, 2000, p. 11). Not only the railway construction, other sectors of the frontier economy at times were heavily dependent on the Chinese workers. Employment patterns in the first 50 years of Chinese immigration indicated that the Chinese in Canada essentially catered to the labour demand in British Columbia, as they were recruited in labour-intensive industries including mining, land clearing, public works, gardening, lumbering, salmon canning, and domestic service (P. S. Li, 1998). This is also evident in Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration 1885 (RRCCI 1885). As Dr. John Hamilton Gray, one of the commissioners relayed testimonies gathered from a number of employers: "It may be safely said that there are several industries that would not have succeeded—perhaps it might be said undertaken—if it had not been the opportunity of obtaining their [Chinese] labour" (Canada, 1885, p. 14). Yet, they were consistently underpaid compared to their white counterparts across industries by around 30-50 percent (A. B. Chan, 1982). The manager of the Wellington Colliery Co. offered such testimony before the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration: session 1902 (RCCJI: S1902) as follows:

> If Chinese and Japs were not available, we would have to get more for our coal or have to stop mining. The margin is close.... The Chinese are absolutely necessary for present work. The cost of production would be greater without the Chinese but falling off in production here would not affect the price in San Francisco. It would compel us to reduce the white man's wage. (Canada, 1902, p. 79)

Looming large in the manager's account was how the white workers' preferential treatment was essentially realized by the constructed inferiority of the Chinese workers (Warburton, 1981). In other words, it was precisely because the Chinese were paid less, denigrated as lesser men and source of all evil (Francis, 2006; Pon, 1996) that the white workers were able to

assume a place of dominance in the colonial gender order.

The subordination of the Chinese workers was not only reflected in the arrangements of the frontier economy, the configuration on the colonial front in general marked a distinct line between white men and the Chinese men, economically and ideologically. Regarded as a pool of convenient cheap labor that would "supply additional labour during industrial booms and absorb surplus labour during periods of economic stagnation" (P. S. Li, 1998, p. 37), the Chinese were the solution to the frontier capitalists to the erratic labour supply characteristic of the "capricious boom and bust cycles" of the frontier economy (P. S. Li, 1998, p. 28). The Chinese workers' indispensable role was apparent according to the RRCCI 1885, in which Sir Matthew Begbie, Chief Justice of B.C.'s account is documented stating: "I do not see how people would get on here at all without Chinamen. They do, and do well, what white women cannot do, and do what white men will not do" (Canada, 1885, p. 75). The Chinese workers, then, became attractive to many employers because of their cheap cost and their alleged subservient temperament and industry even at demeaning menial and domestic service jobs. This caused them tremendous trouble at times when they were manipulated as scabs to break strikes operated by white workers for better pay (K. J. Anderson, 1991; Ward, 2002). This became one of the reasons of widespread hatred for them among the white workers over time.

Institutional Racism against the Chinese

It would be entirely erroneous to blame the extensive antagonism against the Chinese labourers on their alleged solidarity-breaking servitude. However, it was indeed used as a convenient pretext to pass exclusion laws by the B.C. government that eventually severely restricted their mobility even before the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act which banned Chinese entry to Canada with minor exceptions (Heaman, 2013; Ward, 2002). In B.C. alone, from 1875 onward, a series of legislations were created to either deprive the Chinese workers of their rights, or restrict them (Baureiss, 1987). They were disenfranchised in 1870s and excluded from public works in 1878 (Roy, 1989). The province then passed bills in 1884 and 1885 to prevent Chinese immigration, which later were declared unconstitutional in that the Dominion government was the only government that had the power to pass immigration legislations (K. J. Anderson, 1991; P. S. Li, 1998). By 1923, when the Dominion government passed the Chinese Immigration act, B.C. had banned Chinese workers from working underground in the mining industry, performing skilled jobs in coal mines, holding a liquor license, being nominated for municipal office, servicing as school trustees, jury duty, election to provincial legislature, and professions such as law and pharmacy (P. S. Li, 1998; Stanley, 2011). These

resulted in their retreat into limited service-oriented businesses where they could offer services to white customers without provoking antagonism from the white working class, such as their hand-laundry businesses (Hoe, 2003; P. S. Li, 1998; Roy, 1989; Ward, 2002).

The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, coupled with the Naturalization Act of 1914, which stipulated that any married female took the citizenship status of her husband, contributed to the bachelor life of the absolute majority of the Chinese workers. It is important to note that all the exclusion legislations were also applied to Chinese of Canadian citizenship either by birth or by naturalization (P. S. Li, 1998). Thus, it is appropriate to name the discrimination against the Chinese workers institutional racism (Fernado, 2006), as apparently it targeted all the Chinese in Canada as a racial category. As P. S. Li (1998) argues:

> The withdrawal of citizenship rights, the exclusion from immigration, and the restrictions on occupational competition were legally sanctioned by the state and thus formally institutionalized. The resulting discrimination was systematic and legal, and its practice was rationalized by an ideology stressing the superiority of white over non-white[6]. (p. 37)

Writ large here is the fact that the Chinese labours occupied a subordinated position in the gender order[7] as a result of institutional racism that persistently subjugated them as men of inferiority, or "living machines" (Canada, 1885, p. LXX), whereas both the Chinese and the white workers, with the latter participating in the gender order in a complicit position, were shoring up a hegemonic form of masculinity in control of institutional power vested in some men, such as frontier capitalists who stood to have massive return of interest, and the brigade of politicians who instilled and capitalized on the widespread hostility against the Chinese workers to advance their political careers (K. J. Anderson, 1991). By hiring the Chinese labourers, for example, Onderdonk saved approximately 5.5 million dollars from 1866 to 1869 (A. B. Chan, 1982). Massive revenue was also collected by the government for the head tax levied starting in 1885, the same year as the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, during

[6] Citing Bolaria and Li, P. S. Li (1998) argues that "institutional racism involves social institutions that give a sustained meaning to superficial features of 'race' and use 'race' as the justification for disqualifying subordinate members of society from equal participation. In such cases racism is articulated as both a racist theory and a discriminatory practice, and its continuing manifestation in social institutions lends a false legitimacy to the use of 'race' as a socially acceptable criterion from differentiating between individuals and groups" (p. 37). Thus, his discussion over institutional racism underlines the systemic properties of racialization and racism that are premised upon race as a socially constructed concept. Regarding this, see Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p. 24).

[7] "Gender order" refers to the hierarchy within which masculinities and femininity occupy different positions, with hegemonic masculinity stays on the top. See discussions in Chapter Three, under the heading of Masculinity as a Multi-Faceted Concept.

which process many Chinese workers lost their lives (Henry & Tator, 2010; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2013). Between 1905 and 1914 alone, 13.8 million dollars was levied. This figure amounted to approximately 14 percent of the national defence budget of the same period and was equivalent to eight percent of all excise duties collected in Canada, whereas the Chinese accounted for merely 0.39 percent of the Canadian population in 1911, and 0.45 percent in 1921. The head tax, starting at 50 dollars, was raised twice in 1900 and 1903 to 100 and 500 respectively. The value of the tax and, as such, the financial burden on the Chinese workers became evidently significant when compared with living expenses during the same period. Average monthly expenses for a family in British Columbia in December, for instance, was estimated to be 13.25 dollars in 1905 and 15.9 in 1910 (P. S. Li, 1998).

Ideological Demarcation of the Chinese

Where the indispensable role of the Chinese workers in Canadian economy and the many injustices they suffered were conspicuous, equally so was the hostility towards them that permeated the fabric the society (Ward, 2002). Yet, this ubiquity of resentment towards the Chinese and their displacement into the margins of the society by no means transpired fortuitously. Multiple testimonies found in the RRCCI 1885 reveal that larger-scale agitation against the Chinese was in fact a political manipulation only emerged after the disenfranchisement, as the politicians realized they could vent any perspectives regarding the undesirable traits of the Chinese workers and their presence so as to gain popular legitimacy (Roy, 1989).

The debates carried out in the legislative assembly in British Columbia, the two Royal Commission Reports 1885 and 1902, political campaigns, and journalism in general around the turn of the century clearly evidenced discriminations around the idea of creating a regional identity that was to be moulded after the British metropole. This charter mentality, as K. J. Anderson (1991) names it, clearly underscored whiteness and a white Canada (K. J. Anderson, 1991; A. B. Chan, 1981; Fernando, 2006; Ward, 2002). Naturally, the political mobilization aimed at singling out the Chinese as a distinct collective of people traded freely in the language of Darwinist essentialism where phenotypical traits were viewed as corresponding to intrinsic biological and cultural fixities which were ranked by nature for the purpose of survival (K. J. Anderson, 1991).

When discussing the rise of the discourse of "the West and the Rest" in 18th century Europe, S. Hall (1992, p, 276) concludes that the project of enlightenment and colonialism precipitated the birth of a powerful imagination—the dichotomy of the West versus the Rest.

The discourse of the West and the Rest is particularly powerful, as it gave shape to a unified European identity whose economic, cultural, and moral domination only took hold when the Rest was defined and imagined as the antithesis of the West, which stood/stands as the liberal ideal of civilization (S. Hall, 1992; Lowe, 2015). Said (1979), whose ideas S. Hall (1992) builds on, believes that Orientalism created a type, and it enabled the Europe to see the Orientals, through the type, as a "phenomenon possessing regular characteristics", a phenomenon with "a mentality, a genealogy, an atmosphere", which was then held almost unanimously by people in the Old Continent (Said, 1979, p. 42). Here, Said (1979) identifies that the idea and the type of the Orientals only came to shape in and as a result of the discourse of Orientalism, and that the discourse produced a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1984a, p. 73), which ruled in that which counted as Oriental and that which did not. Such "truth" can be highly impervious to change. Thus, the type of orientalism is essentially a stereotype in a sociological sense, whose key strategy and outcome consist in the collapsing of complex differences into a "cardboard cut-out" which possess oftentimes contradictory properties. The over-simplification in the form of "dualism or splitting" (S. Hall, 1992, p. 308) is then attached to and fixed in a subject or place, and according to Hulme (1986), "[it] has proven to be stubbornly immune to all kinds of contradictory evidence" (50). The Orientalism in Canada (K. J. Anderson, 1991; A. B. Chan, 1981) produced an "archive" (Said, 1979, p. 41) of knowledge and stereotypes that defined what the Chinese were. Given the fraction of Chinese population in Canada at the time, this archive was particularly important, as it provided the nation access to the Chinamen's lives only in this discursive space.

Research has documented that the Oriental archive in Canada was replete with a wide range of pejoratives directed at the Chinese workers (K. J. Anderson, 1991; Pon, 1996; P. S. Li, 1998; A. B. Chan, 1981; Wright, 1988). Docile, servile, effeminate, (sexually) deviant, heathen, cunningly deceitful, morally dangerous, jaundiced, unmanly, and wily were all attributed to the "yellow race" as intrinsic properties which marked them as eternal aliens, whose alleged disease-bearing stagnant bodies and decayed morality (Pon, 1996, P. S. Li, 1998), according to John A. MacDonald, were irreconcilably despicable to be assimilated and pernicious to the loftiness of an "Aryan population" (as cited in K. J. Anderson, 1992, p.55).

The stereotypes concerning the Chinese workers appear to be a medley of deprecating epithets. However, upon closer examination, specific discursive strategies organized these into a broadly connected dichotomy, and three organizing themes are evident.

In the RRCCI 1885 (Canada, 1885, p. LIV), Dr. Justice Grey stated that there was, "preponderating testimony as to the sobriety, industry, and frugality of the Chinese manual

labourers". When stripped of its context, this comment does no more than validating the hard work of the Chinese. Read together with other comments from the same source, however, the Chinese's being industrious people was merely antecedent of the negatively charged side of the dichotomy. As Dr. Justice Gray went on:

> It is fortunate that, in a young and sparsely settled Province, this cheap labour can be obtained, for it enables those whose minds are capable of higher development, and whose ambition looks to more enabling industry—to follow pursuits in which they will rise rather than toil and slave in grovelling work, which wears out the body without elevating the mind. (Canada, 1885, p. LXIX)

The industry of the "Chinamen" thus functioned as a pivot, around which a simple flick of fingers rendered the nature of their industry secondary to the "noble pursuits", and thus industry was turned into servility, a quality so low that it bred all the other undesirable qualities that beset the "yellow race". The positioning of their work as "slaving" very much said so.

The first theme in the stereotypes is that the Chinese workers were merely "living machines" (Canada, 1885, p. LXX). One example is found in the RCCJI: S1902, as the commissioners concluded:

> This class of immigration falls short of that standard so essential to the well-being of the country. From a Canadian standpoint it is injurious, and in the interest of the nation, any further immigration ought to be prohibited. The great industries will not suffer. There is a surplus of this class of labour at the present time ready to enter any avenue of unskilled labour that may open. (Canada, 1902, p. 278)

Here, the commissioners' discursive designation of the Chinese only as labour figures prominently. What enabled them to move and "to enter" did so just enough, so that they would exist as no more than unskilled labour and, essentially, an inanimate entity harnessed for a purpose, instead of, as living subjects, exerting any substantive spirit that would alter, create, and endow. The idea as articulated was supposedly a distillation of testimonies collected from all walks of life. However, the discussion on the political utility of the Chinese and the equation of them with living machines emerged much earlier as an elitist approach to the "Oriental question" (K. J. Anderson, 1991, p. 49) and became a problem to be addressed by the Prime Ministers, despite the insignificant population of the Chinese who accounted for merely 0.39 percent of the whole in 1911 (Roy, 1989), and 0.45 percent in 1921 (K. J. Anderson, 1991).

In 1882, when faced with aggravated objection to the Chinese presence in British Columbia, Prime Minister John A. MacDonald aired his point of view:

> I share very much the feeling of the people of the United States and the Australian

> colonies against a Mongolian or a Chinese population in our country as permanent settlers. I believe that it is an alien race in every sense that would not and could not be expected to assimilate with our Aryan population. [But]…it is simply a question of alternatives—either you have this labour or you cannot have the railway. (as cited in K. J. Anderson, 1991, p. 55)

After the completion of said railway, Dr. Justice Grey recommended a duty to be imposed on each entrant of Chinese origin in the RRCCI 1885. As he states in a similar vein:

> Sound policy, therefore, will regulate the coming of the Chinese, not stop it, any more than a clear-headed farmer would dry up a river because sometimes it may overflow its banks and perchance create temporary derangement in the lands through which it flows, but which when properly restrained, its waters irrigate and enrich. (Canada, 1885, p. LXXII)

Notwithstanding the poetic prowess of the commissioner in the ease of deploying an analogy so vivid to characterize the politics of race, the bare fact remained that, once again, the Chinese was deemed nothing but a stagnant entity whose functionality or destructivity was dependent on the masterful stratagem of people from a higher order, in this case a farmer. Whether or not it was a calculated choice, and as mundane as it may have appeared, the reference of farmer was a trope of the artisanal spirit whose tenacity, ingenuity, and more importantly independence characterized the stalwarts that would soon complete the transition of a "wild" Canadian frontier to a "civilized" society, of whom, of course, the Chinese were not considered to be and shall not be a part. I will return to this matter.

MacDonald's 1882 comments did much more than defining the economic function of the Chinese workers. The second theme of the stereotypes is evident in his remarks—that the Chinese were incapable of assimilating on their own and were undesirable to be assimilated. Not only did MacDonald demarcate the Chinese as a lower race, positioned against the superior Aryans, but he also did so in a way that a discursive alliance with Australia and the United States was constructed to mark a wider boundary that would close ranks around the idea of higher people. The comment was essentially a universal defence of whiteness, with racist articulations of imperial solidarity. Trading in the language of Darwinism and the "great chain of being", Commissioner Dr. Joseph Chapleau echoed that "races change slowly. But the stationariness of the Chinese race seems phenomenal" (Canada, RRCCI, 1885, p. XCVIII).

Another closely-related theme is the Chinese as sojourners (Baureiss, 1987; A. B. Chan, 1981). The Chinese workers were sojourners, as the discourse of Orientalism in Canada would have it, who did not have a shred of intention to stay permanently as loyal subjects of the

Empire or, later, responsible citizens of a new country (Baureiss, 1987). They would undoubtedly return to their celestial country with money accumulated, having taken advantage of their unfair competition with white labourers (A. B. Chan, 1981; Pon, 1996), after they toiled to build the Canadian Pacific Railway which enabled the country to extend from sea to sea. This rhetoric was often adopted when the Chinese workers' presence was argued against, to make the point that their entry should be limited or banned altogether. Stated in the RRCCI 1885 was that the Chinese had different vices (Canada, 1885). Manifestations such as their opium addiction and brothel patronage were used to attest to such a claim and thus lend validity to the sojourner stereotype. Their "clannish habits" for which they formulated geographical isolations from mainstream Canadian society further corroborated such claims (Canada, 1885). Moreover, their purported bachelor "lifestyle" characterized by unimaginably deteriorating conditions was also a premise on which the apprehensions surrounding the Chinese settlement was often based (A. B. Chan, 1981; Pon, 1996), despite the role the government played in creating the legal and economic conditions in which bachelorhood was the only possibility. When the issue of admitting Chinese wives into the country was raised, MacDonald argued that:

> The whole point of the measure is to restrict the immigration of the Chinese into British Columbia and into Canada… if wives are allowed, not a single immigrant would come over without a wife, and the immorality existing to a very great extent along the Pacific coast would be greatly aggravated… I do not think that it would be to the advantage of Canada, or any other country occupied by Aryans for members of the Mongolian race to become permanent inhabitants of the country. (as cited in K. J. Anderson, 1991, p. 59).

Read with MacDonald's 1882 comment previously cited, it is clear that the sojourner stereotype and the alleged unassailability of the Chinese worked in tandem as an effective political sleight to argue for and against Chinese immigration, as an answer to different problems. The government's non-admittance of Chinese wives was also evidenced in MacDonald's argument, which no doubt contributed to the high male-to-female ratio within the Chinese population. In 1911, for example, there were 18,799 Chinese men in British Columbia, and only 769 Chinese females (Roy, 1989).

After the Chinese workers were legally strong-armed out of practically any skilled employment opportunities and founded small businesses in service-oriented market such as hand laundries and restaurants, as I have presented, it was argued that their limited investment further belied their intention to remain, as their businesses could be easily liquidated (A. B.

Chan, 1981). Once the sojourner stereotype was constructed, the rest of the stereotypes concerning the Chinese workers became simple attachments to or components of the discourse—since the Chinese were plagued with many undesirable qualities, they would not and should not remain. As revealed by the complaint in the report compiled by a British Columbia committee that investigated Chinese immigration into the province:

> Their moral, social condition is degraded in the extreme… A large majority of the men are in a state of semi-bondage, while all their women are prostitutes… A state of marriage is unknown to them; hence the influence exerted upon society by such wholesale vice cannot be otherwise than highly pernicious, as no attempt is made at concealment… [their] slave labour has a degrading effect…, as it causes an inconquerable [sic] and not unreasonable prejudice on the part of the free members of a community…[they are] undesirable settlers…wholly opposed to any amalgamations of races or to becoming a portion of the permanent population of the country. (British Columbia, as cited in Anderson, 1992, p. 49)

As I have argued, Canada around the turn of century was in an important stage of nation-building where manual labour was in significant demand. Thus, the early immigration of Chinese labour answered such a need and contributed remarkably to the progress of Canadian economy and formation of Canada as a nation. Yet, their presence was greeted with hostility rather than hospitality. Situated within the ideal of a forever white Canada, the Chinese workers were institutionally marginalized and ideologically subjugated as lesser subjects and undesirable for permanent settlement.

Through important ideas of Said (1979) pertaining to Orientalism, I have examined the ways in which the Chinese were demarcated as a different, inferior race whose settlement in Canada was said to inflict great injuries on the young nation. Throughout the Oriental archive, moments of ideological defining mobilized the sleight of stereotyping to fix a wide variety of undesirable properties to the "yellow race" and their "jaundiced", "heathen" body. Within Connell's (2000; 2005a) conceptualization of multiple masculinities, relationality is important, as different masculinities are often defined against one another and against femininity. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity within a specific context only rises to the top when all the other categories of masculinity existing at the same time are considered inferior and ruled over. In a way, this resembles the West and Rest dichotomy and the formulation of Orientalism. Reflecting on masculinity relationally in this case, to heed Connell's (2000; 2005a) advice, means to map out the many ways in which masculinity of the Chinese labourers was represented as qualitatively different from the idealized white masculinity and displaced into

certain categories of femininity. Therefore, the institutional demarcation of the Chinaman as a distinctively inferior group prepared for gendered ideological "rendering". Such rendering commenced with the imperative of being an independent male subject in both the British metropole and the Canadian frontier, whose existence carried many traces of social embodiment interpersonally and institutionally. I examine such ideological rendering of masculinity in the following chapter.

Chapter Two Ideological Emasculation of the Chinese Workers

Marshall's (2014) study on Chinese settlement in Prairie Canada describes the characters in the racial drag as entertainment around the turn of the century. First Nations Peoples, Blacks, Jews, and Asians were frequent occurrences in the dramatization of perceived inferior races. Oftentimes organized by Church groups, these burlesques functioned as "normative commentaries on social and religious hierarchies and the inferior place of newcomers[8] within them" (Marshall, 2014, p. 21). With face paint to accentuate the Chinese's eyes and the wrinkles to indicate long hours of work, pigtails, and long silk dresses, these performances perpetuated the stereotype of the effeminate "Chinamen" (Marshall, 2014). Such stereotype found expressions on multiple levels of discursive construction. Commenting on the widespread antagonism against the Chinese workers, Dr. Justice Gray expressed his confusion in the RRCCI 1885 that "it is something strange to hear the strong, broad-shouldered superior race, superior-physically and mentally, sprung from the highest types of old and new world, expressing a fear of competition with a small, inferior, and comparatively speaking, feminine race" (Canada, 1885, p. LXIX). The back-and-forth mirroring of one another between such texts reflected what Foucault (1972) named "a system of dispersion" within which the same idea found different loci of enunciation. He maintained that "whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever ... one can define a regularity ... [then] we will say ... that we are dealing with a discursive formation" (p.38). In this sense, the intertextuality between the effeminate Asian drag and Dr. Justice Gray's comment is relatively notable.

The cartoons in *Figure 1* and *Figure 2* also constituted a piece of "dispersion" in the Oriental archive, though they appear to be somewhat opaque insofar as the gendered racial ideologies were embedded in a set of rhetorical strategies. The abundance of ideological "rendering" in them make them texts ideal for analysis. Both printed in 1907, the year when a riot swept through Chinatown and Japantown in Vancouver (Wright, 1988), they bear important insight into the mechanisms that finally precipitated the Chinese exclusion in 1923. As such, these cartoons, not least the one in *Figure 2*, is laden with meanings and symbols that speak to the subjugation of Chinese masculinity around turn of the century. Therefore, in this chapter, by analyzing the cartoons, or in a sense, "deconstructing" them, I zoom in on gendered aspects of the ideological subjugation of the Chinese workers, in an attempt to flesh out the theoretical frame laid out in Chapter One.

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[8] The First Peoples were not newcomers.

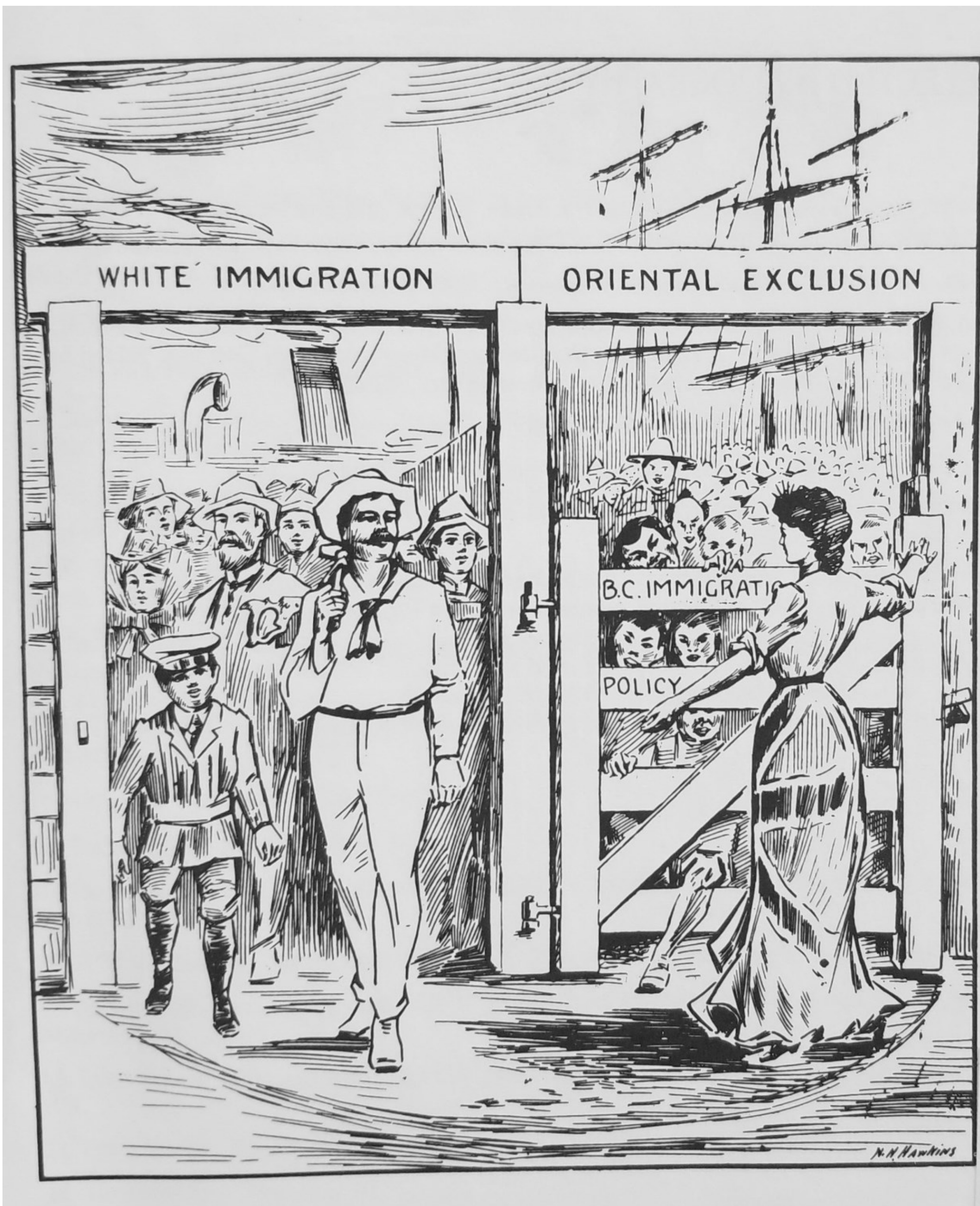

Figure 1. The same act which excludes Orientals should open wide the portals of British Columbia to White Immigration. Hawkins (as cited in Wright, 1988).

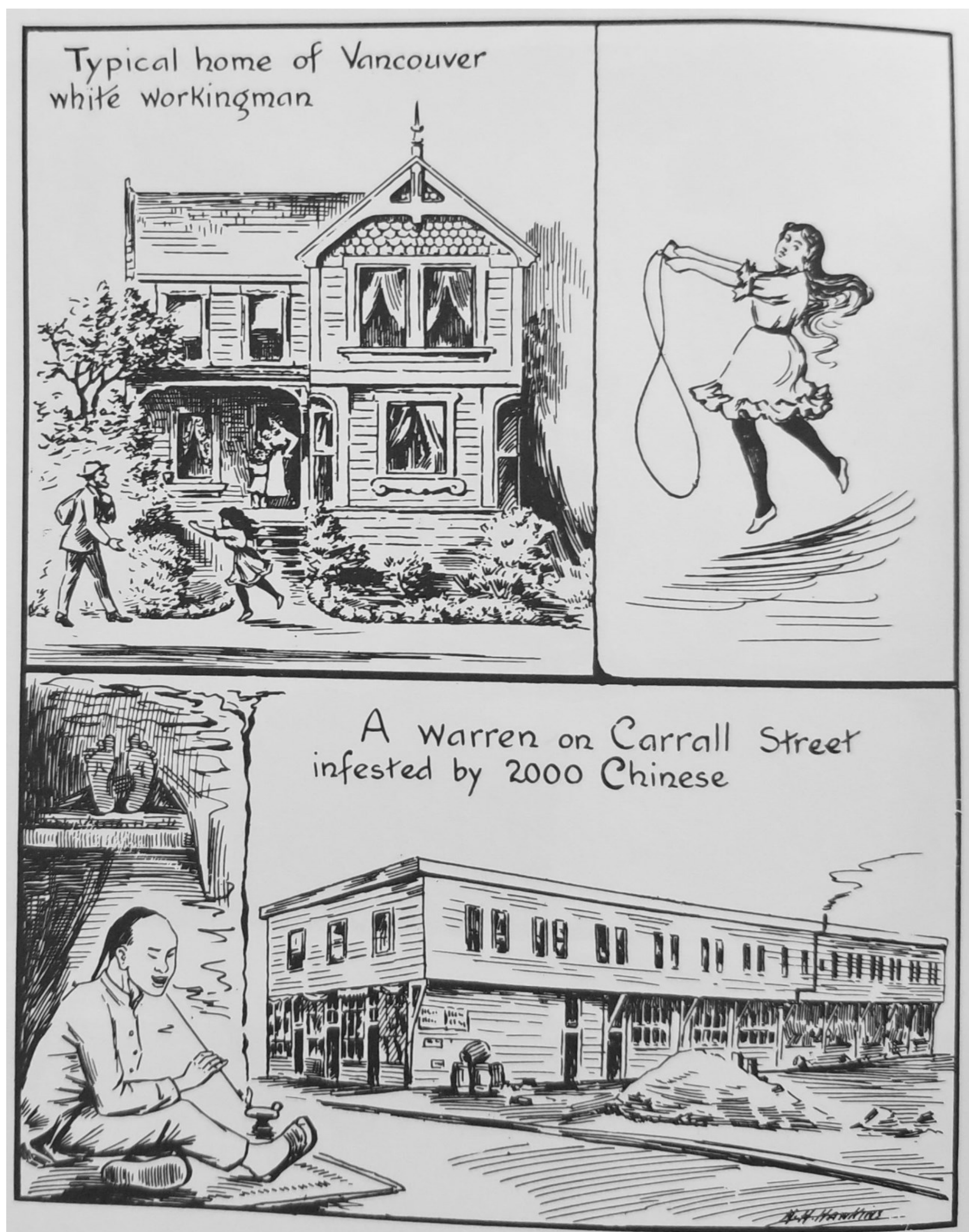

Figure 2. The unanswerable question. Saturday Sunset (as cited in K. J. Anderson, 1991)

Gender, Sexuality, and the Independent Male Subject

During the project of colonialism, the empires imagined the West as the pinnacle of

civilization and cast the rest of the world and the peoples along a hierarchy in relation to their imagined proximity to the western ideal (Hall, 1992; Lowe, 2015). By the 18th century, the colonial project had brought all the major players in place. These empires not only brought the newly "discovered" worlds into the "orbit of the western trade and commerce", they also started to imprint their cultures on the new world (Hall, 1992, p. 287). The conceptualization of a divided world for men and women and the increasing confinement of females within the domestic sphere was exported to the colonies. Such practice spoke to Mies's suggestion that global economy developed through a dual process of colonization and 'housewifization' (as cited in Connell, 2009, p. 80). According to Lowe (2015), the British Empire shipped Chinese indentured labour to its colonies in the Americas during the first half of the 20th century. The "Trinidad experiment" (Lowe, 2015, p. 30) was a case in point where Chinese labourers were introduced as nominally free labourers to form families as a barrier between the British settlers and the Black slaves. Not so different from the latter who they were expected to "ward off", these labourers were shipped over as chattels suffering abuse and mutiny in the process of transport. Yet, they could be said to be free(r), insofar as they were conferred the prerogative to establish intimate relations in the form of family, which was "a site of empire" within intimate spheres of sexual, household, and reproductive relations (p. 17). Thus, such "bourgeois intimacy" (P. 30) exported to the colonies characterized by interiority, domesticity, and independence was in essence a condition of modern liberal subjects and a hallmark of "possessive individualism" (p. 20). Such capacity for intimacy was essentially a trope of an independent middle-class masculinity that gained ascendency, especially in Victorian England, and marks one of the rhetorical strategies embedded in the cartoon in *Figure 2*.

With the progression of Capitalism and professionalization, since the 1780s England witnessed hardened gender divisions where middle-class men "staked-out key parts of their masculinity in a public sphere" (Davidoff and Hall, as cited in Nixon, 1997, p. 299) comprised of the workplace, formal and informal institutions including professional societies and country clubs. The chapels were also part of the public sphere where men were "doing god's duty in the world" (Davidoff and Hall, as cited in Nixon, 1997, p. 299), and "enterprise and business acumen were worldly solutions to the serve of God" (Nixon, 1997, p. 299). However, the success of this bourgeois masculinity depended on the domestic sphere, whose occupancy was assigned disproportionately to women. Women not only produced necessary conditions for capitalist production in the form of food, house-work, and an appropriately organized intimate space, but also offered refuge for their men. As C. Hall (1980) notes:

One of the major functions of the Victorian family was to provide a privatized haven

> for the man who was subject day in and day out to the pressures of the competition in the new industrial world. This feminine role was, one might say, a new aspect of the material reproduction of labour power—to provide men at home with the emotional support to face the world of work outside" (p. 61).

Hall continues by citing Engels: "the family… is also itself a system of relations and emotional needs which shape responses in the world and are created and defined within peculiar strength within the intimate sphere of the family" (C. Hall, 1980, p. 61). Thus, the key of such masculinity is independence, realized by being the patriarch of the family who supports women and their children financially, the latter two with a strategic role whose reliance on the former enables such independent masculinity. As Nixon (1997) agues, "the centrality of being able to provide for a household of dependents—in particular a wife—manifested a fierce independence that was important to these middle-class men" (p. 299). The capability of providing for a household as an essential component of masculinity was referred to by Connell (2005a) as the "breadwinner" ideology (p. 28).

The clear demarcation between the public and the private also precipitated the demarcation of homes. Home was thus a necessity of such masculinity. Often established in quieter areas removed from the world, the workplace in particular, the Victorian middle-class home was a citadel of interiority and intimacy, separated by gates, fences, hedges, and walls (Nixon, 1997). The ideal arrangement of a home was understood to be epitomized by "the suburban villa [which] stood… safely distanced from the urban context and its proximity of classes, and offering a flavour of the rustic" (Nixon, 1997, p. 299).

In his work that traces the evolving of American hegemonic masculinity, Kimmel (2012) presents three masculine archetypes which he names the Genteel Patriarch, the Heroic Artisan, and the Self-Made Man. These three types emerged at the end of the 19th century in America, of which, the first bore the most resemblance of the Old World. As Kimmel argues that:

> To the Genteel Patriarch, manhood meant property ownership and a benevolent patriarchal authority at home, including the moral instruction of his sons. A Christian gentleman, the Genteel Patriarch embodied love, kindness, duty, and compassion, exhibited through philanthropic work, church activities, and deep involvement with his family. (p. 13)

The Heroic Artisan, later working-class man, worked on his family farms or urban crafts shop. An honest toiler unafraid of hard work, he prided himself in his skills, industry, and most importantly, self-reliance. With an apron covering his open shirt, and his sleeves rolled up, according to Kimmel (2012), he was the representative of the doer spirit and stalwart of the

new world. The Self-Made Man, later middle-class, is considered to best represent the entrepreneurial spirit gained through revolting against his father, the metropole[9], through success in the public sphere, accumulated wealth, and social mobility. In America, which was said to be without rigid feudal confines, they soon gained social status as a reward of their hard work (Kimmel, 2012).

Kimmel's three archetypes clearly manifested class-based ideals. As he explains, the first two, in particular, were inherited significantly from Europe (Kimmel, 2012). However, the fierce independence showcased in the idea of producing is conspicuous and crucial in these men's masculine identity. The capability to produce was foremost manifested in their ability to provide. All three types shared in common the pride in working on one's own and for oneself, unfettered by the many restrictions from the Old World. "We ask that every man become an independent proprietor, possessing enough of the goods of this world, to be able by his own moderate industry to provide for the wants of his body", wrote Orestes Brownson in an article titled The Laboring Classes in Boston Quarterly in 1840 (cited in Kimmel, 2012, p. 22). Brownson's admonition for men essentially outlined the ideology of producerism, the idea that virtue came from the hard work of those who produced the wealth of the world. Thus, the independence and the pride derived from property ownership and the ability to provide, with the latter simultaneously as a form of reward, marked the hegemonic masculinities in both Worlds, while the breadwinner ideal for manhood persists till this day in North America (Kimmel, 2012) and many parts of the world (Connell, 2009).

Though not without specific political/historical distinctions, given the workings of Empire and colonialism, it would be a remarkable feat of imagination to state that masculinity north of the border did not share any resemblance, for the western frontiers that stretched till the Pacific Ocean knew no national borders (Mather, 2013). Starting from 1878, the Canadian government launched a series of campaigns attempting to attract immigrants from the Old Continent (Henderson, 2011), as the Canadian west was envisaged to become an agrarian economy and society in lieu of the fur trade (Danysk, 1996). A number of immigration handbooks were thus produced to both advertise Canada as an immigrants' paradise, where there were virtually no blizzards or even snow of any sort (they were rarely present in the handbooks, and occasionally testimonies of immigrants were included, claiming the weather was much more pleasant than was in England), and to foster a specific type of masculinity characterized by "no money, but muscle and pluck" termed as "trans-imperial masculinity" by

[9] The metropole here refers to the British Empire.

Henderson (2011, p.17). The exemplary masculinity the government sought is summarized neatly here, underscoring the "settler-farmer ethos" whose parallels recur frequently across the empire (Connell, 2005a, p. 29), the central trope for success in the handbooks was home or household, which represented that acute sense of independence outlined above (Henderson, 2011). Henderson (2011) argues that:

> The handbooks presented numerous openings [in western Canada] for the poor man if he will work hard and exercise economy, for after a year or two of hard work he finds himself in possession of a home, all his own, and free from the harnessing conditions of a rented or mortgaged farm. (p. 20).

Henderson (2011) maintains that the rhetorics in those handbooks about "clearing the land, building a home, and starting a family" epitomized central symbols for bourgeois masculinity in England that coupled manliness and the home, and such coupling "operated as a powerful tool in navigating the terrain between colonial and metropolitan spaces" (P. 22). One of the handbooks claimed that among the classes of "mechanics and workers" in Britain, there existed a "universal yearning" (as cited in Henderson, 2011, p. 22) to obtain their own home and farm in Canada. Echoing the moral ideals of the possessive individual and modern liberal subjects, the handbook also declared that "a man who labours with this end in view is a happier man, a better husband, a kinder father, and a more valuable citizen" (as cited in Henderson, 2011, p. 22).

Not only did the handbooks outline the importance of home in the powerful colonial imagination, but they also installed a system of proper manhood and specified the women's role in it. Supporting C. Hall's argument that with the progression of capitalism, women were increasingly associated with domesticity and reproduction of labour, the handbooks also included images of white females around the homes, "the front porch, or garden, while they situated male settlers in the fields, next to barns, or lingering by the forests" (McPherson, as cited in Henderson, 2012, p. 21). Thus, the handbooks marked a version of ideal masculinity longed for by working-class men in the metropole but was beyond their reach. What can be more onerous a task than to clear the land (or forests, to be more precise) and build a house from scratch? Simultaneously, what can be more rewarding than such heroic accomplishments? After all, most houses built in such manners were far removed from the heat and glare of crowds, among breathtaking landscape, as the handbooks would have it, and what can be more remote and rustic than that?

The pride a young man can derive was nicely encapsulated in the handbooks' success stories from actual and fictional characters attesting to their hard-earned independence, such as

the following from a young English settler:

> I have got my own house now and am keeping bachelors' hall along with my younger brother…if I get a chance next year to get it photographed I will have it taken and then send you [the department of agriculture] one. It is pronounced by the people around to be by far the prettiest and best house in this part of the country, which gives me much pleasure, considering that I was my own architect and worked at it myself from the time we took the timber out of the bush till we moved into it. (as cited in Henderson, 2011, p. 25)

The Cartoon in *Figure 2* thus epitomizes such masculinity at the Canadian frontier around turn of the century. A dignified, morally-sound white working man is returning home after a long day's work done in the name of manly independence, patriarchal pride, and responsibility which are validated and rewarded by the hearty welcome from his wife and child on the porch. The sack he carries is filled with the bounty that he has earned by honest work, the sight of which and himself lighting up his little girl. Situating the house in the shade of trees and accenting it with a carefully maintained front yard, every stroke of the picture screams an idyllic English country ideal.

The "Good-for-nothing" Chinese Workers

The residential quarters of the Chinese workers along the railway and later in their bachelor enclaves would contrast starkly with the "best house" advertised in the handbook and the "typical home of Vancouver white working man" in *Figure 2*. The workers usually shared exceedingly limited spaces (A. B. Chan, 1981; J. N. Li, 2000; P. S. Li, 1998). Sometimes several of them had to crumple altogether on a jointed bunk (J. N. Li, 2000). P. S. Li (1998) describes such an abode for the workers:

> Entering a long, dark, narrow alleyway, our guide leading the way by striking a match at intervals, stumbling along over a muddy, uneven walk, the faint glimmer of a light appears in the distance ... revealing a net-work of small, partly covered passageways leading in all directions through this human beehive.... Three low bunks surround the room (often a double tier of them).... The walls are blackened with smoke. The walls and floor, which was composed of rough lumber, are absolutely bare, and the starry heavens are observable at intervals through the roof.... Here again we found an entire absence of any attempt at ventilation.... The atmosphere of the room is fairly stifling. (p. 85)

Lack of independence does not begin to capture the living conditions of these workers,

especially not for many of them working under an indentured system of sort (P. S. Li, 1998). The sense of pride, dignity, and fulfillment derived from supporting their families evaded these workers, as they were commonly perceived as escapees from duties that could at once enable and bear on white men. Included in the RRCCI 1885, was a white workers testimony against the "Chinaman", in the first half of which he stated:

> I work a thousand feet underground. I go every morning and take my lantern a thousand feet from the cheery light of day, and work hard all day for four dollars. On that hill-side, there is a little cottage in which my wife and four children live. The forces of our civilization have, in the struggle for an adequate remuneration to labour, given me enough to support that wife and those children in the decency and comfort in which you see them now. I have separate rooms in which the children may sleep; my wife must be clothed…. The children must be clothed as befits decency and order and the grade of civilization in which we live, and we must have a variety of food to which we have been accustomed and a taste for which we have inherited from our ancestors. While my work is very arduous, I go to it with a light heart and perform it cheerfully, because it enables me to support my wife and my children. I am in hopes to bring up my daughters to good wives and faithful mothers, and to offer my sons better opportunities in life than I had myself. I cheerfully contribute to the support of schools, churches, charitable institutions, and other objects that enter into our daily life … (p. XV).

After this rather unapologetic self-glorification, he turns to the offense:

> The Chinaman can do as much work underground as I can. He has no wife or family. He performs none of these duties. Forty or fifty of his kind can live in a house no larger than mine. He craves no variety of food. He has inherited no taste for comfort or for social enjoyment. Conditions that satisfy him and make him contented would make my life not worth living…. (p. XV).

Here, the testimony adds to the evidence of the Canadian masculine ideal of building a home and supporting a household of dependents. The worker's paternal aspirations also revealed the hardened gender divisions at the time, as the life trajectories he planned for his daughters and sons were significantly different and reflected the public-private divide. The public was further elaborated with a sense of community and responsible citizenship via contributions to "schools, churches, and charitable institutions". Though it was merely a cottage that he must sustain, as per his own description, this abode must be conscientiously maintained up to the standard of "comfort and decency" and naturally, "civilization", the use of such words as "inherit" and "ancestors" evoking a sense of primordial continuity. The cartoon in *Figure 2*, with the same

aim of keeping the "Chinamen" away from the country, resoundingly illustrates this worker's testimony. It is essentially a defense of white working-class masculinity, realized by casting masculinity of the "Chinamen" in mirrored opposites.

The accusation of Chinese workers' irresponsibility for family duties was false, as many of them were living a "married life in separation" (P. S. Li, 1998, p. 66). Their anguish over their inability to provide for their families were well-reflected in the carvings on a stone wall in the holding area where they were detained upon entry in Victoria around late-19th and early-20th century[10](Francis, 2006).

Homosociality on the Canadian Frontier

The lifestyle revealed here in the testimonial was de facto quite different from the English middle-class one described by Nixon (1997). When discussing earlier prairie settlement, Danysk (1992) points out that the population was small at the beginning and skewed in terms of male to female ratio. As cited in Danysk (1992), Dawson and Younge's close examination of survey areas indicates that there was a male to female ratio of 202 to 100 in rural areas of Turtleford, Saskatchewan and Peace River, Alberta, whereas in the more populated areas such as Red River, Manitoba, the ratio stood at 121 to 100 at the beginning of the 20th century. The scenario of the best house presented in the immigration handbook evidences a shared lifestyle indicative of such gender composition on the Canadian western frontier and thus a lifestyle shared by many— "batching it on the frontier" (Francis, 2006, p. 197).

It is well-documented that the frontier lifestyle was marked by homosocial settings where same-sex pairing was the norm (Danysk, 1996; Francis, 2006; Henderson, 2011; Williams, 1992). Bachelor homesteaders often invited a friend or paired up with a partner to share the workload and alleviate the isolation; mining jobs were carried out very often by all men groups; and cowboy bosses advised men to take a partner when exploring new trails. "The hierarchical terrain of Canadian imperial settlement was marked by deeply homosocial codes" (Francis, 2006, p. 192). Commenting on his separation from his homesteader father, Eggleston (as cited in Danysk, 1996) observed that ".... my father would have to rough it and 'batch it' on his own" (p. 158). The term "batch it" or "to batch" entered the prairie lexicon around the turn of the century with ease, indicating the general social acceptance of such arrangements (Danysk, 1992). One explanation has been that the bachelor homesteaders were expected and

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[10] According to Francis (2006), the wall bore carvings of generations of Chinese men about their despair and anguish during detention. The wall was demolished in 1977.

encouraged to settle down permanently and that, once they established themselves, they would either reunite with their wives and children in their new homes or marry. As such, white bachelor homesteaders' acceptance was largely premised upon the idea of "marriageability" (Francis, 2006). Thus, not only were they not frowned upon, they received hospitality and benevolence from neighboring families, not least women, as Danysk (1992) demonstrates that the bachelor homesteaders "were viewed with tolerance, concern, and benevolence, and often with bemused affection. Westerners, particularly women, felt a certain responsibility toward them" (p.160). Part of women's duty in the west, according to Mitchell (as cited in Danysk, 1992), was "being kind to poor bachelors round about who need kindness badly". Thus, "bachelors were more to be pitied than scorned, and the sorrier their existence, the greater the solicitude" (p. 160). Also cited in Danysk (1992) were homesteader partners who gratefully comment that the female hosts were lovely people.

The "Chinamen" as Sodomites

Contrasting starkly to the harsh-yet-hopeful lives of these white settlers, whose laborious and isolated living conditions were alleviated by amicable neighbours, the bachelor Chinese workers were singled out and considered malevolent because of their alleged sexual deviancy. Allegations of Chinese men engaging in sodomy and bestiality are found in testimonies collected in RRCCI 1885. For instance, a businessman sworn that his experience in Peru proved that sodomy was the worst among the Chinese men:

> No Chinese women at all were imported; in fact, I only saw one little Chinese girl. The result of this was that crimes of the most horrible and unmentionable kind were common among them which it was found impossible to prevent. They were in point of fact sodomites of the worst kind… (p. 259)

Another witness alleged that he caught "Chinamen" in the act of bestiality while he was in Hongkong and added gambling and prostitution to the charges:

> …but I have seen it with beasts, and detected them in the act—with hogs, dogs, and ducks…every refreshment house is a gambling house; they license them. Prostitution is not looked upon as a degrading occupation; it is carried on openly. (p. 228)

Since the most "unnatural offences" (Canada, 1885, p. 228) were reported to have been committed by the Chinese workers, it was regarded as only natural that various diseases were carried with them into Canada when they emigrated— "Frequently they offer to embark with the small-pox and venereal diseases. The practice on ship-board of sodomy and pollution is common", testified one merchant (Canada, 1885, p. 189). However, there are other references

to sodomy in the RRCCI 1885 that, in fact, cast doubt on the truthfulness of the accusations. The one from a merchant living in San Francisco is a case in point:

> …I have observed the Chinaman in my ordinary every-day walks, and I do not think they are any more immoral than the whites. I have heard of their being addicted to sodomy, having communication with animals, geese, etc., but I have never heard cases stated by anyone who was in possession of facts…. (p. 333)

A doctor named Stevenson not only refuted the disease-ridden “Chinaman” stereotype, but he also spoke candidly that, as he perceived, the sodomy accusations were false:

> Gentlemen, you have heard several witnesses testify unfavorably on this Chinese question, and they have said that they inferred so and so. And, from the fact that so many Chinese males are here and so few females, it has been inferred by Christian people that—well, I hesitate to say it—that sodomy was by them practiced. I stamp it as a damnable slander…. (p. 93)

The testimonies from the doctor and the businessman who had spent time in Peru offer insight into the rationale behind the sodomy and unnatural offences accusations. It was postulated that the all-male “clannish” lifestyle led to sexual interactions otherwise unavailable, in spite of the fact that the Canadian government created the Chinese workers’ bachelorhood by not allowing Chinese wives to immigrate and by passing laws that functioned as anti-miscegenation laws. Consequently, the disparity between the numbers of Chinese men and women was consistently stark. As I have pointed out, in 1911, for example, there were 18,799 Chinese men in British Columbia, and only 769 Chinese females (Roy, 1989). The Chinese bachelor enclaves and later Chinatown were in fact outcome of racial hostility and were self-protection mechanisms of the Chinese workers’ by living in numbers (Anderson, 1991). White men collectively, on the other hand, were unburdened with the same type of accusation, including those bachelor homesteaders and cowboys spending the majority of their times with same-sex partners, and oftentimes, they did so as life companions (Danysk, 1992; Williams, 1992).

Homosexuality and the Legal Surveillance on the Canadian Frontier

The image of white men as sexually “normal” and moral went largely uninterrupted in these politically-charged accusations, despite evidence of sexual interactions at the Canadian frontier among the homesteaders and the icon of the adventurous, manly frontiersmen—the cowboys (Francis, 2005; Williams, 1992). For example, Kinsley, Pomeroy, and Martin’s large-scale survey of sexual behaviours among American men suggests that the most homosexual

behaviors were found in the most remote rural areas of the West (as cited in Williams, 1992). Their report concluded that:

> There is a fair amount of sexual contact among the older males in Western rural areas. It is a type of homosexuality which was probably common among pioneers and outdoor men in general. Today it is found among ranchman, cattle men, prospectors, lumbermen, and farming groups in general—among groups that are virile, physically active. These are men who have faced the rigors of nature in the wild. They live on realities and on a minimum of theory. Such a background breeds the attitude that sex is sex, irrespective of the nature of the partners. (p. 160)

Cowboy memoirs and oral history research with friends of bachelor homesteaders' echo Kinsley, Pomeroy, and Martin's survey. One cowboy recollects the pairing-off mechanism among them:

> 'Always take another puncher', urged the boss… At first pairing they'd solace each other gingerly and, as bashfulness waned, manually…. [Attraction] was at first rooted in admiration, infatuation, and sensed need of an ally, loneliness and yearning, but it regularly ripened into love. (as cited in Williams, 1992, p. 159)

Another man also recalled his experience of living in an all-male Western logging Camp. As he wrote:

> Not one of us could be considered effeminate, neurotic or abnormal. Yet all but two engaged in homosexual activities…. The popular method, preferred by the majority, was sodomy, and it was in this logging camp that I was initiated into…this form of sexual activity…. After logging experience followed two years in gold mining camp where some 55 men were employed…. Here again, I was to learn the error of assuming that those engaged in homosexual activities were of a specific type. (as cited in Williams, 1992, p. 159)

To an extent, the demarcation of the Chinese workers as sexually deviant reflected in the location of race a hardened gender division, a tightened boundary between acceptable and unacceptable sexual behaviours, and the surveillance that came with them, which answered the need to establish white men as morally superior citizens.

The hardened gender division in both the British metropole and Canada commencing around the end of the 18th century did more than restrict women's role in the household. According to C. Hall (1980), the domestic ideal also dictated the wives' conceptualization of sexual interactions with their husbands. While they provided sex "on demand" for their husbands, the idea of autonomous sexual pleasure for themselves were unthought of, as "sex

was a necessary obligation owed to men and not one which women were permitted to talk or think about as owned to themselves" (p. 62). Therefore, numerous manuals reminded the women that "their job was to…preserve an exalted love free from the taint of sexuality or passion", and thus a "moral tone" of the household was preserved (p. 62). As the word "taint" indicates, "moral tone" and sexual passion are constructed as mutually exclusive categories. Thus, for these middle-class husbands and wives, it was only natural that sexual interactions should be viewed as a type of conjugal activity not practiced towards the end of pleasure.

The idea that natural sexual interactions should not be performed to achieve pleasure was also prevalent among Canadians around turn of the century, as "natural" sexual interactions "was to be confined to the marriage bed, performed in the missionary position, and condoned solely for the purpose of procreation" (Chapman, 1983, p. 98). Any sexual behaviours that did not serve such purpose was defined as "unnatural"—including "masturbation, oral sex, anal sex, homosexual contact, and even marital sex with no intention to propagate" (Chapman, 1983, p. 98). Moreover, there witnessed an intensified surveillance over such definition and the distinction between natural and unnatural sexual contact towards the end of the 19th century, and of all the unnatural sexual contacts, those between two men caused the most concerns (Chapman, 1983). Such intensification found expression in, for example, the Canadian criminal law, which, prior to 1869, contained the offence of attempted buggery/bestiality under one category, whereas indecent assault on a male formed another. In the section that specified the punishment for the latter offence, the law worded the perpetrator as "whosoever", thus implying that a female could be convicted of such offence. However, in 1886, the wording regarding the matter was altered into "any male person". The meaning of such an amendment was two-fold. First, it meant a double-down approach to the punishment, for a male suspect could be convicted on both counts, i.e. intended buggery/bestiality, and indecent assault on a male. More importantly, as Chapman (1986) argues, this "in effect, created the first male homosexual offence within the context of the written Canadian criminal law" (p. 279).

In the meantime, back in the metropole, homosexual contact was criminalized as such in 1885 (Connell, 2005a), the same year as the Canadian government started to levy the head tax. By then, the homosexual had become a social type clearly defined by "both a medical and a legal demarcation" (Connell, 2005a, p. 196), whereas prior to this period, sexual contact between men were by and large construed as these men's giving way to the devil (Connell, 2005a). Nonetheless, the word sodomy and buggery were often used interchangeably to denote heterosexual and homosexual anal intercourse, and intercourse with an animal (Chapman,

1983). In fact, it was the celebrated trials of Oscar Wilde in mid-1890s offered the Canadian public a language of speaking of such a social type, as maintains chapman (1983), "the identification of a sodomite –a practising male homosexual—with Oscar Wilde enabled society easily to label any such person", and a homosexual act, consensual or not, would lead to the individual(s) being branded an "Oscar Wilde type" by Victorian and Edwardian Canadian society (Chapman, 1983, p. 99).

As the notion that sex was solely for the purposes of procreation was hardened in Victorian and Edwardian eras, the 1892 Criminal Code of Canada specified that for a conviction of sex assault on a female to be made, her chastity before the assault must be proven (Chapman, 1986). And since the only rationale for sex, especially on the female's part, was procreation, sexual interactions for the purpose of propagating thus became incorporated into the prescribed gender roles. Any transgression was to be corrected by intensified legal surveillance. The simultaneous emergence of the first homosexual type in England and Canada as the "Oscar Wilde type" and the creation of the first homosexual offence in Canadian criminal law thus enshrined heterosexuality, which, henceforth, as Connell (2005a) argues, became a condition of a "proper" man. In explicating her theory of hegemonic masculinity, Connell (2005a) maintains that the most important case in contemporary Euro-American hegemonic masculinity is the dominance of heterosexual men over homosexual men, the latter being much more than a culturally stigmatized identity, as Connell (2005a) states:

> They are still a matter of everyday experience for homosexual men. They include political and cultural exclusion, cultural abuse (in the United States gay men have now become the main symbolic target of the religious right), legal violence (such as imprisonment under sodomy statutes), street violence (ranging from intimidation to murder), economic discrimination, and personal boycotts. (p. 78)

Thus, accusing the Chinese workers of being sodomites was only the most efficient way of stripping these men of their masculinity in a time when the notion of masculinity per se came to be framed in ever finer grain.

The "Chinamen" and Their Uncontrollable Sexual Deviancy

Francis (2006) conceptualizes the tightening of the codes regulating men's movement across boundaries as an indication of hardened norms of citizenship. Therefore, the head tax passed in 1885, coupled with the social construction of the homosexual men, functioned to restrict ideal citizenship to respectable, white, heterosexual males. Chinese masculinity on the Canadian frontier at these historical moments thus demonstrated the workings of race and

gender, as their powerful connotations were superimposed on one another to create the undesirable Chinese subjects, against an idealized white masculinity.

The displacement of Chinese workers from skilled employment opportunities solidified their constructed effeminacy, as they were increasingly restricted to service-oriented sectors, performing roles that were associated with females, against the backdrop of tightened surveillance of gender and sexuality. For instance, ship captains in British Columbia would usually assign white men to duties on the deck, whereas Chinese laborers were put in catering and stokehold crews on their ships. Considered unmanly, such crews were alleged havens for "homosexuals and transvestites" (Francis, 2006, p. 199). Of all the services the Chinese men provided, the hand laundries were the most problematized. The first rationale of such problematization stemmed from the notion of producerism. It was reported that the "Chinamen" could not produce, for all they did was menial errands devoid of any sign of finesse and spirit. Such is evident in the testimony from Surveyor General Pearse to the 1885 commission, as he stated:

> We want here… a white man's community, with civilized habits and religious aspirations, and not a community of Heathen Chinee who can never assimilate with us, or do ought to elevate us, and who can be of no possible value to a state in any capacity other than that of drawers of water and hewers of wood. (Canada, 1885, p. 97)

Of course, within the colonial gender order, the comment that the "Heathen Chinee" did nothing to elevate "us" was erroneous. The mass flow of population during the project of colonialism left indelible legacies pertaining to the construction of race, gender, and masculinity (Connell, 2005a). P. S. Li (1998) presents that the hand laundry business was considered to be beneath white men and employment in a laundry injurious to a white man's reputation. As gender, power, and positions within the gender order are always matters of relational significance (Connell, 2000; 2005a; Nixon, 1997), it follows that in having to clean white men's clothes while they marked the treacherous terrains of the Canadian frontier, or busy producing wealth of the state, the "Chinaman" was produced as a subdued subject as he not only assumed the stigmatized identity, but the act per se automatically realized the hegemonic.

However, the stigma from working in a hand-laundry extended beyond the notion of "proper" gender performance. In a turn to the opposite side of the effeminacy stereotype, Chinese men were said to cunningly deceive and manipulate white women, so that they would fall to their evil ploy and be ravished. The venues of such alleged atrocities included Chinese laundries and restaurants, and the partitions or screens contained within gathered increasing

anxieties, as they obstructed the white dominant gaze (Pon 1996). Pon (1996) argues that "the construction of the partition metaphor is consistent with Michel Foucault's hypothesis that the architectural construction of spaces becomes focal points of contention between the 'eye of power' and the subjects of this gaze" (p. 92). Thus, the partition metaphor stigmatized the Chinese hand laundry business and the restaurants with the rationale that the Chinese men established the businesses precisely because they would enable them to engage in immoral and evil deeds with the protection of an obstructive mechanism (Pon, 1996). Furthermore, the partition metaphor also contributed to the construction of a Chinese character, as writers of Jack Canuck, a Toronto newspaper, argued that "Chinaman hid their devious depravation beneath a veneer of a cheery, smiling good nature". Yet, behind that partition, they secretly sought white women as their sexual preys (Pon, 1996, p. 92).

There was nothing new in the rhetoric of the evil "Chinaman" and his unruly sexual desires, nor was there any novelty in the image of the innocent white girl. The juxtaposition of these two stereotypes reflected the imperative of reproducing whiteness. In what follows, I draw on Dyer's (1996) insights into the reproduction of whiteness to unravel such juxtaposition. As Dyer (1996) argues, anti-miscegenation, as manifested in the "one-drop" qualification of being black in the US, as late as 1983, was to ensure the reproduction of whiteness, whereas miscegenation was encouraged in Brazil for the same purpose. Yet, Dyer (1996) maintains that the notion of sexual reproduction and whiteness appear to be irreconcilable at times, as the latter is said to be superior precisely because of the residence in the white body of a "spirit"—a defining property of whiteness that cannot be scrutinized—that functions to keep the desires and dark impulses at bay, and that it "could both master and transcend the white body" (p. 23). As such, the ability of control is a sign of whiteness, whereas having sexual desires and sexual interactions are not very white (Dyer, 1996). The notion that "the means of reproducing whiteness are not themselves pure white" leads to anxieties over white extinction, and such anxieties can project sexuality, i.e. dark impulses, on other races (Dyer, 1996, p. 26). The stereotype of the clannish extended families of Asians is a case in point (Dyer, 1996), as is that of the "yellow fiends" appearing in Jack Canuck that continuously posed as a threat for white females.

Dyer (1996) contends that "in the West, heterosexuality implies gendered sexualities" (p. 27). Following this contention, while white men are battling against the dark impulses in becoming the universal subject, white women must not have such drives in the first place. The ideal model of white femininity is that of Virgin Mary, a pure vessel for reproduction (Dyer, 1996). The Victorian and Edwardian notion of sex without pleasure, sex on-demand of the

husband, and social taboos about sex not for the purpose of procreation speak to such definition of white femininity, and the gender arrangement of sexuality in general. Passivity as a norm for female sexuality is also captured in the notion that (white) women are only "kissed into life" by (white) men (Ellis, as cited in Weeks, 1992, p. 223). White females, therefore, are viewed to possess a purer form of whiteness, which must be policed against the "yellow race", whose power of reproduction, if unchecked, would subvert a white Canada. As Chapleau, a commissioner of the RRCI 1885 noted, "If they [Chinese men] came with their women, they would come to settle and what with immigration and their extraordinary fecundity, would soon overrun the country" (p. xcvii). Similarly, the innocent white female, counterposed to the licentiousness of the "yellow fiends", was among the recurring themes regarding the "Chinamen" across journalism of the time (Pon, 1996; Wright, 1988). The presence of the former in both cartoons reminded white men of what needed to be policed around and functioned as a symbolic boundary marking the "innate differences" between the races. The cartoon published in Saturday Sunset, 1907 represents white immigrants as well-dressed hard-working men stepping off from "modern" steamers, the presence of tools, children, and women attesting to their heterosexuality and stand-up character as builders of the nation, whereas the "Orientals" swarmed in by sailing ships without women or children, and were trying to crawl through the door, only to be barred and guarded against by a white female gatekeeper wrapped in Union Jack.

Masculinity in Turn-of-century Canada: Hegemony and Subordination

At the time, besides the allegation that the laundries in Chinatowns were sites for the performance of unspeakable crimes by the Chinese, they were also frequently targeted for their alleged unsanitary conditions, despite the fact that out of the 14 laundries in 1889, 10 were operating outside of Chinatown and were serving a city-wide market (Anderson, 1991). The image of the laundries and Chinatown as "ulcer", a word Chapleau used (as cited in Anderson, 1991, p. 82), was ingrained in the minds of the public around which anti-Chinese sentiments and actions were incited (Anderson, 1991). Half of *Figure 2* centres on these perceptions of the laundries and bachelor enclaves. Here, the Chinaman's pigtail and "heathen" outfit outline a race of the distant "celestial" past, incompatible with a "modern" Canadian society. His opium-smoking and clannish existence below any decent standard imaginable to the white race resembles that of pests. Thus, their kind "infested" a lump of a building in great number (2000), while the most notable architectural feature of the warren is the many windows, indicating the severity of over-crowding and the supposed unsanitary conditions that follow.

Insofar as the cartoon is a text and an attempt to communicate information to the readership, taking account of the larger social context wherein it was created, the term “typical” and the exaggerated conditions of the Chinese warren indicate a rhetorical strategy Magnusson and Marecek (2015) name “extreme case formulation”, which brings to mind the “outer edges of the range of possible judgements” (p. 134). Prevalent examples include superlatives such as best, worst, and adverbs including never, extremely, absolutely, and so forth; exaggerations like “everybody does that”, or “nobody likes it” are also frequent. Often utilized with contrasting, extreme case formulation functions as a powerful way of persuasion (Magnusson & Marecek 2015). If one decides to renounce a course of action, for example, it is only because nobody does it; and if one is to choose a particular course of action that everyone endorses and is extremely common, then, it is well-justified. In this case, the word “typical” argues for the white man’s home being common and representative; the idealized home, citadel of virtuous masculine civilization is not beyond the humble means of any ordinary man who works honestly, as he is a “workingman” and not a banker or an entrepreneur with significant capital at his disposal. Thus, by portraying the white man as every man, or just man, the banality of the house assumes normalcy.

Counterposed to the exaggerated deterioration of the infested Chinese warren, the persuasive intent of the cartoon becomes evident, as a profusion of “archival features” of Orientalism in Canada were mobilized: plagued with diseases and vices, the “Chinamen” cannot produce anything valuable, as they cannot even reproduce themselves. Their small, atrophic bodies and vile living conditions speak to their racial inferiority and inability to sustain. The stereotypical white little girl juxtaposed next to the home marks the recurring motif that the “jaundiced” race must be driven away, for much is at stake and whiteness must be protected, not least when its very innocence is up against a class of people so feminine that they must resort to their cunningly deceptive ploys. The sensationalized stories of innocent white women being lured behind the partitions with wine and opium occurred every so often across journalism to orchestrate such notion (Pon, 1996). The cartoon is thus replete with sediments of Empire and colonialism in circulation which, at turn of the century, were sourced together to demarcate a morally superior citizenship at the expenses of others. It struck home.

Commenting on the matter of sexuality, Foucault (1984b) spoke of the Victorian Age as a moment in history when the “twilight …fell upon”, and the monotonous nights of Victorian bourgeois followed. Sexuality was henceforth taken “custody” by the conjugal family and “absorbed by the serious function of reproduction” (p. 292). In the case of masculinity in turn-of-century Canada, the function of reproduction was serious indeed, to the extent that a whole

gender order was formulated around reproduction and reached beyond it. The function of reproduction did not just denote procreation. It also engendered processes that gave shape to a system of social embodiment[11], where bodies were drawn into the history at the Canadian frontier, albeit from qualitatively different entry points, and occupying polarized positions in the nexus of gender power. Connell (2000) argues that, “the state itself institutionalizes particular masculinities and regulates relations between masculinities in the gender order of society” (p. 29-30). Such gendered institutionalization commenced around the notion of reproduction, and encompassed greater spheres where the modern subject took shape, while constantly being reformulated and repositioned. One example is Connell’s (2005a) claim that prior to the bourgeois ideology of separate spheres, the idea of masculinity in Europe did not exist to the extent that it could be considered an organizing principle of society, and that men and women were seen as bearers of “qualitatively different characters” only came with this ideology (p. 68).

In 1885, the Parliament approved the head tax. Thus, potential immigrants were divided into two classes—people of Chinese origin and people of non-Chinese origin, the latter covered in the general Immigration Act (Anderson, 1991). Two years later, an amendment was made to the 1885 Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration as a result of the controversy concerning a Mr. Moore, “‘an Englishman of standing’”, who was surprised upon arriving in Canada, for he was required to pay a head tax for his Chinese wife and their children. The official definition of Chinese was thus changed into “a person born of a Chinese father irrespective of nationality of the mother” (Anderson, 1991, p. 58). In the case of Mr. Moore, according to Anderson (1991), the change to the definition of Chinese indicated “an extended exemption from the tax to women of Chinese origin married to ‘British and Christian’ subjects” (p. 58). A white man’s biological capacity and the meanings embedded/imagined in such capacity, in this instance, momentarily disrupted a racial order; the woman and children, as dependents of the good Christian man, were “lifted” out of a racial category deemed uncivilized. Whiteness was again victorious in inseminating morality and civilization.

Pon (1996) reminds us that the ostensible servility of the Chinese labourers and what was often perceived as deception were merely necessary decorum for people working in service-oriented industries— “as providers of services, as ‘house boys’, and as labourers, these smiles were crucial for earning a livelihood (p. 97)”. However, white Canadians did not entertain the idea of reflecting on why Chinese workers smiled as they did. The political nature

[11] Discussed in Chapter three, under the heading “Underlining Agency of the Body”.

of the hostility precluded the possibility of such reflection, in the same way as the commissioners concluded in the RRCCI 1885 that sodomy was a "common practice" among the Chinese men immigrating to Canada's West Coast, despite the contradictory testimonies (Canada, 1885, p. 194).

As Connell (2005a) states, "We find the gender configuring of practice however we slice the social world, whatever unit of analysis we choose" (p. 72). Chinese masculinity in Canada, since the Chinese workers' arrival until around turn of the century, evidenced the crucible of the ideological and institutional configurations of gender. These men left their crises-stricken home country in search of a better life. They arrived. Colonial politics branded their bodies undesirable, as they were believed to be trespassing powerful symbolic and geographical boundaries. In terms of cathexis[12], their bodies were represented as atrophic and disease-ridden, their emotional attachment unfulfilled; as they survived together as bachelors working service-oriented jobs with extremely limited resources, their subsistence at once bore out the gendered accumulation on the Canadian frontier and enabled it; the power invested in white men as patriarchs of the New World was unknown to them. The many discursive regimes abundant in the Oriental archive fixed the grammar of signification where the signifier "Chinaman" did not signify any properties of masculinity that was perceived pivotal to a forever white Canada.

Far from being the end, the ideological emasculation of the Chinese men can be seen as a genesis of a subordinate masculinity, the conditions of which well persist into contemporary Canadian society. In the second half of my thesis, taking up a topic of masculinity, i.e. that of embodiment, I focus on the continuous ideological subjugation of Chinese Canadian men in Alberta, as their bodies are drawn into history at the junction of contemporary politics of race and gender.

[12] Division of labour, power, emotional relation/cathexis, and symbolism are four dimensions of gender analysis, discussed in Chapter Three, under the heading "Four Dimensions of Gender Analysis".

Part Two Sport, Masculinity, and Chinese Albertans

Chapter Three Theoretical Frame and Methodological Approaches

As I turn to the contemporary context, in this Chapter, I outline the theoretical perspectives that inform the direction of my research and guide the discussions in later chapters. My project is situated within a frame informed by leading gender theorist Raewyn Connell (1987; 1990; 2000; 2005a; 2009) whose relational approach to masculinity has gained a substantial recognition. Before I elaborate further, some theoretical delimitations regarding intersectional analysis must be identified.

Theoretical Delimitations

As the nature of the project dictates, the construct of race is inevitably one aspect of investigation. Today, there are growing proponents of intersectional analysis that inform anti-oppression praxis (Stasiulis, 1999). Crenshaw (2003), for example, illustrates the "interactive effect of discrimination" via a metaphor of an intersection. Standing at this intersection as subjects of multiple minority identities face heavier "traffic" and is thus dangerous. Similarly, Fleras (2012) also points out that the interlocking and compounding effects of race, gender, and class have become essential in social analysis.

Postcolonialism underlines the essential role anthropological theories played in the legitimation of colonial and imperial rule, and the basis for these theories has been the concept of race (R. J. C. Young, 2003). Thus, growing out of the imperative of decolonization (R. J. C. Young, 2003), postcolonial theories and race theories are of great importance in eviscerating racialization in contemporary Canada. Starting with Barker (1981), important research into race since the 1980s has indicated a "turn" of racism from the biologically informed expressions to more covert, politically acceptable re-articulations thereof. Echoing Barker (1981), in Canada, P. S. Li (2001) and Bannerji (2000) argue that official multiculturalism thwarts constructive discussions over racism; Henry and Tator (2010) term this type of racism in Canada democratic racism. As they maintain:

> Democratic racism is an ideology in which two conflicting sets of values are made congruent to each other. Commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness conflict but coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment, and discrimination against them. (p. 9-10)

I take up this idea of covert, "coded" racism in Chapter Five, as I critically analyze one strategy some participants employed to negotiate their masculinities. I also adopt the language of postcolonial theories in the broadest sense in analyzing the demarcation and construction of

the Chinese as an inferior race in turn-of-century Canada in the first two chapters.

However, acknowledging the importance of this school of thought, the primary focus of this project is gender, specifically masculinity. As I have elaborated in the Introduction, the primary rationale for emphasizing gender instead of race is the scarcity of discussions over the gendered properties of racism against Asian men. Much in the same way as some black feminists privilege the construct of race in their interrogation of oppression (Stasiulis, 1999), I foreground gender in discussing racism. I exemplify the importance of adopting theoretical lenses that specifically investigate gender and power through the 2010 "Too Asian" incident. The McLean's notorious "Too Asian" article (Findlay & Köhler, 2010) stirred a nation-wide outcry, as it claimed that one key Canadian university enrolled too many Asians, which was deemed detrimental to a Canadian campus culture (Coloma, 2013). Of course, this amounts to a racist cliché that the "over-presence" of an alien race is injurious to the well-being of a supposedly white nation. Citing complaints from white students, the article outlines the supposed incompatibility of Asian students with a "campus culture" that underscores drinking and partying (Findlay & Köhler, 2010). Such hedonist practices are important for masculinity in many occidental settings (Connell, 1990; Druick, 2010), perhaps more so than for femininity; and Chinese men, seen as nerds, are said to be incapable of such practices (Chen, 1999). Thus the "Too Asian" racism is gendered. Yet, in the scholarly discussions over this matter, including Coloma (2013), Cui & Kelly (2012), Jack-Davies (2012), and Yu (2012), the idea of masculinity is not present. This absence speaks to the importance of foregrounding gender in analyzing racism against Asian men. To reach this end, I employ hegemonic masculinity theory to ground the project.

Theory of Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is perhaps the most visible term across disciplines where masculinity is a prime topic of investigation. Mostly attributed to Connell (Atkinson, 2011), the genesis of the term was a combination of empirical discussions on social inequalities in Australian high schools and a series of criticisms of role theory (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985). The model developed by Connell, as detailed in later sections, has gained the most ascendency in masculinity studies over the past decades. Many contemporary works of variegated topics that involve discussion on masculinity are informed by Connell's theorizing (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; 2013; Davis, 1997; Kimmel, 2012; Messner, 2005; 2012), and she is considered one of the most influential theorists of the field (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014). Connell's relevance to my project consists in her surgical insight into masculinity as both an

aspect of personal identity and a configuration of society enacted by numerous gender relations and gendered practices (Connell, 2000), and in the positioning of her work as social justice. As she explicates "to adopt such [social justice] a baseline is not to propose an arbitrary value preference that is separate from the act of knowing. Rather, it is to acknowledge the inherently political character of our knowledge of masculinity" (Connell, 2000, p. 44). As such, her knowledge assists to expose the workings of hegemonic practices that frame Chinese masculinity, a central theme of my inquiry.

Social Construction of Gender and Masculinity

According to Connell (2000; 2005a), it is still the case that the conceptualization and definition of masculinity are "muddy" practices. There are visible differences between the understanding of the term masculinity outside and within the academy. Outside the academy, masculinity seems to be understood as a "true essence" of men, an idealized manly existence, whose empirical disappointment is bemoaned, compared with a lost golden past; within scholarly works, the use of the term is never consistent. Some reduce it to a "simplified and static notion of identity", whereas some rest the term on a "simplified and unrealistic notion of difference between men and women" (p. 16). The idea of masculinity, then, as used in a common-sense and journalistic manner, usually denotes manliness—what men do and should do, premised upon a typology that is at once biologically-reductionist and normative. The rationale of such understanding is that masculinity is internalized male sex differences that are biologically framed (Connell, 2005).

Connell (1987; 2000; 2005a; 2009) opposes such reductionist views, and argues that to understand topics of gender such as masculinity, gender must be seen not only as individual characteristics related to bodily experiences, but also a "domain of social practice" (2000, p. 18). Thus, the departure of Connell's work on the concept is an understanding of masculinity as a social construction that is not genetically "programed" or "inherited with the Y chromosome" (Connell, 1990, p. 83), as she believes that "gender exists precisely to the extent that biology does not determine the social" (Connell, 2005a, p. 71), and that "[gender] is not a predetermined state. It is a *becoming*, a condition actively under construction" (Connell, 2009, p. 5, emphasis in original). This principle is also true to masculinity, as "one is not born masculine, but has to become a man" (Connell, 2009, p. 5). Thus, gendered performances are actively produced and inscribed through interactions within institutions, individually and collectively. This line of theorizing then leads to her contention to use the word masculinity in the plural (Connell, 2000; Connell, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). One point of note

is that Connell is not the sole contributor to social constructionist[13] approaches to research. Studies on masculinity since the 1980s have widely adopted a constructionist perspective in the treatment of gender and culture (Connell, 2005a).

Another note of importance is that the plurality of masculinity should not be viewed as progress within advocacy politics alone where gains of equity and equality work have earned for some organizing principles of gender/sexuality, such as homosexuality, a status of masculinity, whereas prior to such gains, the idea of being gay per se stigmatizes masculine identities (and still does to a comparatively lesser degree) (Connell, 2005a). More specifically, as Connell (2005a) argues, gay masculinity is one of the most representative cases of a subordinated masculinity in contemporary culture. Yet, the unification and unanimity of people within this category do not exist, as demonstrated by research documenting the variegated acceptance and tolerance of gay men, depending on the degree of their perceived conformity to gender performances (Elliott, 2012), and their racial backgrounds (Wong, 2012).

Connell's (2000) insistence on not viewing masculinity as a "stabilized core" also benefits tremendously from research outside of Occidental settings (Connell, 2000). Therefore, the multiplicity of masculinity consists in the parallel constructions of masculinity as much as the vertical, across cultures, races, history, and geography. Herdt's ethnographic research on a culture in the eastern highlands of Papua New Guinea is a case in point, where sexual relationships are sustained between boys and young adults, which are deemed initiation rituals into these boys' adulthood (as cited in Connell, 2000; 2005a). According to Williams (1992), this boy-man pairing mechanism is essentially a system of education of boys that indicates a strong tie between homoeroticism and masculinity. Herdt's research is not a discovery of aberration, instead, this system appears across cultures with Ancient Greece being the best-known case. In these instances, homosexual behaviours do not threaten masculinity, they ensure it (Williams, 1992). Another case which adds to the diversity within gender configurations can be found in Louie's (1994) study on Chinese masculinity, where he introduces the "wen-wu" continuum as both a category and a framework for research on Chinese masculinities. Here, "wen" denotes cultivation of mind and scholarly attributes, whereas "wu" represents physical or martial prowess. He argues that, in Ancient China, though an ideal man was to be in possession of both qualities balanced in harmony, it was rarely the case; of the two polarised entities, "wen" aspects outweigh "wu". Thus, emerged the frail scholar-gentry image of ideal men at times which was distinct from the archetypal masculinities

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[13] The term constructionism/ constructionist and constructivism/ constructivist are both used across disciplines.

found in occidental settings.

Yet, it is important to note that Connell's theorizing on masculinity per se does not reside within the post-structuralist school of thought in gender and masculinity, which emerged as part of the post-structural turn of social theory (Connell, 2005a, p. 49), inspired by French philosopher Foucault (2000; 2005a). She locates the most prevalent mode of analysis within this approach in exploring powerful discourses that discipline bodies with societal rules (Connell, 2000, p, 19). As a mode of semiotic analysis "flourished at the meeting-point of cultural studies and feminism" (Connell, 2005a, p. 49), such metaphors of the body as "canvas to be painted, a surface to be imprinted, a landscape to be marked out" are frequent occurrences within works of this approach (Connell, 2005a, p. 50).

Underlining Agency of the Body

While acknowledging the progressive nature of this approach and applauding its contribution, Connell (2000; 2005a; 2009) maintains that it is flawed. She and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that "the limits of discursive flexibility must be acknowledged" (p. 829). She holds that to reduce body to a canvas is erroneous, as "the surface on which cultural meanings are inscribed is not featureless, and it does not stay still. Bodies, in their own right as bodies, do matter. They age, get sick, enjoy, engender, [and] give birth" (Connell, 2005a, p. 51). Bodies are both objects of and agents in social practice (Connell, 2000; 2005a; 2009). Bodies defy the authority of discourse. Bodies are recalcitrant and difficult (Connell, 2009, p. 56). They enact practices of transgression. In the case of homosexuality, bodies are socially invited to be one thing, but they refuse to. Therefore, Connell (2009) believes that to reduce bodies to signifiers risk the signified disappearing. The fact that gendered systems of signification are named such indicates that gender practices are also material practices, as the signs eventually refer to the reproductive distinctions between men and women.

Thence, Connell (2000, 2009) outlines her gender relations approach that underscores "structures", or "patterning of social relations" (2000, p. 25) as foci of analysis, for she (2000) believes that gender is a form of "social embodiment", and "gender relations form a particular social structure, refer to particular features of bodies, and gender practices form a circuit between them" (2009, p. 68). This short description of the social embodiment of gender, also referred to as "body reflexive practice" (2000, p. 26; 2005a, p. 64; 2009, p. 67), is essentially an encapsulation of Connell's key ideas. It acknowledges the social construction of gender, as social structures and the body enter a "co-constitutive" relation, whereas the conduit of such co-constitution is the many gender practices saturating the society, and yet they are not biology

per se. She further elaborates that there are numerous such circuits, or "loops" of bodily practices and social structures; they shift and evolve over time, and in such manner, "bodies are drawn into history" (2009, p. 67).

Four Dimensions of Gender Analysis

Connell's initial exploration into the topic yields three structures or "dimensions" of gender relation (Connell, 2009, p.76) broadly conceptualized for the analysis of gender, including "division of labour", "relations of power", and "cathexis" (Connell, 1987, p. 99, 107, 111). "Symbolism" as a fourth aspect was also introduced in her later works (Connell, 2000; 2009).

In terms of division of labour, research should attend to the demarcation of the job market between men and women (Connell, 1987; 2000; 2009). Connell also introduces Glucksmann's idea of "total division of labour" (as cited in Connell, 2009, p. 79), and emphasizes that the two-fold gender division be addressed—division in paid labour and unpaid labour at home, as "the whole economic sphere is culturally defined as a men's world" (p. 79), where the insistence of such demarcation is oftentimes devoid of rationality (1987, 2009). Research documenting different cultural arrangements between men and women regarding domestic duties, for example, exposes such irrationality (Connell, 2000; 2009). A further example can be found in the case of clerical work, which was initially "a man's job" (2009, p. 79). Moreover, since housework and paid jobs are done in different social relations, they have distinct cultural meanings. The implication of this is that these meanings in turn influence our understanding of gender differences, as do the different locations of men and women in economic processes. The economic consequences, then, account for a gendered accumulation in global capitalism in general. Thus, the ways in which firms distribute corporate income tend to favour men. Thus, men benefit from "patriarchal dividend" (Connell, 2000, p. 25); the products the corporations place on the market have gender effects and gendered uses; beyond the narrowly defined economy, gender accumulation dictates educational processes and systems where male and female students are prepared for differentiated job positions (Connell, 2009), which in turn feed into the circuit of gendering.

In terms of gender relations of power, Connell (2000; 2009) outlines broadly five locations. The most significant feature is women's overall subordination and men's dominance, the structure feminists name patriarchy (Connell, 2000), even if such domination is ostensibly subtle or benign, such as men being head of the household and the "breadwinners" (Connell, 2009). Beyond the personal and intimate sphere, it is also important to examine and expose the

many ways in which gender power of men (also particular groups of men) are institutionalized. Distributional research provides propelling evidence for this case (Connell, 2009). For instance, hiring in the state, a masculine institution (Connell, 2005a), follows an "old boys network" of sort at many levels. Another notable feature is the domination of heterosexual men over gays, "through criminalization, police harassment, economic discrimination, violence and cultural pressure" (Connell, 2009, p. 77). Furthermore, following the discursive turn of social theory, Connell (2009) underlines research approaches analysing the occupying of and subscribing to powerful positions in discourses that subjugate women so that they willingly take on ideas of beauty that constrain their mobility, as she states, "taking up a subject position of desirable heterosexual femininity is both free choice and fiercely controlling" (2009, p. 78). Finally, the most "sweeping" form of gender power, according to Connell (2009), is the creation of empires and colonialism where "colonizing forces, [comprised] overwhelmingly [of] men from the metropole, seized women's bodies as well as the land", and consequently "indigenous gender orders were transformed, by plantation economies, missions, population displacement, and other processes" (p. 78). So far-reaching is the project of Empire, the post-colonial world is still dominated by economic and military superpowers.

Emotional relations, or cathexis is also an important dimension of social embodiment of gender. Connell (2009) argues that inquiries into this aspect of gender structure should address issues including sexuality, emotional attachment between parents and children, and gendered emotional management in general. Besides emotional management, of these areas, sexuality is also relevant to my project. According to Connell (2000; 2009), sexuality is necessary in the study of gender, given that "the practices that shape and realize desire are …an aspect of the gender order" (Connell, 2000, p. 25), and to an extent, sexual relations involve bodily experiences that are culturally formed, which cannot be reduced to a biological reflex (Connell, 2009, p. 81). In terms of sexuality, consensus or the lack thereof, whether or not pleasure is reciprocal, are among the possible political questions we can ask (Connell, 2000; 2005a; 2009).

When the fourth dimension of symbolism was introduced, Connell (2000) outlined the importance of studying the "symbolic structures called into play in communication" (p. 26), as she believed that gender subordination can be reproduced through "linguistic practices" and "the symbolic representation of gender" (p. 26). Insofar as representation and signifying practice in general are important topics in cultural studies (S. Hall, 1997), this new development was essentially a development built on post-structuralist thinking, though Connell (2000, 2005a) has criticized the approach as losing sight over material aspects of gender issues. This

is more evident now that some of her latest works specifically list “culture and discourse” together with symbolism as the fourth dimension (2009, p. 83). Here, agreeing to the underlying assumption of post-structuralists that “nothing is ‘outside’ discourse” (Connell, 2009, p. 83), Connell (2000; 2009) calls for our attention to discursive framing of meanings in society and cultural representation of gender. She emphasizes the importance of historicity while viewing gendered cultural history in continuity, as “gender symbolism is constantly involved in social struggle” (Connell, 2009, p. 84-85).

Masculinity as a Multi-Faceted Concept

A brief definition of masculinity is included in Connell (2005a), where she states “[Masculinity is] …simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality, and culture” (Connell, 2005a, p. 71). Similarly, another definition is elaborated in Connell (2000):

> Masculinities are configurations of practice within gender relations, a structure that includes large-scale institutions and economic relations as well as face-to-face relationships and sexuality. Masculinity is institutionalized in this structure, as well as being an aspect of individual character or personality. (p. 29)

Masculinity, then, can be seen as a specific entry point into the social structures formed by gender relations and gendered practices, and a configuration of gendered practices, besides an aspect of individual character or personality (Connell, 2000; 2005a). In line with her theorizing of gender as a form of social embodiment, the definition proposed in Connell (2000) further underlines specific loci of enunciation of such embodiment. The implication is that the examination of masculinities is simultaneously a deconstruction, and an unravelling of “gender regimes” (Connell, 2000, p. 29) wherein people grouped under different gender categories do not occupy the same position. She believes that at any given time, there is always a culturally exalted masculine type/position/arrangement which engages in hegemonic practices that sustain patriarchy or in an attempt to do so (Connell, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity or “hegemonic pattern of masculinity” (Connell, 2000, p. 30) is thus defined as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees [or is taken to guarantee] the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell, 2005a, p. 77).

It is essential that the concept be seen and adopted in ways that reflect the relational nature thereof. As Connell (2005a) explains that “the production of particular exemplary

masculinities required political struggle, and it meant the defeat of historical alternatives" (2005a, p. 30). Resonating with research in the field, Connell (2000; 2005a) points out that different forms of masculinity—hegemonic, complicit, subordinate are defined in relation to, and against one another, as well as against femininity (Connell, 2000; Connell, 2005a; Greig & Holloway 2012; Nixon, 1997), and that subordinate masculinities are sometimes symbolically subsumed into femininity. The labeling of "sissies" or "nancy-boys" is a case in point (Connell, 2000, p. 31). Thus, when a specific masculinity is designated as hegemonic, that means it does not only displace other liminal forms of masculinity, it also installs heterosexism and oftentimes misogyny, for such hegemonies must be the result of clear demarcations and then valorizing of the hegemonic and the vilifying of the rest and femininity (Connell, 2000; 2005a). Besides ideal forms of masculinities named as the hegemonic, there are complicit masculinities that do not occupy the hegemonic position. Nonetheless, they are complicit, for they also draw the "patriarchal dividend" (Connell, 2005, p 79), as they do not counter or contradict the culturally exalted masculinity. A certain societal authority is then afforded to the hegemonic groups, whereas subordinated forms of masculinity occupy marginal existence (Connell, 2005a). Two relationships, i.e. that of hegemonic—subordinated and authorization—marginalization thence constitute a "sparse" frame for analysing masculinities (Connell, 2005a, p. 81), and within the relationships and struggles among men and between men and women, a gender order is constantly formed and challenged (Connell, 2005a).

Theoretical Limitations

Albeit a tool of great analytical utility, the concept of hegemonic masculinity and its application are not without problems. The first area of potential misuse has to do with reductionist adoption of the term. According to Connell (2005a), the Gramscian term hegemony was originally adopted to understand the stabilization of class relations. The transplant thereof to gender analyses can be easily reduced to a simple form of domination, if not attended to with critical consciousness; or it is sometimes simply the case that the diversity, tensions, and contestations within gender categories are overlooked in mobilization of the term in a generalizing manner (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), such as the tendency in research which groups various "Type A" personalities under the term (Connell, 2000). The attempts of using the concept to mark a typified or reified version of hegemonic masculinity should therefore be done away with, as they contradict the premise of the concept as an analytical category benefiting from social constructionism which views gender and sexuality as historically specific or provisional, as I have demonstrated (Connell, 2000; 2005a; 2009;

Weeks, 1992). Moreover, intersectionality should also be attended to. As Connell (2000) herself argues that gender not only intersects but "interacts" with race and class (p. 29) as well as regional cultures, it is essential that the geography of masculinities be thoroughly examined as well. Both Atkinson (2011) and Connell (1990; 2000; 2005a), for example, have provided cases where young men strive to be the masculine exemplars of different cultural locations on a societal/ national level, through excelling in sports such as surfing, only to find that the processes of doing such masculinities and the success thereof distance themselves from celebrated masculinities on a local level, where drinking and other risk-taking hedonistic practices are more accepted masculine behaviours. Thus, it is proposed that any fixed, trans-historical model of the concept be refuted (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Closely relating to the issue of reductionism is the simplification of the concept by equating it to violence or domination (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This is evident in the argument advanced by Collier (as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) that the static analyses of hegemonic masculinities ignore benefits concomitant of patriarchy, for example, wage and family support. To counter this, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) and Donaldson (1993) aptly point out that the very concept of hegemony in the Gramscian sense cannot just be about violent domination devoid of any merits, on the contrary, it involves carefully orchestrated ways to win or construct consent, ideology being the stalwart of such efforts. Violent domination alone simply does not effect a hegemony that emphasizes the co-presence of institutional and ideological control/domination.

Another topic central to the discussions and debate over hegemonic masculinity pertains to embodiment, namely, who/which bodies constitute the hegemonic masculine ideals. In thought-provoking discussions over this topic, Connell (2000; 2005a) has argued against the reifications of hegemonic masculinity on multiple occasions, one of such reifications being the idea that hegemonic masculinity must be embodied. On the contrary, at any given time, there can be quite a distance between the constructed hegemonic masculinity and men and boys in practice, causing tensions and ruptures within themselves as they aspire to, and at times, reject such ideals. The notion of desiring to be and cannot be also has led to Simpson's acclaimed perspective of men performing instead of demonstrating masculinity (1994) and marks a central feature of masculinity as a "crisis-prone" construct (Donaldson, 1994, p. 645).

Such distance is de facto captured already in Connell's initial conceptualization when she identified complicit masculinities as essential to the construction of the hegemony. Furthermore, said distance can also be a result of careful orchestration, for the most sought-after masculine subjects can be the result of conscious monitoring and disciplining of the body.

Therefore, such masculinities may be "exalted by churches, narrated by mass media, or celebrated by the state" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 838). Such models of manhood refer to but also "distort" the intricacies of everyday practices, and at times the point of the narrations of masculinity lie within such distortions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 838; Henderson, 2011)

Towards a Framework

Taking account of the aforementioned discussions and contestations, Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) proposes a "tripartite" model of analyzing hegemonic masculinities:

1. Local: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research;
2. Regional: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research;
3. And global: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization. (p. 849)

Acknowledging that hegemonic masculinities constructed at a global level have exerted influence of sort on the first two dimensions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), Connell (2005b) predicts that future research will likely spare greater attention on the global arena where masculinities are constructed and contested. However, they believe that the first two dimensions are where our utmost attention should be focused. In her seminal book *Masculinities*, Connell (2005a) has already stressed that both institutional power and cultural, ideological domination should be concomitant to effect a hegemony. Following this model of analysis, regional hegemonic exemplars should be scrutinized in depth, first and foremost, as they

> [shape] a society-wide sense of masculine reality and, therefore, operates in the cultural domain as on-hand material to be actualized, altered, or challenged through practice in a range of different local circumstances. A regional hegemonic masculinity, then, provides a cultural framework that maybe materialized in daily practices and interactions. (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, p. 849-850)

It is of great importance, though, to take note that hegemonic masculinities constructed at a local level do not simply mimic the regional exalted one (Connell, 2000; 2005a, Connell & Messerschmidt; 2005). They may share a "family resemblance" (Wittgenstein, as cited in

Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), as they usually derive from the same cultural templates, but it is possible and oftentimes the case that they are not identical. They may be sought after, desired, learnt, contested, challenged, and rejected. As has been researched, in some cases, the distance men keep from the perceived hegemony is precisely the way of doing a different configuration thereof (Atkinson, 2011). It is important to remember that hegemonic masculinity is a chameleon with multiple configurations that are geographically and historically specific, though all different versions of it, all configurations thereof attempt to resolve the tensions resulting from challenges posed to patriarchy or to re-enact it in different conditions with renewed specificities (Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Atkinson, 2011).

Therefore, Connell's emphasis on regional and local analyses of hegemonic masculinities essentially calls forth a discursive/semiotic approach that analyses the hegemonic masculinities constructed at the regional (societal) level that is adopted simultaneously with a relational approach which examines the contestations between different groups of men as they vie for institutional power in localized enactments. Moreover, careful examination is required of the ways in which a congruence between institutional and ideological forms of control is constructed.

These theoretical insights prove to be much helpful in my analysis that follows. I pay specific attention to all four dimensions of analysis in Part One of the thesis, and to power, emotional relation/cathexis, and symbolism in Part Two. In terms the two principles of hegemony, I outline a concomitance of institutional and ideological dominations in Part One, while stressing the ideological aspect in Part Two.

Philosophical Assumptions

As I have noted, the literature on Chinese people in North America has contributed to the understanding of a host of topics. Specifically, when the issue of masculinity is mentioned, Asian American studies have also underlined media representations of Asian males (Eng, 2001). Yet, the practicalities of such representations need further exploration. As Wetherell, S. Hall, and other scholars who adopt a Foucauldian approach to the studies of discourse and representation stress, discourse is thoroughly constitutive (Wetherell, 1992; 2001; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Such is also reflected in S. Hall's (1997) claim that the theories of representation have moved away from the memetic tradition and adopted a constructionist view. The most notable of the implications in such theoretical shift is the power of discourse in shaping individuals' subjective conceptualizations of the world, or in constructing their "versions" of

reality (Wetherell, 1992). As such, it is implausible to image that symbols laden with racial and gender logics and connotations simply circulate in their own right, the endless signifying practices remaining untroubled and self-contained in a vacuum named media. As an important locus for the "weavers of the fabric of hegemony", as Gramsci notes (as cited in Donaldson, 1993, p. 646), media remains an important link in the saturation of ideological consequences in realities (Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2015).

According to Creswell (2009), the perspective that discourse constitutes reality is an ontological position in research. Ontological questions are concerned with the nature of reality (Creswell, 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Adopting the view of multiple realities is the point of departure for my project, as is the case for most interpretive research (Creswell, 2009; 2015). Therefore, as a researcher, I believe that "reality is subjective and multiple, as seen by participants in the study" (Creswell, 2009, p. 17). This ontology is reflected in Connell's suggestion that regionally-specific hegemonic practices be examined regarding masculinity studies (2000, 2005a). Such a position is also congruent with my theoretical frame premised upon the existence of multiple masculinities and gender as a social construction. A note of importance, though, is that my position differs from a position of "radical" constructionism. Within this approach, in its extreme, the object of study can be rendered evanescent and threatens to disappear (Vance, as cited in Weeks, 1992). The total disembodiment of masculinity is untenable, as there are substantive biological limits to the workings of discourses in relation to the body, the latter having agency and thus not tabula rasa, as articulated in Connell's (2009) notion of social embodiment of gender.

Such ontological assumptions bring forth an understanding of research as a co-construction or collaboration between the researcher and the researched. Therefore, I do not claim "objectivity". In S. Hall's (1997) discussion over meaning-making through representation, two systems are discernible. As he explains that "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully, to other people" (p. 15), and "representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language (p. 17)." Thus, one of the systems involves "transferring the world" into human mind, the other transferring the "transferred" world to other people. Such processes thus involve mechanisms of "encoding" and "decoding" at multiple stages in the process of human communication (S. Hall, 1980). The importance of interpretive reservoirs is conspicuous here, as only people within the same culture-sharing groups have access to the grammars of signification, which are contingent upon culture, history, and context (S. Hall, 1997). Such conditions of representation preclude transhistorical and transcultural meanings of

masculinity (Vance, as cited in Weeks, 1992), whereas the significance of research consists in uncovering meanings residing in day-to-day lived experiences of the participants represented in interviews through signification, which are then collected, and decoded by myself—the researcher, subject to my interpretation. Thus, I believe what I learn about my topic of research is inextricably intertwined "with the interaction between a particular investigator and a particular object or group" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110), and consequently, instead of attempting at impartiality, "distance" or "objective separateness" (Guba & Lincoln, as cited in Creswell, 2009, p. 18), my process of research is value-mediated.

Methods

Qualitative methods are most appropriate for my research in that they are best suited to explore a topic in depth when the participants' life experiences are crucial to the understanding of the research questions (Creswell, 2015). The purpose of my research is to understand hegemonic masculinity in Alberta, especially aspects of it pertaining to embodiment, and how Chinese Albertan males position themselves in relation to these aspects. Therefore, a narrative research design that attends to their day-to-day experiences is appropriate. Among the handful studies on Asian/Chinese masculinity and participants' life experiences, most of them document how being perceived as less "masculine" or effeminate has a negative impact on Asian/Chinese men in their romantic/dating experiences and other relational endeavors (Kwan-Lafond, 2011; Prasso, 2006). Thus, to gather rich data, a wide range of topics must be addressed in the process of data collection, such as romantic relationship, which can be a highly personal topic and difficult for participants to discuss (Coughley, 2006). Furthermore, when these topics are confounded by the construct of race, it becomes even more onerous for the researcher to gather data while being mindful of ethical considerations, as well as being respectful and considerate of the participant, for being a member of a racial minority in Canada continuously means emotional labour and sometimes traumatic experiences.

Life History Interview Method

As the target of my project is to study lived experiences of my participants and given the sensitive nature of the topic the research explores, a narrative approach that offers the participants secure and relatively relaxing context of relaying information is preferred. Life history methods are ideal in both regards. It offers the participants great leeway in terms of how they prefer to discuss the topic being elicited, to an extent that they can be seen as a "co-investigator" (Coughley, 2006, p. 33). As questions in a life history interview typically invite the participant to exemplify by offering an instance or story, this form of interview is also ideal

for generating rich data (Coughley, 2006). In terms of ontological assumptions, life history research dovetails well with a position of multiple realities, as one prime goal of investigation in life history research is addressing issues related to multiple cultures where individuals negotiate their identities as they attempt at successful "border-crossings", as life history methods "[are] productive to conceive of the individual as operating with an extensive set of differing and often contradictory cultural traditions" (Coughley, 2006, p. 13). Connell (2000) names the last two decades of the 20th century the "ethnographic moment" of masculinity studies, where a "cascade of studies of social construction of masculinity in different times and places" were completed, and life history methods were one of the two key techniques these studies adopted (p. 8-9). Connell (1990; 2000; 2005a) herself has also adopted life history methods in multiple cases.

The most significant advantage of life history interviews in this case is perhaps the thick descriptions of context generated in interviews with my participants. Such advantage is remarkably conducive in terms of analysis, to which I return in the section concerning analysis.

Recruitment and Data Collection

According to Atkinson (2011), the Millennials or generation Y, i.e. people born from the 1980s to 1990s are the generation that has come to adulthood in a time of changing masculine expectations, male identities, men's roles, and masculine representations. Other studies have also underlined distinctions of the Millennials' identities from previous generations as they matured in an increasingly diversified Canadian society with globalization and technological advancements as the background (Brown, 2017; Ng & Gossett, 2013). Thus, the Millennials have the most potential in articulating the constructions and contestations of hegemonic masculinity. To ensure a relatively stable level of enculturation, only Canadian-born Chinese were sampled.

I purposively recruited participants via the email distribution system of a university in a metropolitan area in Northern Alberta. A recruitment letter was distributed, and upon receiving inquiries from potential participants, a list of "pre-interview questions" was sent which contained questions soliciting demographic information and screening for the most pertinent participants. Consequently, not all inquiries resulted in an interview, and the most relevant sampling criteria, apart from the age bracket, included K-12 education experience and sexuality. Eventually, Five interviews were successfully conducted with durations ranging from 150 minutes to approximately 240 minutes, with participants who 1) are Canadian-born

Chinese cisgender male[14]; 2) had received K-12 education within Alberta; 3) either had an interest in confrontational/contact sports or had an opinion about them and physical activities in general. Three of them reported to be straight, and two identified as gay.

The interviews were semi-structured guided by a protocol containing open-ended questions revolving around three broadly conceptualized themes. They were confrontational/contact sports and masculinity, masculinity and personal relationships, and masculinity and race. All interviews were conducted in my office in Education Centre North, opened with a generic question, as it facilitates the interview by creating a hospitable environment for the participant (Coughley, 2006; Merriam, 2009). In this case, I began by asking about their current studies at the university and the factors that contributed to their decision of pursuing their studies. This proved to be productive, as it helped to "break the ice" and provided useful insight into the interactions between the participants and the contexts of their lives. Where follow-up was deemed necessary, the participants were provided the options of a second interview or e-mail responses. All opted for the latter.

Analysis

After each interview, I wrote a "reflection note" where specifics of the interview were reflected on and documented. Were there any emotional responses from the participant? Did any specific question elicit a change in body language of the participant? Were there notable contradictions in the participant's responses? If so, what could be some of the causes of such inconsistencies?

Interviews were then transcribed and analyzed for themes that could potentially answer the research questions (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015). During this stage of analysis, I adopted an emerging approach where certain themes in turn informed or helped to adjust the subsequent interviews. The initial interview protocol aimed to address a wide range of topics concerning the construction and conceptualization of masculinities, whereas after the first two interviews, questions that were deemed less pertinent were discarded.

The second stage of analysis was carried out, utilizing a critical discourse analysis approach (Wetherell, 1992; 2001). The foremost assumption of my approach is that discourse is thoroughly constitutive, which I reiterate here, as it is of importance in two regards. First, by adopting a constructionist view of language and discourse, I disavow the universality of truth. As such, decisions about definitive truth or falsity of description during the process of analysis were "suspended" (Wetherell, 1992, p. 16). Thus, my task as the investigator was not to make

[14] One participant was born in mainland China and immigrated with his parents at the age of two.

truth claims. Instead, my priority has been examining the ways in which certain claims come to be enshrined as truth (Wetherell, 1992; 2001; 2003; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). More importantly, discourse as thoroughly constitutive also rejects the notion that language is a "do-nothing domain" (Edward, as cited in Wetherell, 2001, p. 16). This should be a fairly obvious assumption, given the multiple "hermeneutics" involved in the process of representation. Thus, interview talks, as a genre of discourse, are actions (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015; Wetherell, 2001; 2003). Through interview talks, people argue, refute, persuade, accuse, criticize, justify, and actively construct social realities and their own "patch of the world" (Potter & Wetherell, 2001; Wetherell, 2003, p. 13).

The construction of multiple versions provides the premise for the argumentative or rhetorical property of talks (Wetherell, 2001). This is essential in the critical analysis of language, as, in terms of discursive formations, it is the establishing and inhabiting of legitimacy that silence alternatives (Foucault, 1980). Discourse is inevitably caught up in power and is enabled by power. This is evident when Habermas argued that "language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimations of power relations…are not articulated… language is also ideological" (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2016). The rarity of discourse being ideologically innocent (S. Hall, 1992) means that one principle of critical studies of discourse is to treat language as a social practice and to expose the workings of power in the ruling of the hegemonic via the manufacturing of consent among the ruled (Fairclough, 2010; Wetherell, 2003; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993). One prime way to "win hearts and minds" (Wetherell, 2001, p. 17) is through the naturalization of ideologies, so that "ideological discourse become turned into popular discourses" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 61). Therefore, one of the goals of critical studies of discourse is to "denaturalize" the ideologies (Fairclough, 2010, p. 30), or to focus on, as Braidotti notes, "the traffic jam of meanings…which create[s] that form of pollution known as common sense" (as cited in Wetherell, 2003, p. 11).

A critical discourse analysis approach in this case, then, focused on people's "situated activities" in interview talks (Wetherell, 2003, p. 12). The rationale of such focus in understanding broader issues of power and oppression, such as gender and race, is the belief that, by prioritizing the local and the indexical, we can obtain access to the global (Fairclough, 2010); and by analyzing the "small discourses", we can gain insight into the "big discourses" (Wetherell, 2003, p. 12). Such theoretical stance requires the researcher to "widen their view", to situate the local in the cultural. Wodak and Meyer (2016) remind us that critical discourse analysis is not one method or methodology. Instead, it is more plausible to view critical

discourse analysis as a general approach to the studies of language and discourse. Yet, one consensus, as it appears, is that critical discourse analysis should take account of the broader cultural context wherein local discourses are produced, and scrutinize the interplay thereof (Fairclough, 2010; Wetherell, 2003; Van Dijk, 1993). This is necessary, for ideologies are not comprised of discrete and isolated concepts. Instead, they consist in "the articulation of different elements into a distinctive set or chain of meanings" (S. Hall, 2015, p. 104). As such, the dispersion of discursive formations steers our inquisitive attention to diverse loci of enunciation (Foucault, 1972).

In this case, the interview talks were thought to reveal the cultural resources available at a specific historical moment, for it is the speaker that animates or gives voice to collective and cultural identities (Wetherell, 2001). As Wetherell argues, "Texts…are complex cultural and psychological products, constructed in ways which make things happen and which bring social worlds into being" (2001, p. 16). Here lies the most salient advantage of life history interviews, as the unobtrusive way of data-collecting generated thick, ideologically rich descriptions from the participants, a quality ideal for critical analysis of texts (Wetherell, 2003; Potter & Wetherell, 2001). I paid special attention to commonalities, pervasiveness, and patterns of talks across the data to ensure validity of analysis, as the goal of critical analysis of texts is to locate the cultural, and not the idiosyncratic (Wetherell, 2003). This also echoed Manalansan's (2003) research which demonstrates that life-history methods also assist researchers in situating participants' experiences in larger socio-political contexts and conceptualizing the relations between macro and micro processes.

Ethical Considerations

During my research, participants' anonymity was protected by pseudonyms. Any information that could potentially identify the participants was omitted. The data that could be used for publications and future research were kept confidential and password-secured on my computer, of which the participants were informed. Detailed signed consent forms were obtained from them.

While the risk of the research was considered minimal, not exceeding the risk that the participants could encounter in their daily lives, there was the possibility that the discussions over certain topics could elicit affective responses as a result of their minority status, for example, due to their racial background and for some participants, sexuality. The research was thus conceptualized to be a safe space where the participants could have a voice and could express their ideas, opinions, and emotions with the support of myself-the investigator, who is

a minority member as well. Moreover, all the participants were made aware of the fact that they could refuse to answer any question and withdraw at any stage of the research. Eventually, five of the participants chose to remain, while one withdrew.

Chapter Four Sport, the Body, and Masculinity

As I turn to the contemporary setting, in this chapter, I first situate my research in the studies on sport and the social construction of masculinity. Afterwards, through analyzing the emphasis the participants placed on the body as one aspect of hegemonic masculinity in Alberta, I discuss what Atkinson (2007) names the "sport-gender-power dynamic" by foregrounding the power/capital athletic bodies possess. This is to both highlight and substantiate the importance of power as a dimension of analyzing gender and masculinity within the theoretical frame. In Chapter Five, I focus on another two dimensions of analysis, i.e. emotional relations and symbolism, as I attend to the participants' emotional attachment and management in a gender order dominated by the masculinity hockey represents in Canada. By doing so, I wish to make evident the tentative links between Chinese masculinity in historical context, as analyzed in the first two chapters, and aspects of hegemonic masculinity in contemporary Alberta, therefore highlighting the consistent subjugation of Chinese masculinity.

Sport and the Social Construction of Masculinity

The sociology of sport and feminist critiques yield a substantive and fruitful body of analysis on the many ways sport shapes masculinities and reproduces social structures (Allain, 2008; E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; Atkinson, 2010; 2011; Connell, 1983; 1990; Crosset, 1990; Kidd, 1990; 2008; Kimmel, 2005; Leonard, 2014; Messer, 1990; 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 2001; Valentine, 2012; Rubidoux, 2002; 2011; Whitson, 1990). This is the case, not least when sport and the practices surrounding and enabling it are seen as a social institution. As Messner (1992) writes, "the structure and values of sport are largely shaped by, and in the interests of, those who hold power" (p. 12). Thus, with the critical engagement of this scholarship, sport ceases to be the innocent pastime on a playground after class, or on the surface of a frozen lake, the images of which bring up a sense of familiarity and nostalgia (M. L. Adams, 2012). Nonetheless, the fact remains that many prefer it to be such and spare no effort in trying to make it such (M. L. Adams, 2012; Kimmel, 2012). Therefore, from within the theoretical frame, sport is a central location where social embodiments occur and are often orchestrated, as the very existence and continuation of modern sport largely have to do with groups that are, at one time or another, excluded from it to varying degrees and the groups that exclude them (Kimmel, 2005). Here, I provide a review of important works in this literature. Sociologist Michael A. Messner's (1990; 1992) research with (former) athletes informs significantly the discussion over sport violence and homosociality in sport; Sociologist Eric Anderson's analyses also figure prominently. I draw on his works to discuss heteronormativity in sport (E. Anderson,

2009; 2010) and provide an overview of his inclusive masculinity theory (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; 2013; Anderson & McGuire, 2010).

Modern Sport as Education for British Elites

According to the literature, the advent of modern sport can be traced back to mid- to late- 19th century Britain (Crosset, 1990; Kimmel, 2005), and was ostensibly owing to an imperative for education (Whitson, 1990; Crosset, 1990). As Crosset (1990) states, "Nineteenth-century educators and ideologues of early modern sport professed inherent connections between sport, morality, and manliness" (p. 45). Sport was thought to indoctrinate in boys and young men the importance of a virile, healthy, and strong body, as well as values and qualities necessary for success in specific social milieux (Allen, 2014), such as in administering the Empire (Messner, 1992). Allen (2014) notes that:

> In Victorian times, the modern sport phenomenon was nurtured by key institutions and agencies which regarded male sport as a major cultural virtue. Its moral, social and masculine attributes were extolled, and many believed that behind England's success as a true world power was the national passion for men's sport. (p. 24)

Courage, stamina, ingenuity, leadership, and other characteristics traditionally associated with dominant class norms of masculinity were among some of the most important qualities sport was said to instill (Kidd, 1990). Thus, early modern sport was almost exclusively a matter of the middle and upper classes (Kidd, 1990; Howell, 2001). Some scholars make the link between the belief of sport as a "masculinizing practice" (Whitson, 1990, p, 28) and the Victorian obsession with and control over sexuality (Crosset, 1990; Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992).

Sport, under the influence of 19th century theory of spermatic economy, was said to make for better, more efficient use of sperm and regeneration of the male body. This notion worked in tandem with the belief that men would suffer from ailment bred from inactivity. As Crosset (1990) observes, while being "hysterical, sensitive, and nervous" usually refer to abnormalities of female sexuality, without sport, men would become womanlike and degenerate (p. 53). Thus, headmasters of private schools and other elites actively promoted the doctrine of "muscular Christianity" (Bennet, 2016), as athletic, physically strong boys and young men were seen as the embodiment of morality, masculinity, and control over their sexual passions (Crosset, 1990). Thus, Crosset (1990) concludes that Victorian notions of active, sporting manliness sprang from the imperative of differentiating male and female sexualities and celebrating the former as superior, which in turn justified male dominance over women.

These British notions of sexuality and the exaltation of the many benefits sport

allegedly conferred on men eventually transferred to the rest of the world through Empire and colonialism, as sport was often considered a remedy for the "irregular" masculinities found in the colonies and efficient in inculcating British values (Kidd, 1990; Andreas, 2012). Christianity was also actively involved in preaching the "manly virtues" of sport. Popularized by Thomas Hughes's novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), not only did the doctrines of muscular Christianity inspired de Coubertin to develop the modern Olympics (E. Anderson, 2010; Kidd, 1990), but it also rapidly spread school-organized sporting events throughout the UK, and transferred the idea of moral, muscular, and "red-blooded" (Kidd, 2008, p. 4) masculinity to the rest of the world (Harvey, 2015; Howell, 2001; Kidd, 2008). This, in part, reflected the imperative of Empire. As Bennet (2016) reports, "The initial moral reformation imperative was overtaken by a rising spirit of 'muscular Christianity' connected with imperialism at home and in the colonies" (p. 256). Some studies also point out that owing to the project of muscular Christianity, there existed a "cult of athleticism" till mid-20th century in North America (Bennet, 2016; Kimmel, 2005), which transformed the initial "moral earnestness" to the "enjoyment of physical pursuits", and inserted sports into the curricula of many schools (Bennet, 2016, p. 256). According to Kidd (2008), the emphasis of sports in the school system as a legacy of muscular Christianity has well extended into contemporary Canada.

Masculinity Crisis and Modern Sport

The inclusion of lower-class men into sport only appeared approximately after the second Industrial Revolution (E. Anderson, 2010). The bourgeois saw in sport the potential of teaching obedience to a rapidly growing work-force and conditioning the body for manual labour (E. Anderson, 2010; Howell, 2001; Kimmel, 2005). Regarding the latter, E. Anderson (2010) explains, "Men's working spaces were cold, dangerous, and hard. Men moved rocks, welded iron, swung pick axes, and operated steam giants" (p. 27). Carter (2006) also maintains that sport teaches "a clear hierarchical structure, autocratic tendencies, traditional notions of masculinity and the need for discipline" (p. 5). In the meantime, the growing mechanization and routinization of labour also meant that individual workers gradually lost control over their labour and were dispossessed of property ownership. Thus, among working-class men, sport was also considered a masculine demonstration and protest against deskilling (Howell, 2001). However, homophobia and concerns over growing power of women are regarded as the primary contributing factors to the mass popularization of sport in late 19th century (E. Anderson, 2010; Kimmel, 2005; Messner, 1992). In North America, the burgeoning cities, the

influx of immigrants, and the appearance of the "new women", who were single, independent, feminist, and upwardly mobile were both considered causes of an anxiety in white men about the perceived loss of dominance (E. Anderson, 2010; Burstyn, 2004; Kimmel, 2005; Messner, 1992). Coupled with the concern over growing visibility of gay communities in urban centres (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1990) and supposed feminization and "homosexualizing" tendencies of boys growing up without father figures working in and around the household, this anxiety precipitated what was labeled a masculinity crisis (E. Anderson, 2010; Kimmel, 2005; Messner, 1992). Kimmel (1990; 2012) argues that this crisis was essentially a crisis of hegemonic masculinity that reflected the perceived loss of power among middle-class white men. It was against this backdrop that sport was offered as a corrective (Kidd, 1990; 2008; Kimmel, 2005; Messner, 1990; 1992; Wamsley, 2007), a "masculine cure-all" (E. Anderson, 2010, p. 29), and constituted a reactionary response to feminism (Burstyn, 2004; Kidd, 1990). As Kimmel (2005) argues, "…the rise of participatory sports was offered as a corrective to a perceived erosion of traditional masculinity in late 19th century" (p. 62). Sociologists Sheard and Dunning (as cited in Kidd, 1990) outline the direct link between the subculture of British rugby and first-wave feminism:

> …Women were increasingly becoming a threat to men, and men responded by developing rugby football as a male preserve in which they could bolster up their threatened masculinity and at the same time, mock, objectify, and vilify women, the principal source of that threat. (p. 36)

Among the many ways of dispensing the "cure" to boys and men in need, the muscular Christianity movement figured prominently in North America (Bennet, 2016; Kidd, 2008), presenting an image of Christ as robust and manly (Howell, 2001). Billy Sunday, the American professional baseball player turned preacher, claimed that Christ was "'no dough-faced lick-spittle proposition, but the greatest scrapper that ever lived'" (as cited in Howell, 2001, p. 32).

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the US Boy Scouts (Messner, 1992; Kimmel, 2005) and the Canadian Boy's Brigade (Howell, 2001) were all established to mould "men of good character" and started a "rebirth" of western notions of manliness to "shield boys and men from immoral influences by hardening them with stoic coaches and violent games" (E. Anderson, 2010, p. 30). The Canadian Boy's Brigade also employed military drills, which later were incorporated into the school system for decades (Howell, 2001). As such, sport is employed to construct a type of masculinity that is antithesis to femininity through the glorification of the male body. Thus, the ideological construction of sport dictates that masculinity be non-female and non-effeminate. As E. Anderson (2010) points out, de

Coubertin did not start the modern Olympics so that the idea of moral sportsmanship could be spread. Inspired by British rugby football, he endeavored to eliminate “effeminacy” in French men. Consequently, organizing principles of sport also aim at maximizing male and female physical differences (Connell, 1983; 1987; Kidd, 1990).

Sport as a Male Preserve and the Practice of Violence

Resonating with Sheard and Dunning (as cited in Kidd, 1990), feminist critiques demonstrate that sport is a male preserve. There are two primary themes among analyses regarding this matter—female exclusion from and marginalization in sport, and sport as a site of homosociality (Eitizen, 2000; M.A. Hall, 2007; Howell, 2001; Kidd, 1990; Thurnell-Read, 2012; K. Young, 2000).

The exclusion of females from sport has long been the case. The genesis of sport as a site of “masculine recuperation” necessitated this, and the theory of female frailty aimed to ensure this (M.A. Hall, 2007; Kidd, 1990; Howell, 2001). The latter, at its most dramatic, threatened athletic women with “race suicide”. As Kidd (1990) notes, “Male doctors and physical educators proposed that people have only a finite quantity of energy, which in the case of women is needed for their reproductive organs. If women consume this energy in vigorous athletic activity…, they not only undermine their own health but the future of the white race” (p. 35). Consequently, around turn of the century, athletic female bodies were considered an aberration (M. A. Hall, 2007; Howell, 2001). Howell (2001) also links the promulgation of female frailty to the hardened gender division in industrial capitalism which confined middle-class women to the domestic sphere.

Much later, during the 1970s, women were still often excluded in male-dominant games. When women were indeed permitted to play, they were required to play on a sex-segregated basis with substandard resources (Kidd, 1990). They were also more confined in sports that supposedly enhance middle-and upper-class definition of femininity, for instance, swimming, tennis, and gymnastics (M.A. Hall, 2007; Kidd, 1990). Thus, the literature evidences that women were often culturally, economically, and aesthetically excluded from earlier sports. In terms of distribution, females are still under-represented in the contemporary sporting world (Kidd, 1990; M. L. Adams, 2012). The current Olympics for example, still hold more than twice as many events for men as for women (Kidd, 1990). Moreover, the status quo of contemporary sport culture results in an overall devaluation of female athleticism. E. Anderson (2010) comments that not much has changed since women were deemed ill-fit for sport; and they are consistently positioned on the sideline, cheering for male athletes, or as mothers, taking

charge of logistics for boys and young men (M. L. Adams, 2012; E. Anderson, 2010; Kidd, 1990). Most popular sports are continuously male-orientated and accentuate male physical superiority (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1992). Messner (1992) for example, reminds us that football was designed to the extremes of male physical possibility. Other aspects identified by research include the lopsided media coverage of male and female sport events and media's inclination of sparing attention on aspects that underscore sexual appeal and non-athletic properties of female athletes (M. L. Adams, 2012; Wilson, 2007; 2012). After studying girls' minor hockey in southern Alberta, Adams and Leavitt (2018) concludes that despite the gradual movement of females into sport and the development of female athleticism in the last three decades, girls' hockey in this region is outside of the "'triumphant feminist tale'" the media frequently touts (p. 152).

The research on female exclusion from and marginalization in sport thus marks the shift of critiques of sport from a distributional issue to one that concerns gender relations in a broader sense (Whitson, 1990). Scholars believe that, through the marginalization and exclusions of females, modern sport supports male dominance and, more importantly, it does so through the association of males and maleness with valued skills and the sanctioned use of aggression, force, and violence in an all-male environment (Whitson, 1990; Eitizen, 2000). Messner (1992) articulates this argument: "in promoting dominance and submission, in equating force and aggression with physical strength, modern sport naturalized the equation of maleness with power, thus legitimizing a challenged, and faltering system of masculine domination" (p. 15). In a similar vein, Connell (2005a) argues that, "men's greater sporting prowess has become . . . symbolic proof of superiority and right to rule" (p. 54). Thus, sport is considered the last bastion of legitimate demonstration of physical prowess and violence, the key to dominance (Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992). This is important for masculinity, as the currency attached to other means of such demonstration increasingly declines, such as physical labour and combat (Kidd, 1990; Kimmel, 2005). Similarly, Eitizen (2000) underlines the role sport plays in inculcating values as a social institution:

> Sport serves to control persons ideologically by reinforcing society's values among the participants…. Sport in its organization, procedures and operation serves to promote traditional gender roles. Most importantly, sport advances male hegemony in practice and ideology by legitimating a certain dominant version of social reality. (p. 373).

On the other side of female exclusion and marginalization is the bonding of men in sport. Not only is sport considered a site where masculinity marked by men's dominance over women is constructed, it is also a locus where men are initiated into this type of masculinity

and ritualistically rehearse it, with the companionship of other men, as a collective and often inter-generational project (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; Dunning, 1986; Messer, 1990; 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 2001; Thurnell-Read, 2012). For example, Whitson (1990) argues that "[sport] has served as an important site in the construction of male solidarity, an institution that encourages men to identify with other men and provides for the regular rehearsal of such identification" (p. 21). In their study of American football, Sabo and Panepinto (2001) conclude that it is a sport where hegemonic masculinity is reproduced through initiating boys and young men into patriarchal rituals. Thus, football serves as a "rite of passage" whose structures bear out essential features of masculinity rites in male-dominated societies, including man-boy relationships, conformity and control, social isolation, deference to male authority, and the infliction of pain. The coach is considered essential in organizing such rituals. As the "officiant", he orchestrates, regulates, and polices "a nexus of patriarchal rituals that reproduces hegemonic forms of masculinity as well as competitive behaviour and achievement ideologies that are more closely tied to class inequality" (Sabo & Panepinto, 2001, p. 85).

Homosociality in Sport and Violence

Still more studies link sport to misogyny and homophobia, as they believe that the consolidating of cohesiveness marked by camaraderie among some groups of men are based on the degrading of other "lesser men" and women. Such degrading is manifested in both symbolic and physical ways, ranging from pejoratives that denigrate women and gay men to physical violence (E. Anderson 2009, 2010; Messner, 1990; 1992; Pringle & Hickey, 2010; Tischler & McCaughtry, 2014). Messner's (1990; 1992) ground-breaking study of (former) athletes details coaches' and sport's roles in (re)producing hegemonic masculinity. With interpretations through theoretical lenses rooted in multiple traditions, his study offers remarkable insight into homosociality and violence in sport. Here, I briefly introduce his insights and use them as a frame to organize similar observations from other studies.

Situating within Connell's conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity and the gender order as I have outlined, Messner explains that sport is a site where the Lombardian ethic—"winning isn't everything; it's the only thing" (p. 45)—is strictly reinforced. Messner (1992) exemplifies that, in the 1988 Summer Olympics, sprinter Carl Lewis and hurdler Edwin Moses were asked by reporters about their feelings of "losing", while they both secured silver in their events; diver Greg Louganis courageously won gold despite previously hitting his head on the springboard. He appeared to be incredulous when a reporter commented that he would be considered a failure, if he had not come back to win. Messner (1992) explains that the

importance of winning in sport is ever-expanding, as organized, confrontational sport becomes increasingly commercialized and constitutes a portion of GDP in the United States. The winning-at-all-cost cultural expectation thus contributes to a number of issues.

First, the players' sense of self-worth often conditionally hinges on their competitiveness, as "you're only as good as your last game" (Messner, 1992, p. 46). Consequently, players are less able to appreciate internal rewards (Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992). Athletes therefore develop a conditional self-identity where being competitive under the guise of cooperation functions as a safe (non-homoerotic), distant, and regulated form of intimacy with other men (the spectators are also part of this distant connection). Competition thus figures prominently in this conditional identity, as it is essential for athletes in securing a positional advantage in the hierarchy of masculinity and in the gender order at large (Messner, 1990; 1992). Competition, as a universal expression of male bonding, calls forth emotional self-restraint, and is thus useful in disavowing femininity and homo-erotic suspicions; discussing women in objectifying terms negates any tendency of feminization and "effeminacy" (E. Anderson 2009; 2010; Curry, 1991; Messner, 1992), the least desirable quality in the masculinity hierarchy. Curry (1991) argues that the anxiety over emasculation is so widespread among athletes, that, in certain cases, sexual locker-room talks about women are not sufficient to prove one's heterosexuality. Therefore, being vehemently homophobic serves to further distance oneself from homosexual suspicions.

E. Anderson (2010) highlights the powerful role of heteronormativity plays in hegemonic masculinities through the term homohysteria: "when one combines a culture of homophobia, femphobia, and compulsory heterosexuality, one has the make-up of what I call 'homohysteria'" (p. 116-117). He likens the immensely homophobic environment in sport to the "one drop" rule for a person of mixed backgrounds to qualify as black in cultures of high homohysteria: "…. Western notions of masculinity are based on gender-exclusive heterosexual behaviour…. The primary element toward being a man in the hegemonic form in contemporary culture is, not to be, act, or behave in ways attributed to gay men [and women]" (p. 106). Plummer (1999) also points out that accusing other men of being gay is an important way of marginalizing them.

Moreover, the tremendous emphasis on winning leads to the alienation of the athletes from their own bodies, as they increasingly view their bodies as objects and instruments conscientiously conditioned towards one goal—winning (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1992). The instrumental use of the body in turn leads to the practice of using the body as a weapon in confrontational sport, which causes injuries and fatalities. These can occur as results of both

"legal" and foul plays of violence, which is naturalized/normalized through the competitive, volatile, and tough culture of masculinity sport promotes (Atkinson, 2011; Messner, 1992). Inflicting injuries on opponents (the role of enforcer in ice hockey for instance), playing hurt, being accused by coaches and teammates of faking injuries, and often silently enduring these practices become "part of the game" for most athletes. In Messner's (1990; 1992) study, some participants proudly recounted instances where they earned respect from teammates and coaches for violent plays. In one instance, a football player earned the reputation as the "hitter", and eventually broke an opponent's neck, paralyzing him permanently. The media then designated him as the "criminal element" in the National Football League. Recounting this incident, he expressed his incredulity about the sudden shift of the coach and teammates' attitude towards him from hero to villain, arguing that it was a terrible accident, yet a "routine play", and "within the rules" (Messner, 1992, p. 69). Research has also documented the high rate of injuries prevalent within confrontational sport, concussions for example, are among many of the frequently occurring injuries (Emery & Meeuwisse, 2006). Although some research reports no significant ill-effects following concussions, more researchers have linked them to brain damage (Gladwell, 2009). Also, according to Edwards (2006), whereas approximately 70 percent of the athletes in US top-level intercollegiate sports sustain serious injuries that incapacitate them for two weeks or longer, over 80 percent sustain at least one serious injury when playing sport.

The inflicting and enduring of violence in sport are of course learnt (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1992). The coach plays an essential role in the institutionalization and normalization of violence (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; Sabo & Panepinto, 2001). He is the officiant in the masculinity initiation rites (Sabo & Panepinto, 2001), and is also the gatekeeper, and the role model (E. Anderson 2010; Pringle & Hickey, 2010). Inspired by sociologist Erving Goffman, E. Anderson (2010) and Atkinson (2011) both highlight the role of the coach in constructing sport as a (near) total institution. With rigorously regimented coaching strategies that combine regulation, surveillance, punishment, and reward in a relatively isolated sport culture, athletes are rendered agentic subjects[15] and consequently subscribe themselves to the hegemonic definition of masculinity in sport. The loss of agency, coupled with the lure of athletic stardom even in high school sport, instills violence as acceptable, justifying athletes' violence against

[15] An agentic state forms when athletes' agency is severely reduced or stripped away, which prepares them for the acceptance of sport culture and obedience to authoritative figures in sport, such as coaches. Building on Goffman's concept of total institution, (E. Anderson, 2010) explicates that an agentic state in athletes is achieved primarily through peer pressure and highly regimented training sessions administered by the coach, i.e. the authoritative figure in quasi-isolated geographical and social spaces.

opponents (E. Anderson, 2010) and against themselves (Atkinson, 2011). This is one aspect of what Connell (1990) names "somatic compliance" in athletes (p. 89).

Anderson (2010) is also highly critical of contemporary coaching practices. Specifically, he argues that coaches are often in possession of "undue" power, given that in both the UK and the US, there are no substantive requirements for training to become a coach (p. 49). He believes that coaches possess all five categories of power frequently discussed in social psychology: legitimate, coercive, reward, expert, and referent. Compared with other powerful figures, including police officers and doctors, who only possess some categories of power, he warns us of the important position of the coach in "dispensing" masculinity to the next generation and the precarious position the latter occupies (E. Anderson, 2010). Anderson's concern about coaches is well-informed, as criticisms of violent and at times dehumanizing coaching strategies abound in the literature (Hartill, 2014; Messner, 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 2001; Wilson, 2002; K. Young, 2000). Violence, verbal and physical, is a frequent occurrence. For the former, "an objectified, sexualized female body part is the point of reference for the ultimate insult" (Messner, 1992, p. 73), which also reveals the inter-generational teaching of misogyny in sport. Therefore, research agrees that, in terms of violence and aggression, there is an institutional insularity surrounding sport, where otherwise incriminating violent acts are legitimated (K. Young, 2000). The current coaching practices are further problematized when instances of sexual abuse eventually surface (E. Anderson, 2010; Atkinson, 2011; K. Young, 2000). To illustrate the problematic nature of sport and violence, E. Anderson (2010) contends:

> I might add to this…a comparison of being sexually molested to sport participation. We arrest adults for this because kids are too young to consent…However, I am baffled as to why we do not extend this same principle to that of organized, competitive team sport. Particularly when that sport requires kids to engage in physically dangerous or emotionally abusive situations…Aren't kids too young to consent to being yelled at, ostracized and shamed for failure?... (p. 104)

He concludes that because of the hegemonic position of sport in western culture, otherwise dominant understandings of victimhood do not apply to sport (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010). Where E. Anderson's perspective on sport might appear to be overly critical, a host of studies support his position. In the Canadian context, for example, Atkinson (2010; 2011), Rubidoux and Bocksnick (2010) outline the position of ice hockey in Canadian hegemonic masculinity and offer detailed discussions over the persistent violence in the game and how parents support violence in minor hockey, to which I return in Chapter Five.

Inclusive Masculinity Theory

Eric Anderson is the founder and one main exponent of inclusive masculinity theory (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010; 2013; Anderson & McGuire, 2010). Since its inception approximately a decade ago, inclusive masculinity theory has gained a visible following within the field (A. Adams, 2013; Magrath, 2016). Though not confined to the study of sport and masculinity, given that some of his important data was collected in sport contexts through interviewing and ethnographic methods with rugby players and male cheerleaders (E. Anderson, 2013; Anderson & McGuire, 2010), it is relevant to provide an overview thereof.

E. Anderson (2009; 2010; 2013) proposes that in a culture where homohysteria declines, there will witness the simultaneous co-existence of multiple masculinities. Whereas multiple masculinities are part of Connell's (2005a) theory of hegemonic masculinity, the difference consists in that Anderson does not support the idea of one hegemonic masculinity dominating in the gender order. Rather, he renames what he believes to be hegemonic masculinity in occidental settings "orthodox masculinity" (E. Anderson 2009; 2010). Anderson (2010) believes that the concept orthodox masculinity is best encapsulated by Brannon (as cited in E. Anderson, 2010) as: "(1) no sissy stuff; (2) be a big wheel; (3) be a sturdy oak; and (4) give'em hell" (p. 106). Having mapped all four criteria in sport, he argues for the main dictum of inclusive masculinity that, in a culture where homohysteria declines, orthodox masculinity and inclusive masculinity co-exist without the latter celebrating the former or having to subscribe to its tactics of gay-bashing as a way of proving one's heterosexuality. Developing the theory inductively from his research data, he argues that Connell's theory is flawed in capturing such a phenomenon. As he maintains, "two oppositional masculinities, each with equal influence, co-existing within one culture is not consistent with Connell's theorizing", and that "[Connell's theory] fails to adequately capture what occurs with two [dominant] archetypes, in which neither hegemonically dominates" (E. Anderson, 2009, p. 93, 94). He argues that inclusive masculinity is useful in explaining cultures of low homohysteria (E. Anderson, 2013), where heterosexual men exhibit more freely behaviours that are construed as homosexual within cultural settings where orthodox masculinity dominates. Such behaviours include homosocial-tactility and being emotionally demonstrative. As he maintains:

> Thus, two dominant (but not necessarily dominating) forms of masculinity will co-exist, one orthodox and one inclusive. Orthodox masculinity loses its hegemonic influence because there is a critical mass of men who publicly disavow it. Orthodox valuing men remain homophobic, femphobic, emotionally and physically distant from one another. These men necessarily fear transgressing feminized terrains. Conversely, those

ascribing to more inclusive versions of masculinity demonstrate emotional and physically homosocial proximity. They begin to blur the lines between masculinity and femininity. (E. Anderson, 2009, p. 96)

In this context, the definition of acceptable masculinity will expand to previously homosexualizing behaviours (E. Anderson, 2009; 2010) and, while homophobic language may still be used by inclusive masculine men, it may lose the malignant intent to denigrate (E. Anderson, 2009; McCormack, 2013). He also cites the metrosexual men, a term popularized by Simpson, as an example of inclusive masculinity (E. Anderson, 2009).

E. Anderson's theory is not without flaws and ostensibly appears to be at odds with the broad adoption and application of Connell's (2005a) hegemonic masculinity theory. Regardless, it is of utility in that it captures the changing and shifting nature of masculinity. The social constructions of masculinity require constant updating on the theoretical lenses through which we critically engage with it. This is what Connell herself has been doing (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). One important contribution by E. Anderson's is that throughout the formulation and application of his theory, he has found increasing inclusion of gay athletes in confrontational sport and support for them from their coaches and teammates (2009; 2010).

Some limitations of the Literature

Overall, it is evident in the literature that in cultures where physical prowess is extolled, sport simultaneously stratifies men and bonds men who are deemed as representatives of masculinity against women. The simultaneous expressions of bonding and difference define the role sport plays in the contemporary gender order (Messer, 1992). As Connell (2005a) maintains, "the institutional organization of sport embeds definite social relations: competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion or domination of women" (p. 54).

Here, I outline one aspect that needs further critical scrutiny. I argue that one major limitation seems to be the assumption that hegemonic masculinity is a singular, unitary concept, and a monolithic entity. E. Anderson's adoption of Brannon's four-fold criterion is an example thereof. Despite the increasing shifting nature of hegemonic masculinity, many still use the term in a way Connell has clearly refuted, which I have outlined in Chapter Three—grouping of so-called Type A personalities under the umbrella term hegemonic masculinity. I reiterate here, that hegemonic masculinity is not a constant. Thus, it is more sensible to speak of hegemonic forms of masculinity, or aspects/elements/components of hegemonic masculinity. I argue that, paradoxically, by adopting the term orthodox, E. Anderson actually frees the

concept of hegemonic masculinity for greater analytical utility.

Second, it is important to bear in mind that hegemonic masculinity need not be and is often not embodied, depending on the unit of analysis. Thus, as Rubidoux (2011) observantly points out, the claim that hockey players in the National Hockey League (NHL) embody hegemonic masculinity is erroneous, given that the practices surrounding commercialized hockey ensure that they only have significantly limited power and control over their lives. Sociologist Erving Goffman wrote in 1963 that, in America, there was only "one completely unblushing male":

> A young, married, white, urban, northern heterosexual, protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height, and a recent record in sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this perspective…Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself…as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior. (as cited in Kimmel, 2001. p. 31)

If masculinity studies as a field of research had existed in 1963, perhaps Goffman would have been referred to as the scholar that gave a detailed description of hegemonic masculinity. Even so, it would be conceivable that a great many men did not inhabit this position of hegemony. As Chen (1999) notes, the concept of hegemony broadly describes the historical process of establishing a common-sense Weltanschauung (worldview) that works to construct consent of the oppressed in their own oppression. Thus, it is an advanced mode of domination in late capitalist society that is "characterised by [a] combination of force and consent" (Gramsci, as cited in Chen, 1999, p. 586). Therefore, hegemony is a state wherein a specific worldview is promulgated to which both the oppressors and the oppressed consent. As Donaldson (1993) argues, hegemonic masculinity is not "what powerful men are, but is what sustains their power, and is what large number of men are motivated to support because it benefits them" (646).

Moreover, gender power is not a "zero-sum tug of war". Some earlier works, such as Whitson (1990) and Kidd (1990), discuss how male athletes embody hegemonic masculinity, and how men, by hegemonic masculinity, oppress women. Gender order, at any historical moment, is rarely organized as such. As Espiritu (2010) presents in the case of Asian houseboys in white middle-/upper-class households, historically contingent contexts can afford white women more power than men of colour. Following direct orders from often white females, Chinese houseboys became the symbol of upper-class status in San Francisco through the 1900s; and as late as 1920, 50 percent of the Chinese in the United States were still occupied as domestic servants (Light, as cited in Espiritu, 2000). This points to the greater need of exploring masculinity with a focus on race. In terms of sport, there is evidence suggesting that,

in Canada, whereas racial meanings consistently loom large in the discriminations against aboriginal athletes and black athletes (Jackson & Ponic, 2010; Krebs, 2012; Valentine, 2012), Asian men are virtually invisible in contact sport in general (Nakamura, 2012). Yet, Asian masculinities in and in relation to sport is a severely under-explored topic. My project is therefore an attempt to gain some insight into such a status quo regarding Asian masculinity and sport.

From the Social Construction of Masculinity in Sport to Chinese Albertans—the Research

It is evident from the discussion of the literature that the social construction of masculinity in sport centres on the body and constantly refers to the biological differences of bodies and their (perceived) corporal capacities. In terms of confrontational sport, a certain "somatic compliance" usually inscribes the body, be it requirement of great musculature (Connell, 1990, 2000, 2005a), or the mandate of carefully conditioning it for the sole goal of winning. In some cases, this type of compliance is also evident in athletes' acceptance of practices that harm the athletic body, as one cost of winning (Messner, 1992, Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; E. Anderson, 2010). Given the masculinist genesis of modern sport, not least in Canada, where masculine stoicism, aggression, and physical toughness are imbricated to be important aspects of national identity (Allain, 2008; M. L. Adams, 2012), it is reasonable to believe that the somatic compliance imposed on sport bodies also extends to every man, and thus constitutes one aspect of hegemonic masculinity.

In the remainder of this chapter, I substantiate this argument by outlining the significance of the body and sport in the participants' accounts of what can be seen as components of hegemonic masculinity in Alberta at this point in time. I underscore that the emergence of the "sport-gender [masculinity]-power dynamic" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 32) from the data demonstrates that the participants' conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity automatically denied them access to such status and even the status of masculine.

The Somatic Man

Two questions were adopted to elicit responses from the participants about possible contours of hegemonic masculinity in Alberta: (1) "What kind of man is considered masculine/ideal in Alberta"? And as a probe when participants were not clear as to what responses they would furnish, (2) "What would an ideal/masculine man in Alberta look like"? In one case, when the word ideal instead of masculine was used, the participant also added non-physical features in his response. However overall, no significant differences were found

regarding the wording thereof. For participants who only defined the ideal/masculine men in regard to his appearance, non-physical aspects were further probed. Subsequently, in an attempt to further flesh out the image of this masculinity, I also invited participants to provide examples from their lives and talk about their sport heroes/idols. Where participants were hesitant or did not know how to proceed in their responses, I offered them the option to cite media figures.

The defining features of the ideal/masculine man in Alberta arose from their responses as tall, well-built or muscular, and having a beard, the last unanimously agreed upon. Xavier, for example, commented that being an ideal man in Alberta was a "physical job":

> It's a physical job I guess. You have to engage in very manly sports, activities. Playing contact sports doesn't hurt. [Urmmm], [.][16]Being good-, having good nature skills, or outdoor skills, making stuff and [urmmm] being able to do renos at home that sort of stuff. But outdoor skills like knowing the wilderness, having experience of that, because fishing, hunting, these are very traditional manly activities in Alberta.

While Xavier linked masculinity to contact sports ("manly sports"), the presence of "traditional manly activities" and skills in this excerpt is not a coincidence. These are qualities essential to a type of masculinity Wamsley (2007) names "bush masculinity" (p. 91). The inter-signification between sport masculinity and bush masculinity frames a "distinct" Canadianness, to which I return in Chapter Five. Another participant Jack also defined the ideal man in somatic terms:

> P: [.] Probably number one I say is like [uh] probably exercise and working out. And the next one I'd say success is also another one.
>
> I: Success in terms of what?
>
> P: Like getting a good career and then [uh] like making money for the family, like that.

Whereas his version of ideal also indicates the lingering presence of the breadwinner, his idol further illustrates what he meant by "exercise and working out":

> I: Do you have any sport idols growing up?
>
> P: [Hmmm]. No, not really.
>
> I: What about just an idol in general?
>
> P: [Urmmm], I do follow Arnold Schwarzenegger.
>
> I: Okay. What about him?

---

[16] Transcribing notation: Pauses and non-verbal/paralinguistic codes are indicated in square brackets. One point indicates that the participant had a short pause; two points mean they had a long pause up to 5 seconds. Durations of pauses longer than five seconds are written in the brackets. When the delivery of a word was cut off, the incompletion is marked with a dash. "I" refers to the investigator, and "P" means participant.

P: [Urmmm], probably his lifestyle choices which made them really healthy-

I: Really healthy in what sense?

P: [Uh], just like he works out and then [uh] [.], how he maintains like his body. He didn't have like [uh] [.], getting obese near the end of your life.

I: Okay. Any other aspect?

P: No, not really. Just healthy lifestyle choices.

He ostensibly aspired to the "healthy lifestyle choices" made by actor and politician Schwarzenegger. However, the phrase "How he maintains like his body" as an example for such choices indicates the aesthetic value manifested in a muscular body constructed against "obese". Thus, the direct benefit of body-building is framed as not having a body that appears to be over-weight. Markula and Pringle (2006) argue that this is a result of a prevalent discourse framing the health benefits of exercising as having a "healthy-looking" body, instead of a healthy body per se, a point further illustrated when I probed for aspects of ideal man in terms of "how he looks":

P: I feel like height. It is [uh], is important.

I: Okay. Anything else?

P: Hmmm, [.] probably you- I mean if you don't have muscle mass, it doesn't make you like feminine. But I think [uh], if you do have a large like muscle mass, it definitely works for the masculinity.

Not only does his response indicate the capital that can stem from the size and muscularity of the body, it also reveals a gender bifurcation—being masculine means not feminine, an essential feature of hegemonic masculinity within the gender order where the hegemony is defined as contrary to the subordinate—homosexuality and femininity. As Kimmel (2001) argues from a psycho-analytic perspective, "masculine identity is born in the renunciation of the feminine, not in the direct affirmation of the masculine, which leaves masculine gender identity tenuous and fragile" (p. 33).

The somatic importance is further corroborated by the examples of masculine figures they cited. Among these examples, masculinity, sport, and the bush/frontier construct a nexus where the ideal male body is honed. Besides Arnold Schwarzenegger, whose body is conscientiously "maintained" through exercising, as Jack commented, other examples include men who play confrontational sport, men associated with sport, and men partaking in traditionally manly trades in Alberta. Cowboy, lumberjack, muscular physical education teacher, gym-goers, and hockey players are among the examples. For instance, the

ideal/masculine media figure Danial provided was “Adam Larsson who plays for the Edmonton Oilers”. He continued, “He’s pretty manly. [Chuckles]…. So, he was like, you know tall, really bulky-built hockey player. He has a beard. He’s Swedish”.

Power and the Body

Connell (1983) argues that body is critical in the development of masculine identity, and that sport teaches boys and men to use their bodies to produce effects and achieve, through the combination of force and skill, a status of power. Thus, to be a man, in this case, means to utilize the body in space-occupying ways, and to project a physical presence that speaks of latent power (Connell, 1983). Athletes are therefore often obsessed with the size of the body. One participant in Messer’s (1992) study reveals his inability to outgrow his “Oedipus complex”, which serves as a good example:

> …My father had a voice that sounded like rolling thunder…. My father gave me a sense, an image of him being the most powerful being on earth, and that no matter what I did, I would never come close to him. There were definitely feelings of physical inadequacy that I couldn’t work around…. As I grew older, my mother and friends told me that I had actually grown to be a larger man than my father. Even though in time I required larger clothes than he, which should have been a very concrete indication, neither my brother nor I could ever bring ourselves to say that I was bigger. We simply couldn’t conceive of it. (p. 29)

The participants in my project were well-aware of the power/capital conferred on sporting bodies and the size thereof, be it associated with a positively (being the most popular student on campus), or a negatively charged category (being a bully). Being tall with a sizeable body appears to be that which they could not “work around”. Jack shared that the reason he started to exercise in the gym was to “gain muscle mass”, and that he believed it would benefit dating. Others consistently linked sport and exercise to the assertiveness and confidence of students and ultimately, their popularity on campus throughout the school years. Male athletes are a constant among the most popular students on campus in the data, while I did not specify gender when I asked, “Who were some of the most popular students on campus”?

For Peter, the most popular student in junior high school was the captain of the football team: “Junior high, it got more defined. And like captain of the football team. For sure, he was considered like ‘Oh. You are a dude. You’re strong. You’ve got gains that kind of stuff’”. Commenting on the most popular students in High school, he continued:

…The captain of the football team was around. He was- He still had a group with him…. He still had- he still had a similar group of people. He still went to football during high school. But I didn't see him often, but I saw him with a group of kids, and he was walking at the forefront. So, my guess was he like- he kept his whatever leadership ex-status.

The captain of the football team was not only the most popular student on campus, he was also a leader, as indicated by the word "forefront", and the phrase "had a group with him" instead of with a group. Xavier also provided a detailed account regarding the popularity of athletes on campus:

…So, at that time, the most popular guys within that large friend group was actually again the sports guys. [Urmmm], I wouldn't say it was the hockey guys though. At the time it was actually, [urmmm], one friend I said who was a really good soccer player. So, it was, it was kind of [.] the guy was best at sports I guess. In recess, he was kind of popular because you're always first to pick for certain sports or something, right? And you are at the first pick when you're trying to choose teams. [Urmmm], I would say people who are funny kind of came in second, something like that. I mean like, everyone was friends with a funny guy. But in terms of who is most well-known at school, it would definitely be the athletes at the school. Everyone knew about who played in volleyball team; who played in basketball team; who played whatever, right?

The popularity of athletes, evident in the participants' accounts, is also reflected on an institutional level. In Xavier's response, athletes received validation in the form of notoriety in school, owing to institutionalized practice of playing sports in recess. Playing sports during recess was a common experience to all five participants at one stage or another during their K-12 education. Mike further exemplified the officially conferred accolade for athletes:

P: …If you do well in sports, there are school recognition, and that's when popularity began to kick in. I guess that's one way of defining popularity where there is this recognition, school recognition, and everyone knows you….

I: What were some of the ways in which the school would give recognition to the people who were good at sports?

P: There will be like "so and so team made it to final this week, and so and so team scored so many points. We made gold medal. Congratulations X where the team's name is called".

I: Was that an announcement?

P: Yeah, an announcement.

In some cases, participants reported to have been bullied at school, physically in Peter's case, and verbally in Mike's case. Whereas Mike was not bullied by an athlete, he indicated that athletes could potentially be bullies. Peter described his experience as follows:

> P: [Urmmm]. It was a group of like three white kids. One guy was like super tall, and his hair was like completely shaggy. You don't even see his eyes. Super tall for his age. He's almost like a good foot over everyone. [Urmmm], and then there was two other guys with him. And they were always like went workout…. [Urmmm], it was the tall lanky guy. We were in the same gym class. We were in the fitness room, and they are like "we want to do kicking practice". Yeah, lanky guy and his same two other people. "[Urmmm], Can you hold this like large [urmmm], kicking barrier?" Basically, hold it up high like this [motioning in front of his body] and it was just a massive pillow basically super padded or whatever, and like I don't know. Nothing went through my brain at the time, or I was just being really stupid like "Oh sure, I can hold it". [Said in high pitch] and basically like crouched on the ground, the guy just like rail on me really bad. I was like "Oh I'm done." [Spoken in higher pitch]. He was like "Oh. Okay." Like it didn't hurt. It was super well-padded, but that was technically an instance of bullying, but I didn't realize it at the time [laughs].

Though this incident did not cause any physical pain or injury as Peter reported, power and its association to a large, built body are apparent in his account. The characterization of the bully as "a good foot over everyone", the statement that "they were always went like work out" and "[I] basically like crouched on the ground" offer a clear contrast of size between the two sides, while "rail on me really bad" indicates the medium for the power to be exercised—a physically built body plus violence.

Atkinson (2007) outlines the importance of exploring the sport-gender-power dynamic in asking questions about sport and gender. He explains that the sport-gender-power dynamic refers to "how one's agency and personal efficacy in sports practices and institutions are strongly tied to one's gender status" (p. 32). From the above discussion over the data, the sport-gender (masculinity)-power dynamic constructed in the participants' accounts is such that the emphases on the athletic/exercised body, its size, and other somatic features, together with the power attributed to such bodies, give shape to a masculinity, to which the participants are denied access by themselves. The fact remains that, at the time of interview, except for Xavier,

who had been a football player in high school, no participants possessed the physical features they described as ideal[17]. This of course begs the question whether or not they would embody the ideal masculinity, or occupy a position closer to it, if they had qualified for these somatic standards. I argue that the politics currently surrounding gender and race in Canada precludes the extension of (hegemonic) masculine status to these men. I substantiate this argument in Chapter Five.

I have argued in Part One of the thesis that one way of subjugating Chinese masculinity in turn-of-the-century Canada was through discursively framing Chinese workers' bodies as small and disease-ridden, simply put, subpar. This strategy branded their bodies as undesirable for incorporation into the young nation and was partially responsible for the effeminate Chinese/Asian men stereotype. Focusing on the body and power, one dimension of analysis within the framework, I have argued in this chapter that the participants constructed an ideal masculinity in highly somatic terms, which precludes themselves from performing such masculinity. Therefore, the historical and the current contrast sharply in that the participants in the research had become the subject of the inferior masculinity discourse. The participants' framing of hegemonic masculinity subjected themselves to the standard of the powerful, indicating the effectiveness of the hegemony. Notable in both contexts is the power held by a built body. I have also linked the type of masculinity the participants framed to institutionalized sport and exercise and bush masculinity. In Chapter Five, I further elaborate on the gender order constructed in the data, as I widen the researcher's view (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015) and examine the construction of masculinity by situating the data within a broader/symbolic context, where hockey plays an essential role in the construction and perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity.

[17] The investigator stands at 5'8''. Xavier was significantly taller. Three were shorter. One approximately the same.

Chapter Five Hockey, the Gender Order, and the Negotiation of Masculinity

Immediately following the tragic events that transpired on September 11, 2001, American audience's attention was steered to the heroic efforts made to deter the third phase of the attack. Four men stood out at the centre whose heroism, according to the media, owed significantly to the cultivation of sport. Sportswriter Rick Reily, as one of many, described them as "[a] huge rugby player…, [a] former high-school football star…, onetime college basketball player…, and [a] former national judo champ." He believed that it was sport as "preparation and training ground for life" that united these men in their heroic sacrifice (Reily, as cited in Staurowsky, 2010, p. 69). The now famous command "let's roll" spoken by one of the men, Todd Beamer, has been adopted by George W. Bush on multiple occasions, including during his address to the US Olympic delegation at the opening ceremony of the Salt Lake City Winter Olympic games. He admonished the athletes to "compete for the honour and glory of their country in memory of those who had died less than six months before" (Staurowsky, 2010, p. 69). Nation-wide mourning in the United States focused on the military people and male firefighters, and virtually all media coverage was devoted to male heroes. However, Staurowsky (2010) reminds us that though it was the case that only 25 females were employed in New York Fire Department, over 6,000 worked in New York's police department and approximately one third of the city's emergency medical technicians were women at the time.

Reflecting on the idea of heroism that arose from this incident, it appears that in the midst of the dust and debris of crisis, some are heroes whereas others are deemed outside of that category; some aspects of heroes are brought to the foreground, while others recede out of sight. Sport, nation, and the brand of masculinity that the former supposedly forges for the benefit of the latter comprise a "sticky note" that well persists to the present day.

As the tragedy of 9/11 is now, chronologically, part of the bygones, the potential in crises for (re)scripting masculinity is not yet a thing of the past. The resurgence of neo-conservatism since the engineering and promulgation of the United States' "war on terror" spurs the "man-up" discourse; the celebration of a militant, jingoistic brand of masculinity jives well with the continuous rhetoric of masculinity crisis that is still a present tense in North America, despite Canada's resistance of the culture of terror and fear promoted by the Bush administration and its British Blair parallel (Atkinson, 2011).

The following was excerpted from a 2006 article by Maclean's columnist Steyn, regarding the 1989 Montreal Massacre in which 14 women at Ecole Polytechnique were executed by a single male (as cited in Greig & Holloway, 2012):

> Yet the defining image of contemporary Canadian maleness is not M. Lepine/Gharbi but the professors and the men in that classroom, who, ordered to leave by the lone gunman, meekly did so, and abandoned their female classmates to their fate-an act of abdication that would have been unthinkable in almost any other culture throughout human history. The "men" stood outside in the corridor and, even as they heard the first shots, they did nothing. And, when it was over and Gharbi walked out of the room and past them, they still did nothing. Whatever its other defects, Canadian manhood does not suffer from an excess of testosterone. (p. 120-121)

Instead of exposing misogyny as the crux of this tragedy and the embedded heterosexism in the cultural settings that enabled it, Steyn blamed feminists for the “weakening” of Canadian men (Greig & Holloway, 2012).

The framing of the unwillingness to engage in physical fight as cowardice and the “natural” link thereof to reduced testosterone is one main component of the current purported masculinity crisis and recuperative masculine politics (Atkinson, 2011; Greig & Holloway, 2012). Thus, the potential of men to fight, be aggressive and violent, and the implied somatic capacities comprise exemplary qualities of a hegemonic masculinity which is extolled as natural amidst such politics. This is most evident in terms of hockey and the culture which celebrates, and at times, condones it (Allain, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Rubidoux, 2002).

In this chapter, drawing primarily on Roubidoux and Bocksnick’s (2010) ethnography of minor hockey and Atkinson’s (2010; 2011) analysis of the McSorley-Brashear incident in the NHL, I first pinpoint sanctioned violence in ice hockey as an important locus of enunciation for hegemonic masculinity in Canada; I outline hockey’s role in signifying, on a national level, the type of somatic, tough, and often aggressive masculinity and its cultural and institutional exaltation in Canada. I then address the implications of such masculinity from the stance that it excludes all but specific groups of men. I attempt to achieve this through situating the data in the broad celebration of hockey and the masculinity it represents across Canada, leading to an analysis of the participants’ positions and the strategies they employed to negotiate their masculinities in relation to the hegemonic masculinity.

Get Him! Nail Him! Hammer Him! Smoke Him!

It is perhaps somewhat unexpected when I reveal that this heading is not from a mafia movie. Instead, these are the phrases parents use to “cheer on” their sons in Peewee hockey

(with players aged 12-13[18]) in Southern Alberta, as a year-long ethnography indicates (Rubidoux & Bocksnick, 2010). Roubidoux and Bocksnick (2010) observed Peewee hockey matches in Lethbridge and Calgary for the 2001-2002 season, when there was evidence of increased spectator violence reported at minor-level games. So prevalent was the phenomenon, it was named "rink rage". In Ontario, for instance, a coach was charged with threatening to kill a teenage referee; a Winnipeg police constable was arrested for threatening another parent during the match of his nine-year-old son (Deacon, McLelland & Smart, as cited in Rubidoux & Bocksnick, 2010). Roubidoux and Bocksnick (2010) report that, although extreme acts of violence are found to be rare, as they are usually prohibited and will result in ejection from the arena, many insidious forms of violence and aggression pervade minor hockey contexts. Their conclusion echoes the argument made by Allain (2008) that a hard-hitting, fast, and tough brand of masculinity embodied by Canadian ice hockey has infiltrated almost all elite-level of men's and boys' hockey in Canada. The phrases "get him", "nail him", "hammer him", and "smoke him" are routinely documented throughout the ethnography and are to encourage the young players to utilize physical aggression on an opponent. Thus, hockey aggression and violence, in this case, are articulated by the parents, encouraging the players who, upon successfully acting out the expectation, are further praised, thus creating a "hitting frenzy" on ice (Roubidoux & Bocksnick, 2010, p. 53).

Roubidoux and Bocksnick (2010) believe that the parents of minor hockey constitute a distinct speech community in which verbally abusive behaviours are sanctioned and deemed appropriate. This is evident in that their conducts did not result in ejection from the venue. Roubidoux and Bocksnick also witnessed the unequal statuses between male and female parents. When fathers scolded teenage referees as "pathetic" or "idiot", they were sometimes able to effect a change in the referees' rulings; whereas females did the same only to be silenced by their husbands, whose legitimacy was validated by the women's acquiescence (Roubidoux & Bocksnick 2010). The presence of women at minor hockey games in this case reflects a perception of "intrusion" Allen (2002) speaks of, which demonstrates the hostility females can face when they are deemed as trespassers in male preserves. Analyzing minor hockey spectatorship and the "covert" violence thereof reveal important aspects of the power pervasive in confrontational sport. This includes the inculcation of an aggressive code of masculinity at an early age and the solidification of male dominance and female marginalization, which are

[18] Hockey Canada indicates that the age bracket of the current season for Peewee level is "under 13 years of age" (Hockeycanada.ca).

institutionally sanctioned by the organizing principles of hockey per se. Roubidoux and Bocksnick (2010) aptly conclude that:

> [The arenas] are where membership is claimed, validating one way of existence and invalidating others. In this way, community identity is pronounced and endorsed by its members, while rejecting values and beliefs not suitable in hockey—tolerance, passivity, or compassion. Moreover, it articulates the politics of gender and informs legitimate conventions and standards of behaviour pre-defined by traditional, antiquated masculine formulas. (p. 58)

Dangerous Masculinity

Roubidoux and Bocksnick's (2010) research captures the construction of what Young (2000; 2004) names "dangerous masculinity" on the ice rink. It is the same "hard-hitting" display of masculine prowess and dominance Allain (2008) discusses which is realized through the conditioned, hard, and often injury-bearing bodies of players placed at the conjuncture of power, speed, and thus risk. It is dangerous, "as it places men in contexts where violent victimization, physical injury… are relatively guaranteed" (Atkinson, 2010, p. 21). Yet, so normalized and exalted, it has come to be seen as a sine qua non of Canadian hockey and Canadian identity (Allain, 2008; Roubidoux, 2002).

K. Young (2000) argues that many instances of on-ice assault technically qualify as criminal offences and yet are rarely treated as such; players involved are thus often exempted from criminal charges. In spite of this, hockey still stands as one of the Canadian sports with the highest criminal reports. The enshrinement of dangerous masculinity is one contributing factor to hockey violence, from the injuries the players sustain and inflict to sexual abuses of athletes by coaches. As Atkinson (2010; 2011) and Allain (2008) present, one implication of such masculinity is the fact that, on the one hand, players who do not conform to the code of violence risk ostracism on the team; on the other, players who do follow these codes are rewarded. Citing Vaz, Allain (2008) indicates that

> …. Young players most able to internalize this idea of hockey (specifically a hard-hitting, physically aggressive game) are most likely to be rewarded by having more ice time and by being promoted to more highly competitive leagues—all-star, A-level, and the junior ranks. (p. 468)

Through the McSorley-Brashear incident, one of the more recent criminally-charged cases in Canada, Atkinson (2010; 2011) provides a thorough analysis of the ways in which this type of masculinity ascends to the position of hegemony. Besides the "allure of stardom" (Sabo &

Panepinto, 2001) and the monetary benefit, a range of factors contribute to athletes' over-indulgence of the dangerous masculine ideal. During a game between the Boston Bruins and the Vancouver Canucks in 2001, after a series of frictions and fights between two enforcers of the respective teams—Marty McSorley and Donald Brashear, the former slashed the latter with his stick on the right temple from the back. Brashear collapsed, went into a state of unconsciousness, and was later carried out of the rink. As a consequence, McSorley received a match penalty "for attempting to injure" and a game misconduct. Later, Canuck's team doctor confirmed that Brashear was having a seizure as he was lying on the ice, and that he suffered a grade-three concussion from the stick blow. Having witnessed the incident, the police sergeant on duty at the game filed a report and recommended that criminal charge be laid against McSorley, who after the trial, was sentenced to an 18-month conditional discharge, or essentially probation (Atkinson, 2010).

As one of the few cases that were brought to the court of law, it stirred a nation-wide debate. Some discursive practices regarding the matter discussed in Atkinson (2010; 2011) are efficient in underlining the insularity surrounding the ways in which hockey violence in Canada is addressed. They reveal the sport's position of privilege and the hegemonic masculinity it represents in culture throughout Canada. One of the most heatedly debated topics concerning this trial was whether or not the criminal justice system had any mandate to control player violence in professional ice hockey (Atkinson, 2011). A recurrent discourse concerning this matter evidenced a "defense of the masculine", as fans and hockey pundits held that "any criminal prosecution of hockey players [was] not only ineffective and unwarranted, but in many ways also distastefully unmasculine" (Atkinson, 2010, p. 19). The perceived fallacy in the intervention of the law was expressed not only by fans, but also by NHL players and executives who believed that players would only respect the verdict and punishment if they were administered by an entity familiar with the conditions of violence in the game. This idea reflects the argument advanced by E. Anderson (2009; 2010), Atkinson (2010; 2011), and Robinson (1998) that sport is a (near) total institution, where the matter of violence is regulated "in house".

Inculcated with the dangerous masculine codes in such an institution, Mark Messier, team captain of the New York Rangers and former teammate of McSorley's offered an it's-part-of-the-game response: "It was a dangerous play. I don't know what else to say. Everybody knows it's a dangerous game and we all know injuries can happen" (Atkinson, 2010, p. 21). On the other side of such attitude was the increasing suspicion towards Brashear's masculine character from fans and hockey pundits, as they believed that it was the violation of the masculine codes on his part that precipitated McSorley's criminal play. The rationale was that,

having won in the previous fights between the two in that game, Brashear disengaged himself from further friction with McSorley, thus effectively denying the latter the opportunity to redeem himself (Atkinson, 2010). Finally, Brashear himself was blamed for the attack also because it was believed that, aware of McSorley's status as the third most penalized player in the NHL, he knew what he was up against. The significance of the masculine cultural ideal was further reflected in the comments of Justice Kitchen (R. V. McSorley, as cited in Atkinson, 2010, emphasis in the original):

> The act was unpremeditated. It was impulsive, committed when McSorley was caught in a squeeze—attempting to follow an order to fight with Brashear when there was too little time to do so…. It is my conclusion that it was less serious than many assaults, but with significant consequences that cannot be ignored…. *Mr. McSorley impressed us with his dedication to the game, his diligence, and his bravery*…. It is clear that he regrets the incident and is remorseful. *He has not been able to admit his guilt, but that is understandable*. (p. 25-26)

Similarly, the death of Sanderson was yet another case of deeply ingrained dangerous masculinity. Don Sanderson, former player for Whitby Dunlops, died after sustaining a severe head injury after an altercation with an opponent, Corey Fulton. During a tribute to him before a scheduled game, Sanderson's father commented that it is "his son's 'fire' [that] made him an aggressive defenseman who earned four ejections for fighting in 11 games in the 2008 season" (Atkinson, 2011, p.133). When interviewed, Sanderson's teammates commented that they thought Fulton did nothing dirty or dangerous and that the altercation was nothing special (Atkinson, 2011).

It is in the celebration of such dangerous and yet "impressive" masculinity that athletes learn to sustain and inflict pain on others, as, in time, they realize that there is only one form of accepted masculine performance— "real fast and tough" (Allain, 2008, p. 462), thus disavowing the very idea of victimhood[19] (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; K. Young, 2000). It is within this renunciation of victimhood that the designing principles of hockey, its production and consumption, and the power of the sport-media-culture complex are perpetuated.

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[19] The disavowal of victimhood points to the coach's power in a (near) total institution, where increasingly surveillance is directed at coaches after the sexual assault cases of Sheldon Kennedy and Mike Danton in Canadian hockey. Both had sustained years of sexual assault from their coaches who exerted psychological and physical dominance over them by "grooming" them while they were boys. In Danton's case, the coach even convinced him to change his last name to further alienate him from his family and therefore guardianship. The notion that there is no victim in hockey not only leads to injuries, but also insidiously abets abuse in sports, as victimized young players are often unwilling to report or testify, afraid of losing masculine status (Atkinson, 2011).

Injury is Part of the Game

Of course, the notion of hockey being naturally violent and thus injury is part of the game extends beyond the ice rink. The responses from the participants indicated an across-the-board consent to the logic of the hegemonic masculinity in terms of violence, injury, and victimhood. Three out of five participants had had experience playing confrontational sports. Xavier played football on the school team throughout high school and followed hockey games as a fan; Daniel played hockey recreationally; Peter practiced Taekwondo in high school. When invited to comment on the violence that is often deemed legal (instrumental violence[20]), the participants responded unanimously with an 'it's-part-of-the-game' attitude, while trivializing/accidentalizing the injures that do occur. When asked about the injuries in hockey games, Jack responded:

> [Urmmm], I feel like every sport and every activity has its risks. And before you sign up for like play hockey, and there are like contracts you have to sign, then you have to be aware of that. There are risks like getting injured and getting concussions. So, I feel like it's, it's not [uh] it's not an issue. It's not a huge issue. Like of course get the protection required make sure you protect yourself on the on the rink, and on ice. Then, like everyone who plays hockey they should be aware that they could get injured. And make sure you have like the necessary protection.

The risks of hockey are thus trivialized by being equated to the risk involved in "every activity", whereas apparently not every activity involves hitting, fist fights, and dropping down on the ice, banging one's head upon impact, as in Sanderson's case. Jack's response also revealed greater consent to the hegemonic position hockey masculinity represents beyond his local interpretation of the game per se. His remarks about player consent reflect the rhetoric of the NHL executives in the McSorley-Brashear incident. Atkinson (2010) points out that there is a legal "grey zone" concerning what the players are consenting to by signing a contract. The rhetoric of consent and that about McSorley's frustration of being denied a come-back fight framed Brashear as the one to blame. Moreover, to argue against legal intervention, the NHL discursively framed McSorley's action as egregious, not sanctioned by hockey rules, and thus, an anomaly. Yet, they also stated that such accident fell within the type of hockey injuries one should expect. The consent and the anomaly arguments therefore made the incident an accident, displacing it from professional, respectable hockey. Following Jack's response, I probed about

[20] Instrumental violence in sport: violent plays with the aim of attaining an end beyond the realm of harming, as opposed to intentionally wanting to harm (Rubidoux & Bocksnick, 2010).

the rationale of players' participation in the game, since he believed that they knew the risks. Jack responded:

> I feel even though the risk is, like there is a severe risk. For the chance of it happening is low. Then, probably only like every a few thousand games or something they do they might get like an injury. But then, like but every game, they have like the prestige and enjoyment of play hockey. So, I feel that outweighs the risks like much greater. They also feel like they- there is also probably like a feeling like that someone else might get hurt but I won't get hurt, like a feeling that the risk won't come to you. The main, like I feel like the enjoyment much outweighs the risks.

Here, the rationale of players' participation in hockey is framed as a calculated decision, as "the enjoyment much outweighs the risks". This advantage of participation is also presented through contrast—the risk of severe injury as one in "a few thousand games" is contrasted with "the prestige and enjoyment of play[ing] hockey" in "every game." Thus, given the cultural enshrinement of hockey, indicated by the word "prestige", playing while risking it does not sound like a "bad deal" at all.

This widespread view regarding low risk versus great reward in confrontational sport was further substantiated by the two participants who had partaken in confrontational sports with some experiences. Peter, who practiced Taekwondo in high school and reached black belt, interpreted the risk factor in a combat sport such as Taekwondo as athletes' lacking control or finesse. Thus, he believed that continuously fine-tuning skills is the solution to potential risks. I pursued this further by pointing out the risk of injury in the process of trying to improve. He then responded:

> [.] Urmmm. Well, yes. That is still reaches the goal properly, like, ultimately still reach the goal, cuz, [urmmm], I mean, it's not reasonable to mitigate all possible risks, like everyday life has risk, micromort[21] or whatever, that theory [Chuckles].

Xavier's response also marks a defensive position:

> I: What is your understanding of violence in hockey and football?
>
> P: I would say some of those, if, if I'm looking at some key injuries in my own memory. For example, [.] Scott Stevens in hockey. He was very- he's very well known for being a very violent, like described that way as a violent player, [uh] hitting people,

[21] Originally adopted by Howard (1980), the term micromort is used to assess social risk and means "a one in one million chance of death" (p. 99). Fry, Harrison, and Daigneault (2015) propose that the use of micromort by medical practitioners can be a way of "effective communication of risk" to patients. They indicate that "a single micromort is roughly the normal daily risk of death from external causes for the general population in Europe…" (p. 230).

> concussing people, and ending careers. [Urmmm], so, in that sense, it was, I would say hockey and football are really violent sports. I would say less so now, due to stricter rules and better player safety. And if there is a cultural, like a cultural change or shift within the sports themselves, I think that might be coming through soon, or has already happened.

In this response, the high risks involved in hockey and football are attributed to the "criminal element" in the sports. This is similar to athletes' usual interpretation of injuries, as evident in Messer's (1992), Atkinson's (2010; 2011), and E. Anderson's (2010) research, represented by notoriously violent players. Thus, hockey injury is framed once again as accident and idiosyncratic, whereas the optimistically anticipated cultural shift has not materialized, as recent studies indicate (Adams, Mason, & Rubidoux, 2015; Adams & Leavitt, 2018; Krebs, 2012).

Kidd (1990) names sport arenas [22] men's cultural centres. What he criticizes is essentially the sport-media-culture complex. He maintains:

> It [the construction of the stadium] was initiated by male politicians well-known for their hostility for feminist causes, and it was developed by an almost exclusively male provincial crown corporation. At a time when women's crisis centres go under-funded, the developer obtained 25 acres of prime downtown public land and $85 million in public funds for the stadium. Its primary tenants will be local franchises of the commercial baseball and Canadian football cartels, the Blue Jays and the Argonauts, which stage male team games for predominantly male audiences. The other major beneficiary will be the public and private media corporations that sell male audiences to advertisers through their broadcast of male sports, the advertisers, and the businessmen who will stay in and entertain clients in the adjoining hotel. (p. 32)

The completion of Rogers Place in Edmonton was a similar story—subsidized with massive public money, for the sake of retaining Edmonton Oilers and downtown revitalization (Edmonton Journal, 2016), as former mayor Stephan Mandel is quoted to state that "It was never in doubt in my mind that if we couldn't come up with a deal, the team would be gone[23]" (Edmonton Journal, 2016).

Even though Hockey Canada has banned body-checking in games at Peewee level and below (Hockeycanada.ca, 2013), neither the structure nor the culture of the game has changed.

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[22] The arena he refers to is not named in his article, though another source (M. L. Adams, 2012) indicates that it is the Air Canada Centre, now Scotia Bank Arena.

[23] Of the 31 teams within the NHL, only seven are now based in Canada (NHL.com).

The participants' perception that risks in confrontational sport are not tangible and that serious injuries are rare are, of course, imprecise. Emery and Meeuwisse (2006) indicates that in the 2003-2004 season, minor hockey alone in Canada produced a 21.95% injury rate; 87.8% of injuries reported resulted in time away from the game. Concussion, shoulder sprain/dislocation, knee sprain/strain, upper extremity fractures were among the most commonly reported injuries. Furthermore, these statistics do not factor in under-reporting of injury, which is a frequent occurrence, with the push for success and results from coaches under institutional pressure (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1992). This is often enabled by the in-house handling of matters, as most injuries are treated by team doctors who are pressured by coaches to clear their athletes for matches. The ability of coaches to abuse their purported expertise in sport injuries also contributes to the under-report thereof. The medical expertise of coaches, according to E. Anderson (2009; 2010) is oftentimes an outright lie.

The participants' trivialization and accidentalizing of injuries in sport indicated the consent constructed towards the hegemonic configuration of masculinity. This was further illustrated when Peter and Xavier's defensive position towards the topic stood in stark contrast to the fact that they both had sustained serious injuries in sports, resulting in time away from practice. In Peter's case, he reported that "[.] I got a sparring match and got kicked in a testicle [laughs]. And it actually [urmmm], like inflated [speaking as laughing mildly], to like golf ball plus size. And it was incredibly painful". Ensuing this injury, he was carried away from the match to be treated. When I inquired about his thought after the injury, he commented:

> [Urmmm], I didn't actually think much of it. It was apparently painful at the time. But, [.] no, no like regret or anything like that. I just thought it was like, it was an injury. It occurs. [Urmmm], [.] just keep it in mind, and learn from the lesson.

In Xavier's Case, he had sustained injuries to his anterior cruciate ligament twice, which eventually resulted in his leaving competitive football permanently after surgery.

Hockey and Canadianness

I have argued in Chapter Four that the participants in my study defined aspects of hegemonic masculinity in Alberta in highly somatic terms; I have pointed out that this definition effectively deny them access to the status of masculine. I have thence posed a question: whether or not they would embody such masculinity or occupy a position closer to it, if they had qualified for these somatic standards. In the remainder of this chapter, I attempt to answer this question, as I underscore the links among hockey, whiteness, and the sense of Canadianness by drawing on studies of hockey and Canadian national identity.

A Collective Memory?

A.D. Smith (2010) presents the case that three projects i.e. that of sovereignty, autonomy, and identity altogether build nationalism. Following his observation, in terms of identity, hockey in Canada brings up the image of the "good Canadian". The ordinariness of the Canadian is important, as the banality means they could be everyone, much like the monuments celebrating nameless national heroes found in many places (A. D. Smith, 2010). In this way, hockey was placed at the centre of the Canadian cultural imagination and becomes deeply ingrained and mythologized as a unified coming-to-age experience (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; Jackson & Ponic, 2010; Rubidoux, 2002; 2011; Wilson, 2012) that obfuscates the politics of national identity and "helps to homogenize discourses about an increasingly heterogeneous population" (M. L. Adams, 2012, p. 71). This imagination is well articulated by Peter Gzoksi (as cited in Wilson, 2012), renowned broadcaster, when he said:

> When I talk about these things, I can get this picture of one big Dixon Park Rink [in Galt, Ontario, where Gzowski grew up] that extends from somewhere in the Maritimes … all the way to the Rockies…. It's as if it's one giant rink where every Canadian boy of my time is involved in the *same* game of hockey or shinny with the *same* rules, and the *same* sense of it, and the *same* sound-memories of your skates against the ice and the puck against the boards or the slide of the puck…. Two Canadian males can sit down and if they can talk about nothing else, they can almost always talk about that and have that shared memory. It's all built up in who we are or who we were. (p. 53, emphasis added)

The iteration of hockey as the unifying collective memory across the media, everyday parlance, and other loci de-politicizes the game, and thus silences many other ways of telling the stories of hockey. Playing and talking about hockey consequently appear to be natural, not least when it is linked to the long Canadian winters and nature. As one Canadian Spirit Whiskey advertisement claims "[hockey is] as much a part of Canada as the cry of the loon at dusk on a Northern Ontario Lake" (Wilson, 2012, p. 55).

The naturalness of hockey does not appear to be the case for many women, as M.L. Adams (2012) argues. The first clue is the overall under-representation of female hockey in the media. Important moments in Canadian history are reported wherein only hockey men are said to be victorious in making a name for their nation (M. L. Adams, 2012; Bridel & Clark, 2011; Davison & Frank, 2007). The final of men's hockey in the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympic Games

for example, attracted 12.5 million viewers as the Canadian team snatched a win against the Americans, making it the most watched TV program in Canadian history and one of the most covered events in Canadian media. The women's hockey team, on the other hand, had already secured a gold against the Americans previously, but received far less attention and was celebrated much in the same way as figure-skating and skiing were, whereas the men's win "[brought] the nation to a standstill" (M. L. Adams, 2012, p. 74). Igham and McDonald (2003) believe that sports can act as representation collectives, a term borrowed from Durkheim, as signifiers of "us" and "we-ness". Bairner (2001) suggests that "except in times of war, seldom is the communion between members of the nation, who might otherwise be classed as total strangers as strongly felt as during major international [sport] events" (p. 17). Following these insights, the saturation of hockey terms in everyday parlance and that of hockey talks in everyday life shape a collective consciousness that tends to exclude people who do not share the hockey experience, and more importantly in this case, they are also denied the masculinity hockey represents (M. L. Adams, 2012). As Bridel and Clark (2011) argue, if Canada is a team, everyone does not get equal participation.

If competitive, commercialized league hockey and the Olympics are overtly masculinist and privileged owing to the level of play, then shinny is "the hockey closest to home, the hockey of childhood" (M. L. Adams, 2012; p. 80). Yet, allocation of time on artificial ice in local community rinks constantly penalizes girls, who are allocated staggeringly less ice time compared to boys and men. In some cases, artificial ice time is extremely difficult to come by for girls, a point led to a Vancouver family filing a lawsuit against municipally run community centres (Wilson, 2012). For women wanting to organize a pick-up hockey game, artificial ice often appears inaccessible (M. L. Adams, 2012).

While females in hockey are usually treated unfairly with bias and under-valued, men playing sports other than hockey or sports that represent masculinities further down in the hegemonic gender order, only achieve their "manhood" through the rendering and filtering of hockey. Bridel and Clark (2011) analyze media coverage of the gold medal wins of Alexandre Bilodeau and Jon Riley Montgomery in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Their analysis reveals that instead of focusing on the events per se, in the coverage of Bilodeau, who won the first gold for Canada in men's moguls, his background as a former hockey player was underscored, his leaving hockey applauded as noble sacrifice for his family; Montgomery, gold medalist in skeleton, was discursively framed as a "hard-core" Canadian athlete, and the media

conscientiously linked him to two of his namesakes-Stan Jonathon and Terry O'Reilly, former players on the "big, bad Boston Bruins", the "two most ruthless pugilists in the NHL" (p. 192). Media representation of male figure-skaters relies on similar techniques, including detailing their backgrounds in hockey and using hockey language to masculinize their performances (Bridel and Clark, 2011; M. L. Adams, 2012).

Hockey in Canada thus functions as a sorting mechanism of not just sports, but also of masculinities, and marks a strategic position in the gender order, as it is also a white-dominated game primarily played and enjoyed by white men (M. L. Adams, 2012; Wilson, 2012). Black men constitute only 14 out of approximately 600 athletes on NHL rosters in the 2002-2003 season (M.L. Adam, 2012). Although black people in Canada have been playing hockey since as early as 1895, racism against them especially as they rise to higher ranks is still the case (Pitter, 2012). The statistics of Asian participants in the NHL is bleaker. Till January 2016, there had been fewer than 40 Asian men in the history of the NHL, and about half of them were of mixed-racial backgrounds (Asianplayers.com). Aboriginal players are consistently stereotyped as ruthless and brutal and thus sorted primarily into the role of the enforcer, which essentially is hitman and bodyguard of famous (white) players on the team (Valentine, 2012).

Given the genesis of the game, the fact that hockey in Canada is a project of whiteness is hardly of surprise. It symbolically mirrors the type of rough, stoic masculinity of the fur traders, or what Wamsley (2007) names bush masculinity, one that celebrates "men's abilities to survive in the wilderness based on self-reliance, physical toughness, resistance to pain, and physical endurance" (p. 91). It was the French bourgeois men that saw in the lives of the fur traders, or "runners of the woods", a spirit and stoicism that conquered the bleak Canadian winters. They thus appropriated and performed the exteriority of such masculinity in their men's clubs as rituals, clubs to which the fur traders were of course denied access (Rubidoux, 2011). This enabled these bourgeois men to symbolically consume a masculinity positively ascribed to the uniqueness of Canada, against the "effeminate" gentries in Europe without having to actually cope with the ordeals of the frontier (Rubidoux, 2011). The fur traders henceforth became the first of frontier heroes that "continued as a characteristic part of sexual ideology in former colonies of settlement such as the United States, South Africa, and Australia" (Connell, 1983, p. 612).

The ascendency of hockey in Canada followed a similar and yet much more orchestrated trajectory. Replacing lacrosse—an appropriated game from the First Peoples—Hockey, according to Rubidoux (2002), succeeded to the "throne" of the rugged masculinity

the fur traders once embodied in a contemporary setting (Rubidoux, 2011). However, as volatile and aggressive as it was first played, the current Canadian style of hard-hitting was only established internationally after the 1977 Summit Series—a series of hockey games played between the USSR and Canada (M. L. Adams, 2012; Allain, 2008; Rubidoux 2002). The games bore great hopes for Canadians in a Cold War political environment and were characterized as capitalism versus communism. Yet, the widely promoted "unique" Canadian superiority did not bring advantage to the Canadians, as they were out-skilled in the initial games. Their comeback and the final win were largely results of the change of style of play after the initial games to "clubbing and hitting", "throat slitting gestures", and "kicking (with skates) (Robidoux, 2002, p. 221). Yet, it was perceived by the nation as "an orgy of self-congratulation about the triumph of 'Canadian virtues'—individualism, flair, and most of all, character" (Gruneau and Whitson, 1993, p. 263), and it became one of the most important moments for Canadian identity. As today's NHL becomes more diversified with players from Russia and Slovakia, the hard-hitting style is still something these newcomers must adjust to and a mechanism via which they are marginalized by their Canadian/North American counterparts (Allain, 2008). Thus, there is nothing natural in the celebration of hockey as Canada's game, or "our game". As Gruneau and Whitson (1993) argues:

> The myth of hockey as a "natural" adaptation to ice, snow, and open space is a particularly graphic example of what Barthes is alerting us to about how history can be confused with nature.... This discourse of nature creates a kind of cultural amnesia about the social struggles and vested interests between men and women, social classes, regions, races, and ethnic groups that have always been part of hockey's history. (p. 132)

When the earlier French bourgeois men sought the masculinity of the fur traders, it was to construct an imagined "unique" white masculinity; when hockey as a project of nationalism was being promoted, it was around a time when the Chinese workers were excluded from all the mainstays of Canadian society. Therefore, this brief sketch of hockey and its history in Canada evidences an optimal case of what de Certeau (as cited in Atkinson, 2010) refers to as "intextuating" hegemonic masculinity into cultural practices, where race and gender form an uneven playing-ground for bodies to compete.

If the analysis outlined above underscores pieces of discursive dispersion where the masculinity hockey signifies, to which numerous men subject, is articulated, my data comprises another such piece. Except for Xavier who followed the games as a fan and Daniel who played it recreationally, the other three participants did not have any significant interest in the sport.

Yet, in the data, hockey is constructed as without doubt the dominant sport in Alberta and in Canada, and is largely designated as a white men's game; standing in contrast is the participants' report that Asian/Chinese men in Alberta either do not participate or are excluded from hockey and sport in general. Hockey's dominance is also reflected in its ubiquity. It appears to take up the backgrounds of the experiences recounted by the participants, be it on the TV at a bar, in friends' homes, or the topic of passionate discussions carried out at work. When invited to discuss the popularity of hockey in Alberta/Canada, their remarks evidenced the mythologized construction of hockey and nationalism. Except for Jack, who believed that team spirit is what made hockey appealing and thus popular, all headed their answers by referencing the climate in Canada. The following is from the part of the interview concerning popularity of hockey with Xavier:

> I: Would you say hockey is the most popular sport in Alberta?
>
> P: Yes. 100% yes [Chuckles].
>
> I: Okay. So, what are some of the factors that contribute to its popularity?
>
> P: [Urmmm], hockey is kind of *just known as Canada's sport*. So, I think-
>
> I: Why do you think that is? Why is it considered Canada's sport?
>
> P: [Urmmm], it's something as a kid I actually never, I never really grasped it. I didn't know why it was Canada's sport. But I kind of, assumed it was because *we* have such long winters, so, it's you know, a winter sport. So, it'll be something *we*, *we hold really dear to our hearts*. [Urmmm], we've had a really long tradition of excellence in hockey. So, that attributes the Canadian identity, as well as Alberta. [Urmmm], and it's, especially in Alberta. There's kind of this feeling that you have to be hard-working, you have to be gritty. That's kind of the identity, right? Kind of like blue collar. You know, you just get down and you work, right? I think that's in hockey, in contact sports. The hockey more specifically because it's Canada. The idea of winter, right? That's something that [urmmm], maybe we identify with, in Alberta.

The explanation of hockey being Canada's game follows a loop in the excerpt, starting from winter, back to winter, indicating that the participant was not familiar with the circumstances under which hockey came to ascendancy, even as he grew into adulthood and realized hockey

was important as part of "our" collective memory. Thus, the inter-signification between hockey and Canadian identity is an a priori conclusion in his account. Yet, hockey is something "we hold really dear to our hearts". The most striking feature of the talk here is the consistent use of "we" when discussing hockey. This is not always the case throughout Xavier's speech pattern during the interview. I argue that this is owing to his success as a jock in high school which negotiated and mitigated his exclusion from the hegemonic ideal. Hockey and team sport in general thus function as a bond through which a collective identity is constructed. This is consistent with Igham and McDonald's (2003) argument that sport can act as a representation collective. Moreover, the participant also identified that hockey's popularity in Alberta was also owing to the working-class culture in Alberta. This is an indication of the inter-signification of bush masculinity and hockey masculinity. In Miller's (2004) study on masculinity in the oil industry in Calgary, she indicates that masculinity is framed within the working environment and is inextricably bound with the frontier experiences and cowboy mythologies.

Besides the linking of hockey to the climate, Daniel also outlined the mimetic function of confrontational sport, which was a perspective shared by Peter:

> P: [Uh], it fits really well with the Canadian climate, at least it does in Alberta. [Uh], it's fun to play, in my mind, to watch. It is very fast-paced. There is very little dead time I guess, compared to say football. You have a lot of whistles and stuff. And there *is much more action* compared to soccer, arguably. The score is higher.

For Daniel, hockey is popular simply because it is a more exciting game. According to Elias and Dunning (2008), confrontational sport is exciting largely owing to the mimetic function thereof, where both players and spectators experience "controlled decontrolling" of violence represented here by "action" and speed. Confrontational sport in this sense functions to de-routinize social life (Atkinson, 2010). This was more evident when I invited participants to discuss why hockey was an appealing sport for spectators. All unanimously reported that spectators expected fights, which are purposively not prohibited in hockey and in confrontational sports in general, as a selling point (E. Anderson, 2010; K. Young, 2000). The following is from Peter:

> …I hear a lot of people pine about it. "Oh, did you see the fight between X and Y when they had a brawl?" That's like the same kind of [urmmm], physical, amount of physical

violence that you get from like football. It's not so much, it's not too much because otherwise why aren't you watching MMA, mixed martial arts? That fighting? They don't want that much, just enough…

Daniel's response also outlined the "unique" hard-hitting style of Canadian hockey and the cultural valuation of violence in North America:

I: What do you think of the potential risks involved in certain more violent actions that are considered within the rules such as body check?
P: Okay. [Uh], I'd say it's a pretty important part of the game. Yeah. [Uh], you look at throughout European leagues where the checks are far less, but, it's [uh], definitely a part of that I would say.
I: Why do you think the European leagues have fewer body checks?
P: [Uh], I don't know [Chuckles].
I: Did you compare that with Canadian leagues?
P: Yes, the distinction is between the NHL and say a Swedish League or a Finnish League. [Uh], that's a very good question.
I: So, if you were to make a guess, why do you think there are more body checks in Canada?
P: [Uh], I think [uh], North American audience just expects more violence.
I: Why?
P: Why is that? [Uh], […] I would say the North American taste for entertainment, it is more, I don't know, I don't want to say less refined. But I want to say, they want more violence. [Uh], you know wrestling, MMA is far bigger here. And, people want to be entertained, and equate violence with entertainment, I don't know.

If violence and fights are part of spectator expectation, it follows that non-violent games are deemed not exciting and thus not worth watching. This was corroborated when the participants were inquired about female hockey games. They believed that female hockey was far less popular in Canada, reflecting findings from studies of female athleticism in Canada, that the cultural arrangements still mean that female athletes are under-valued in terms of their athletic achievements (M. L. Adams, 2012; M.A. Hall, 2007; Wilson, 2007). Xavier commented:

[.] In the women's hockey sport, I think there isn't lots of contact. [Urmmm] I think that deters a lot of people from watching it, like you're in the Olympics. I still like watching it. It's still hockey. But a lot of people would say like "oh. I don't like

> watching, cuz it's just, it just people skating around, and *actually just shooting and playing hockey* [chuckles], where there's no contact", cuz people wanna watch the contact. [Urmmm], [.] people *if they are expecting contact in a contact sport, they assume there is going to be heavy contact*. And because females either are or are viewed as kind of less physically dominant, like less musculature. [Urmmm], so, they won't be as exciting for the hits or whatever, for the contact. It's, it's not to say it's not as competitive. It's very competitive. There's lots of females who are, like very strong and very aggressive. And it's just t*he nature of sports* in general, but [urmmm], people don't watch female sports much, I really don't get it, cuz if anything it tends to be more fundamental, fundamentals like for example, even at basketball, basketball fundamentals like *the skills* to play the sport are probably greater in women's basketball then they are in men's.

Xavier's comment here outlines two themes. First, (men's) hockey is popular because of the many contacts, thus resonating with feminist critiques that confrontational sports aim to maximize the display of male and female physical differences, which serves to consolidate male dominance (Crosset, 1990). His emphasis that the term contact sports implies heavy contacts exposes that the conceptualization of the category per se penalizes players of certain body sizes, female players in this case. Moreover, "actually shooting and playing hockey" and that female hockey reflects greater skills indicate the level of finesse hockey could involve. This dovetails with Allain's (2008) analysis of European hockey players in the NHL and the Summit Series: Canadian style of hard-hitting is a purposive construction, against the European style that emphasizes skills and puck possession more than physical aggression.

In Mike's case, after he responded with the winter-and-therefore-hockey discourse, I challenged by asking: "figure skating is also a winter game. Why is it not more popular?" He responded by indicating that there is a stigma for male athletes in figure-skating, and it is seen as a more feminine sport. The exclusion of female athletes from the comment here can be evidence that he conceptualizes sport as inherently a men's activity.

In summary, the data reflects a gender order consistent with broader analysis of hockey masculinity in relation to femininity and other less aggressive forms of masculinity, where of course, hockey represents a position of hegemony. Insofar as hockey is constructed as a "naturally" Canadian game, on a national level, it is made to signify a gendered Canadianness. In other words, hegemonic masculinity that emphasizes rugged physicality represented by

hockey is an embedded feature of Canadian identity. This specific signification/symbolism, unlike many others, is also simultaneously a matter of emotional relation/cathexis, as there is an affective consequence to such signification—the sense of belonging and pride or the absence thereof. I explicate this point in the remainder of this chapter.

I Was the Only Asian There—Gender Performance and Racial Meanings

Utilizing the theory of symbolic interactionism, Lu and Wong (2013) treat hegemonic masculinity as a system of roles, the successful performance of which exerts powerful influence on a male's self-perception and self-esteem. Successfully performing aspects of the hegemonic masculine role means a better fulfilled sense of self and thus brings a man confidence. In chapter Four, I have reported that Peter presented the captain of the football team in junior high as an example of the most popular person on campus and outlined his role as a leader. According to Peter, he was also "the most charismatic guy there":

> I: Could you describe him? Charismatic in what sense?
>
> P: [Urmmm], he was considered the popular kid like everyone would go to talk to him, and like if there was something on the announcement related to you, like [uh] they always did happy birthday announcements, like happy birthday to XYZ depend on the day. He would come up to you like "Oh happy birthday man" [tap on his shoulder], like that kind of stuff.

Butler (1993) argues that gender is often performed into existence. Simpson (1994) holds a similar position that men perform instead of exhibiting masculinity. The success of the performance depends on the performer's familiarity with the role, and based on Lu and Wong's (2013) theorizing, the more successful he is in executing the role, the more confident he becomes. Thus, success in performing masculinity and high self-esteem feed into one another. If these scholars are correct, which I believe to be the case, the masculine performance in this excerpt is remarkable. Every aspect is to the point, from the occasion of the performance (someone's birthday) to the execution of the role, including the confidence in walking up to random students, the homosocial tacticality (tap on the shoulder), and the camaraderie by male membership signified by the "manning" and "buddying". However, this type of masculine performance in terms of the participants simply cannot be learnt, as these discursive aspects of the masculinity make up only half of the story. As I have outlined, these performances are embodied. I probed further:

I: So, what were some of the things that made him popular?

P: Fair face; he had dirty-ish short blonde hair with green eyes. So, I assume those are attractive traits. No glasses. No acne breakout. That's probably a good thing.

Once again, the participant headed the response with somatic characteristics that place physical features of the person in sharp focus, revealing that he was white. The emphasis of "no glasses" indicates that being a nerd is potentially damaging to masculinity. I return to the last point later.

Reflecting hockey and hegemonic masculinity in Canada, the participants framed whiteness as a necessity for the ideal/masculine men in Alberta, as ubiquitous in their descriptions of ideal masculinity is the presence of whiteness. Disrupting persistently in the background, whiteness ensures the ideological nature of these descriptions. It is precisely the presence of whiteness as a component of this masculinity that renders it hegemonic, as it guarantees that the masculinity deemed ideal by these men does not apply to themselves. Mike encapsulated the ideal man in Alberta as follows:

P: Being inoculated in Western society, it will be white, unfortunately. Essentially white, six pack, six-foot tall, or six something. [Urmmm], I'm sorry.
I: It's okay.
P: Hairy, muscles, [.] that's the physical attributes. Was that the question?
I: What about non-physical factors?
P: What was the question again?
I: The ideal masculine man.
P: Oh, the ideal masculine man. Not gay too, not feminine, [Urmmm], what else is there? So essentially, you're cis, hetero, white man, middle-class, able-bodied, the dominant religious group.

Whiteness as an essential component of hegemonic masculinity is also manifested in the data, as white men are framed as more athletic. The following is from the interview with Xavier:

I: So, the most popular guys on campus you have mentioned are the athletes. Did they have a specific racial background?

P: They were definitely Caucasian [Chuckles]. In terms of [uh], [.] hockey players, it's not something I really noticed when I was like in junior high. It was made obvious to me until high school, always, they are like always [said with emphasis] Caucasian.

Hockey players are always Caucasian, yeah.

Where the boundary configured between the physical build and gender performances slacks, race sure seals the deal. The participants' exclusion and marginalization and the ways in which they negotiated for inclusion in one way or another revolved around gender and race, perceived or real.

Consistent with studies of Asian masculinity and sport participation (Chen, 1999; Millington, Vertinsky, Boyle & Wilson, 2008; Nakamura, 2012), the participants were either excluded from physical activities, or viewed themselves as non-athletic and thus kept their distance from sport. In some cases, there was evidence indicating that it was due to internalized stereotype concerning Asians' being non-athletic (Nakamura, 2012). Peter and Mike had both been excluded from physical activities in school. Daniel only played hockey recreationally, whereas Jack reported that he was not interested in confrontational sport. Mike recalled:

> …As I mentioned I'm smaller. So that [uh], when it actually comes to, like if there is actually a physical contact in the sport, like for example if we were doing basketball. *No one, no one, don't need to choose* me. I'll just, I'll just go and find myself a corner to tuck myself into. [Laughing] [urmmm], like you need to like jump and then like physically block people. I'm not blocking no one. Those kinds of sports I found a little bit more uncomfortable, it's actually you could tell that's the size difference between us, between me and my peers.

Peter also shared an experience where he was the only Asian:

> …I think it might be in junior high. We were like the farthest field away from the supervisors, [urmmm], at recess. And we were going to play touch football, like two hand touch means you're out other than tackling. And [urmmm], they were picking teams. I was one of the last few to get picked. The other guy, [urmmm], who's like my contender to be on the team, on one of the, yeah one of the teams, they were deciding about, it was a guy who had a broken foot who still has the like plastic cast, and [laugh] the team, the guy who's the team lead was like "Oh, which one of you should I pick?". I'm like "I can run fast. He has a friggin broken foot". And he got chosen over me. So that was an exclusion Yeah. He was white, the captain was white. I was [.] the only Asian there.

Mike’s and Peter’s examples corroborate Lu and Wong’s (2013) theorizing. When the body fails to perform the roles hegemonic masculinity prescribes, in this case, when the performative potential of the body was invalidated by others in interactions, a cognitive dissonance forms within the performers, thus resulting in unease and lowered self-esteem. Mike’s most memorable experience in PE class was his self-consciousness over his body:

> I: Is there anything specific you would like to share about gym class, like a very strong memory about it, something that pops out, highlights?
>
> P: I remember I didn’t change very much in the locker room. I’ll change beforehand. I didn’t change in the locker room. Other than that, I enjoyed it; there was this, because I’m smaller. It’s very obvious that I’m smaller than most kids my age, [urmmm], shorter.

The normative power of the somatic compliance was brought to the fore in this case, in an environment where the panoptic gaze (Foucault, 1984c) from other people in the locker room, imagined or real, brought heightened sense of unease.

Peter commented on his “crush” on a female student: “…. I wasn’t very used to female interaction in general. But, I didn’t really do anything at the time, because I wasn’t particularly strong, and [urmmm], I was experiencing shy, and I didn’t like my attention”. Consistent with his shyness and shunning of attention is the fact that he referred to himself as a “wild-flower kinda guy”, a tactic he employed to avoid bullying and attention in general:

> I managed to stay off the radar. And I guess it was also because we ate in secluded area during everyone’s free time, even there were bullies, they never knew where we were, so they never got a chance to pick on us. It’s like when I thinking back that’s probably why, despite I was in a group and a stereotype that could have easily been targeted.

As I have reported in Chapter Four, he did get bullied, and provided a detailed account thereof. Here, the “group and stereotype” he refers to is being Asian and a nerd. As far as the “secluded area” is concerned, he stated:

> I: What about in junior high? Did you make new friends in junior high?
>
> P: In junior high it was just one friend. And we, stuck with him for all three years. And we are basically loners. What we would do was [urmmm], me and him we eat in the secluded hallway at the back door of the drama room where like almost no one passed by.

The expressions "loners", "secluded hallway", and "backdoor of drama room" construct an enclave, where as a "wildflower", he manages to avoid excessive bullying. The hegemonic configuration of masculinity in this case, not only prescribes the meaning attached to the body (shyness), but also geographically maps the territories of different types of masculinities on a hierarchy that is socially defined and performed into existence (bullying and the resultant hiding), being artistic occupying the bottom of the "great chain of performing". This is consistent with research discussing the hierarchy of masculinities in school settings; artistically inclined students are deemed the least masculine where athleticism is celebrated culturally and institutionally, a phenomenon of what E. Anderson (2010) names "jock-ocratic" cultures. Wilson (2002) offers an overview of this type of gender order that celebrates the jocks in schools:

> There were a small number of "brains" who were obviously not capable of being gridiron warriors. Some of them played other sports with less physical contact…. In this way, they upheld the ideal of being involved in some form of sport. Other's [sic], who were slight of physique, wore thick glasses, lacked hand-eye coordination, or ran and threw poorly, sometimes ended up hanging around jocks or helping them with their schoolwork. Others were loners who were labelled nerds or weirdos. In addition, there were many farm kids or poor kids who did not participate in sports. They were generally homebodies who did not participate in many extracurricular activities. Some of them had to work to help support their families. Others had no transportation to attend practices. In the student peer groups, they were often part of the great silent majority called "the nobodies". (p. 215)

Daniel also reported that the "drama kids" were the least popular group on campus, which resonated with Peter's account that students with glasses and "strange accessory of some sort" were usually targets of bullying:

> I: Okay. Thank you. Who were some of the least popular students back then?
>
> P: [.] The least popular, the group I was in would have been pretty down there [Chuckles]. I mean, not to the level of physical bullying or anything. I didn't experience that personally, but [uh], and then you would have, [.]I don't know, maybe the drama kids [Chuckles]. People who, who really liked performing arts sort of hung out in *that wing of the school*. And, were sort of separated from the rest of the school. [..] You'd

have people wearing really eccentric looking things, like a trench coat, or stuff like that.

Daniel's discussions in the interview indicated an overall exclusion characterized by his own identification as an "outcast", an expression often adopted by the participants to describe their circumstances, a status suggested in his account above. Daniel started playing hockey recreationally in college. His attraction to a hockey player led him to learning more about the game. In elementary school, long before Daniel came out as a gay man in college, he was called names, as he spent most of his spare time with female friends. This is an example of compulsory heterosexuality. Often as an aspect of hegemonic configurations (Kimmel, 2001), it stipulates that females are to be used as proof of manhood, and hence the locker room sex talks (Messner, 1992). This mandate of compulsory heterosexuality is also evident in the "meaningful" interactions men can have through "picking-up" females together and discussing one another's successes thereof to derive a sense of "vicarious thrill" (Swain, 2001; Thurnell-Read, 2012). Yet, when female presence does not serve these instrumental purposes, a man is considered a traitor, thus sometimes symbolically detribalized and displaced into the category of gay. It is perhaps due to being an "outcast" from so early and realizing that he did not conform to the hetero-masculine norms, that the idea of competition, an essential feature of homo-social bonding (Swain, 2001) simply appeared distasteful to Daniel. Consequently, he only enjoyed playing hockey when it was played recreationally and physical confrontation was not present.

Exclusion and Agency—the Powerful Nerd?

The above indicates participants' instances of being excluded from physical activities and the broad cultural settings, which eventually led to their occupying marginal spaces. Based on the self-identification of them as outcasts (Daniel, Peter, and Mike), this marginalization was known to themselves. Most of them employed strategies to negotiate their masculinities from such marginal positions. One persistent theme emerging from the data is participants' discussions over the nerd phenomenon. All participants shared that the nerd stereotype was often imposed on Chinese in Alberta. With the exception of Xavier, they all identified with the designation, and often did this proudly. It is evident that, being a nerd was one of the important roles these participants performed, which also marked a "jock-nerd" divide. This is hardly any surprise, given the polemic positions of athletes and "nerds" in a "jockocracy". The first clue of this divide is the rarity of athletes present in the International Baccalaureate (IB) and Advanced Placement[24] programs. Yet, three out of five participants offered exceptions, and in

[24] Both are honours programs.

Mike's and Peter's experiences, the combination of "brain and brawn" made these jocks most popular people on campus. This divide is also carefully surveilled on the athletes' side. Commenting on his choice of not going into an honours program, Xavier shared that the coach would not be happy about it, as it would mean less time for practicing. He also shared instances wherein the nerd as a type was mocked by the athletes, which essentially functioned as a surveillance strategy:

> …. Sometimes, we make a snarky comment on a sport team. It will be like "Oh so, you can't make practice. What would you do? Join the IB, if you can't play sports anymore?" Like, you're no longer one of us kind of thing. But it would never be like oh [.] Like "oh yeah, I don't like him, cuz he's in IB". It would just kind of be like you're completely different from us.

"Completely different from us" indicates the perceived realness of the divide and was also supported when Xavier mentioned that owing to his participation in football, he lost some Chinese friends. The "disclaimer" just before the end is not necessary, as the larger cultural setting in which the "snarky comment" is situated ensures IB's negatively charged connotations. As Xavier continued, this divide also became evident on the nerds' side:

> I: What would the nerds say about the jocks?
>
> P: It was just like some, some, some people, I wouldn't say a lot of people in IB are like this. But there's always some [.] super arrogant kid who think he's gonna be an excellent Nobel Prize genius. Who was just in IB, saying that "oh, you guys are wasting your time playing sports. And I'm trying to [.], I'm trying to improve myself in school. Or, something "I'm going to be ahead of you when I get in university" [said in a monotonous tone]. So, you know, I wouldn't say that a common thing, but there's always, there's some, there's just some people like that.
>
> I: Were Chinese students more prone to be labeled nerds?
>
> P: Yes. [Chuckles] there is more of them in IB program for sure. I wouldn't say just IB cuz you being nerd, but [uh] in general, that was that kind of feeling.
> I: What are some of the aspects of being a nerd?
>
> P: [Urmmm], [.] so, there was this really, [.] I guess [urmmm], a few points about this.

> But it was kind of this, I don't know how it ended up this way, but in the school, there is different hallways, right, where you lockers would be? And for some reason, all the Asian kids got lockers in the math wing. So, it was just kind of, there is this like, in like implicit joke that was just kind of ironic that all the Asian kids got their lockers in the math wing. [Urmmm], I wasn't sure if that was because more Asian kids tend to be in higher-level math and your home-room was in the math wing. So, it could just be that way. [Urmmm], being a nerd I guess was kind of just, overall just generally doing well in your courses, worrying about your grades, [urmmm]. There's a lot of vocalizing saying "oh man, I did so bad in that test when you know maybe I got like mid-80 or something, right? Not too bad." [Urmmm], so, like seeing stuff like that, or really worrying about your grades, or really focusing on school, was frowned upon by some people, cuz it would get you labeled as something else.

Being in a different high school, Peter reported similar locker arrangements. This then leads to an important question. In the data, the jock-nerd divide as evident in the arrangement of the lockers, is constructed as a fact, whether or not it reflects the actual arrangement in the material world. As I have argued, discourse is thoroughly constitutive. Then, what would be some implications of inhabiting a discursive space where the Chinese students' lockers are all in the math wing? Moreover, if this discursive space, this "patch of the world" as Wetherell (2003) would name it, in fact reflects the physical arrangement of the lockers, and it is highly possible that it does, what can be taken away from the fact that all the Chinese students' lockers are in the math wing, acknowledging the word "all" is of course an exaggeration?

Before I move to answer these questions, I argue that the divide in the data is rhetorically maintained. I substantiate this by citing Mike's discursive construction of the nerd identity. The sometimes highly argumentative nature of such discourse indicates the existence of broader and more culturally contested issues (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015), surrounding the legitimate form of masculinity, in this case. Therefore, through analyzing this discursive construction of the "powerful nerd", I wish to bring attention to a point regarding using the nerd identity as a negotiation strategy for Chinese masculinity.

The following is from when popularity of students on campus was discussed between Mike and me, prior to which, he had shared that he was a nerd and was proud of it:

> I: Okay. Who were some of the more popular students on campus back then, starting

from Junior High?

P: In junior high? [Urmmm], popularity, that's a very interesting term. How do you define popularity?

I: In whatever way you would like to define it.

P: Whatever way I want. You will have the most messed up definition ever [Chuckles]. It- [.] [Long sigh] you will have kids who are.... Let's do the stereotypical jocks, nerds, cheerleaders. So, on whatever groups you want. So, then there will be, people who are really known for their athletic abilities; they can be popular in that realm. I was popular in the academic realm. I don't think in terms of popularity. I think of a hierarchy, and triangle.

Here, a visible "jock-nerd" divide is being formulated. Athletes and nerds are popular in their separate but potentially equal "realms". Also notable is that he adopts the word popular to describe himself, and yet does not give it a definition. The conversation continued as follows:

I: Okay.

P: So, let's use sports. There would be those on the top who was really athletic and those on the bottom that are less athletic. And then, we would have those for the same pyramid scheme for those in academics. I, for academics, I would be nerd at top. Essentially there would be a trickle-down effect, where people would copy my school work. So, had [said with emphasis] if [said with emphasis] I don't do my school work, there would be people on the bottom that would suffer, because they're relying on me, cuz there will be me and there's my friends that would be nerd top. And we will each, we will all do homework together. So, we'll do the homework first and we would pass the answers later on. So, essentially if a person on the top got their answer wrong, and everyone else on the bottom would get it wrong too. So, I was a nerd top of that. So, if you want to think of popularity that way, I was very popular. That's not your conventional definition of popular.

This is where the "powerful nerd" identity is constructed. Two distinct conversational features figure prominently in this excerpt. The first is what Machin and Mayer (2012) names "lexical absence" (p. 37). By that they refer to the deliberate omission of information to achieve a rhetorical effect, so that the discourse appears to be "spun" towards certain positions. In this case I refer to Mike's refusal to define the term popular by insisting that he did not know what popular meant, despite characterizing himself as popular in a way that was not "conventional".

So, in this case, the definition of popular is intentionally omitted. It is important to remember that it is him that offered me the example where the school announcement institutionally validated the sport team's achievement. At that moment, he said: "I guess that's one way of defining popularity".

It is thus evident from his talk that being an academically excelling student is not the conventional definition of popular; and he did know that being athletically successful is an important factor that contributes to popularity. When describing his status as a "top nerd", the discourse reflects a tactic of "overlexicalization"—the over-abundance of persuasion that indicates an "area of ideological contention" (Machin & Mayer, 2012, p. 36). It is as if he were the king of this academic "realm" "on top", and a string of verbs are used to confirm that the students occupying lower positions are his "dependents", whereas people who are popular in the sport world only receive one fleeting mention in the beginning. I then probed:

I: What is the conventional definition?

P: I don't know. I don't [said with emphasis] know what the conventional definition is. Like I said, you would get a really messed up response from me. [Urmmm], I am well liked, really well-liked. There's no reason to not like me.

I: Okay.

P: But that's not popular. That's just well-liked. So, I don't know what popular means.

Here, the feature of over-lexicalization takes on the form of spontaneous justification (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015). He contends for his being "well-liked" when his likeability is not the topic of concern. According to Magnusson & Marecek (2015), this may signal that the participant feels what they have said could provoke counterarguments and can even signal that the exact opposite of what they have said is the case (Machin & Mayer, 2012). Magnusson and Marecek (2015) also stress that when analyzing interview talks for implicit cultural meanings, it is important to consider the local context in the interview and the broader cultural context where the interview takes place, as they may assist in uncovering "the opinions that the speaker is arguing for, and the counter-opinions that the speaker is explicitly or implicitly criticizing" (p. 132). It is important to remember that Mike was also the participant that provided this comment:

> "Being inoculated in Western society[25], it will be white, unfortunately. Essentially white, six pack, six-foot tall, or six something. [Urmmm], I'm sorry."

In terms of the interview context, he was aware that the study pertained to confrontational sport; at this point of the interview, we had discussed several sport-related questions. As for the cultural context, it is implausible to imagine "being inoculated in Western society", he was not aware that there were negative connotations attached to the term nerd (not good at socializing for example, thus potentially being not well-liked), or that hockey was culturally extolled in Canada. His later discussion over the under-valuing of female hockey reflected that he actually had much information regarding hockey. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that Mike was arguing against the broad cultural enshrinement of confrontational sport and the hegemonic masculinity it represents and arguing for the power nerds possess. The significance of such discursive practice consists in repudiating the power culturally conferred to jocks. It is only within this disavowal that the "powerful nerd" identity can take hold.

It is evident from this instance that the nerd stereotype is being used as a form of agency. Scanning through the handful of studies on diasporic Asian masculinity in day-to-day settings, it appears the discussions around nerd are unavoidable. Often stereotyped with being nerdy, Asian men in North American have been subjugated by the connotations of the term nerd (Chen, 1999; Huynh and Woo, 2014; Lu & Wong, 2013). However, more important and visible in these studies is the idea of manipulating the nerd identity as a form of agency, largely owing to the supposed ascendancy of the nerds working in highly technical professions, which in turn benefits them economically. As Huynh and Woo (2014) report, nerd, in recent decades, has become a less stigmatized identity. I argue here, that the participants' identification with the nerd stereotype, and the perception of it being a less pernicious designation is the result of erroneous conceptualization of the term. When the stereotype or cultural resource of the "powerful nerd" is invoked, it usually signifies a non-athletic male body sporting giant glasses and being inexperienced in terms of sexual encounters (Salter & Blodgett, 2017). These aspects dovetail well with the asexual discourse that deprecated the early Chinese workers and still does contemporary Chinese/Asian men (Huynh & Woo, 2014). Of course, being successful in technical fields is another aspect of nerd, where the increasing cachet of the term stems from (Huynh & Woo, 2014). What is neglected is that when the term connotes the supposed positive aspects, it is often a white construct (Kendall, 1999). Steve Jobs and Bill Gates are good

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[25] Mike had a double bachelor's degree in sociology and psychology and was completing a master's degree in psychology. He also indicated that he believed in multiple masculinities.

examples of today's geek-as-savior and leader tropes (Salter & Blodgett, 2017). The connotation thereof concerning race is also another reason why black men often cannot successfully perform this role. As black men are often stereotyped as hyper-masculine, the very idea of a black nerd appears to be improbable (Eglash, 2002). Moreover, if the "nerd power" mainly stems from the economic/career benefits which their skills are believed to bring, it is more futile for the participants to identify with the stereotype. At the time of interview, none of them was working full-time or had a professional career outside of receiving post-secondary education. Thus, while the rationale behind such self-identification was of course the term's supposed economic values that may or may not materialize, their current economic/career aspect actually precludes them from claiming the title.

Essentially, what they meant by nerd, and what most people mean by that word when they refer to Asians is that they are, as Xavier noted, "bookworms". It is often believed that Asians devote almost all their time to schooling; do not participate in athletic pursuits; usually do not indulge themselves with hedonist activities; and are also socially awkward (Chen, 1999; Lu & Wong, 2013). Thus, nerd/geek in this case is but a misnomer. What these men identified with and could not escape from was really the age-old stereotype of model minority. A term that pits racial minorities (RMs) against one another (Coloma, 2013; Cui & Kelly 2012) and enables whites to treat RMs in colour-blind ways (Yu, 2012). The political manipulation of the term installs an illusion of success (Chua & Fujino, 1999), unfortunately in this case, in the participants' own mind. Huynh and Woo (2014) argue that, as charisma, vision, and creativity are still properties largely attributed to white masculinity, when it comes to Asian nerds, besides the ostensible celebration of their work ethic, they are also deemed to be lacking those attributes. This often hinders their promotion to key decision-making positions even within technical fields where the nerd identity is regarded as an asset. This aligns with my previous analysis in Chapter One, that the Chinese workers were regarded as mere labour, a proposition that stressed the superiority of the mystified white "spirit".

To use nerd as a leverage for the negotiation with the hegemony, of course, risks further entrenchment. The model minority stereotype has also been touted as evidence of efficacious multiculturalism (Coloma, 2013). Yet, as Satzewich and Liodakis (2007) point out, the "3-D" approach to diversity, i.e. "dance, dress, and dining" does not eliminate racism (Srivastava, 2007, p. 291). Instead, it can offer a language to inoffensively express racist configurations (P. S. Li, 2001). These expressions can function as benign discourses that shore up the façade of a

harmonious society. Thus, racist sentiments are usually categorically reassigned as cultural differences (Ang, 2001; P. S. Li, 2001). When it comes to Asian nerds, there is a racial subtext behind the ostensible empowerment the term is tasked to bring. The belief in this empowerment thus constitutes a “category error”. Therefore, identifying with it can, on the contrary, further impoverishes the participants’ agency.

The fallacy of identifying with the nerd stereotype to achieve agency becomes more evident, taking into account the career benefits men can acquire from athleticism (E. Anderson, 2010; Messner, 1992). One important aspect is the meritocratic/achievement ideology sport instills (Sabo & Panepinto, 2001), which is not qualitatively different from the “achiever” ethos of the nerd role (Chen, 1999; Lu & Wong, 2013). The “achiever” ethos, moreover, has always been a built-in feature of hegemonic masculinity in most settings, i.e. the breadwinner ideology outlined in, for example, Goffman’s unblushing American man. Though, men nowadays are less concerned with being the provider (Wang, 2000), the breadwinner ideology simply reinvents itself into a type of masculine “aspiration” (Spohrer & Stahl, 2017) in an age of neoliberalism where incessant “needs” and desires are continuously manufactured (Lindisfarne & Neale, 2016). As such, how does one bargain via leverage the other side already possesses and be victorious?

Beat Them at Their Own Game?

Echoing the idea of Igham and McDonald (2003) that sport can be a representation collective, Nakamura (2012) argues that, as recreational spaces in Canada and the United States are an important location for expressing national identity, the perception of Asians’ not belonging in these spaces is a manifestation of the eviction of Asian bodies from the nation, mirroring the construction of Chinese workers’ masculinity discussed in the first two chapters. As I have argued previously in this chapter, insofar as hockey signifies a type of masculinity that is white and deep-rooted in Canadian bush masculinity and culture at large, non-white bodies and masculinities occupy lower or bottom positions within the gender order. Under these circumstances, Asians’ sport participation can be viewed as a way of claiming emotional attachment (Nakamura, 2012), the fourth dimension of gender analysis. Sport participation thus constitutes another visible theme of agency evident in the data. When I inquired about physical education class, Peter mentioned that while he was “not tall enough for hurdles”, he enjoyed goal-tending in floor hockey, as his agility and flexibility made him a good player: “I’m actually doing okay there”. His flexibility and agility also led to his preference for speed and

tactics in Taekwondo practice in one-on-one sparring, his favourite component of the sport:

> …Then when I picked up sparring, I really wanted a lot of speed. I didn't want any power in my kicks. I want to be able to drain, so to speak, to land two kicks, for every one of their kicks. I could just straight-up outmaneuver them. And [urmmm], I want also, wanted to play a little bit of tactics, where is, it's like sidestepping, and like changing to positioning, and trying to be a little more diverse in how I spar.

Sparring brought him much enjoyment. He mentioned his one-time experience of "runners' high" during sparring. He had heard the term discussed in the media: "I'm not sure what the exact term is, just colloquial term I heard it throwing around all the time. Also in the media sometimes", and the experience was a nice surprise: "I didn't think I wanted that experience since I didn't have that much physical activity in my life." From these accounts, it is evident that though without much experience of physical activities outside of Taekwondo, he enjoyed them, despite his self-identification as a nerd. An instance of his physical education class where he played the game British bulldog further illustrates the enjoyment he derived from being physically active. This time, he had an audience and was the "hero":

> …So, as the game progresses, you got no people running back and forth. Almost everyone looking to tag you. [Urmmm], so, I made it through the relay, untagged and then near the second or third last relay, I had a moment where the people who were considered jocks- He was taller, very tall. He was a tall lanky kid, not from the bully trio, just a separate guy. I don't remember what sport team he was. I ran straight at him, and as he tried to tag me, I dropped down to slide, touched the wall [motioning and performing], and I was the last runner to go. I had a moment there. Everybody was like "Oh, holy makerel did you see that?" That kind of stuff. There was a little bit of a buzz.

The recount is organized as a stage performance: there is the background and settings (being untagged and nearing the end, where the game becomes more difficult and exciting) and a powerful foe (a jock) against whom he is victorious. The crowd places him at the centre of attention, the "buzz" from the spectators rewarding the "warrior's" victory. The reported speech ("Oh, holy makerel did you see that?") corroborates the authenticity of the "buzz" by highlighting the spectators' surprise. This is a PE class version of sparring.

Eventually, he achieved black belt in Taekwondo. As successful as he was practicing it, he chose to not disclose this part of his life to friends and students from his school. This can be interpreted as a result of his shunning attention, owing to his lack of confidence in his body as I have discussed. Yet, he specifically mentioned that he did not feel self-conscious at all at the dojo during sparring when many co-practitioners were watching him, citing a culture-sharing group. Therefore, Taekwondo for him constituted an "alternative space", which in a way, resembled the "nerdom" of Mike's where the masculine ideal of being physically active could be partially achieved, a place where as a "wildflower", he grew carefree and did not need to avoid the bullies. Peter's story of practising Taekwondo echoes research indicating that less physically built men often stake their masculinity in less physically demanding sports (Whitson, 1990). As Wilson (2002) points out that they "played other sports with less physical contact…. In this way, they upheld the ideal of being involved in some form of sport" (p. 215). However, I designate Taekwondo as an alternative space for such "staking", given the "Asianness" it signifies and thus "alienness", or state of being 'alien', that it connotes. As Zhu (2013) and J. Chan (2000) ague that despite the ostensible success of Kung fu movies over past decades in Western cinema and the increasingly sophisticated representations of Asian martial arts heroes, the stereotype of Chinese/Asians as asexual, passive, lacking intelligence and creativity are consistently constructed against the superiority of whiteness in these movies. The representation of Chinese culture as extremely sexist in Mulan for instance, mirrors the stereotype of Chinese men's being soft in public and despotic at home (Chen, 1999), and the belief that white men are better, more egalitarian romantic partners (Pyke, n.d.). The fact that Taekwondo is not hockey, football, or baseball, means that it is constructed outside of the ideal of the nation. Regarding sport and national belonging, Bairner (2001) argues:

> Despite Toronto being recognized as the world's most ethnically diverse city, at one level Canada is still constructed as a white nation and sport has not been entirely successful in contradicting that view.… It is relatively easy for some people in multicultural societies to regard the success in certain sports, such as boxing, of members of ethnic minority groups as evidence that these are not appropriate pastimes for the hegemonic white population. Thus, those who achieve recognition in such pursuits are marginalized to the extent that their authentic citizenship—their belonging to the nation—is symbolically withheld. (p. 131)

Thus, these "not appropriate pastimes" eventually have racial subtexts attached to them. Recalling a school-organized martial art performance, Peter commented:

> …Yeah, makes me feel like on display, and I personally don't like to be center of attention. [Urmmm], [..] they also had- [.]. There was one year. So, like one of the graduation ceremonies, just some kind of celebration at the high school, where there was a demonstration team, where they cobbled together a bunch of, like people who knew martial arts or Taekwondo, and it felt kind of like *awkward*. I was like, fu- I *don't want any part of that ever*.

The statement "I don't want any part of that ever" may well attest to his assertion that he "[doesn't] like to be centre of attention". Yet, the enjoyment he derived from playing British Bulldog was much owing to his being the centre of attention. It matters whether that attention takes the form of a "buzz", or an "awkward" feeling. Although practicing Taekwondo offered him what was akin to a form of "masculine redemption", as he "didn't have that much physical activity in [his] life", the gender order in Alberta and in Canada at large mean that this redemption is a significantly qualified one.

As I have mentioned, the hegemonic masculinity the participants constructed evidenced a unanimous celebration of whiteness. One of the themes is that white men are physically stronger and more athletic. It is this acute sense of not measuring up that led Jack to amateur body-building. Similar to Peter's case, this could be viewed as a form of negotiation, and the most salient benefit is self-esteem:

> P: [Hmmm], I don't feel like there is any direct benefit, [uh] from working out. It's mostly just like a personal thing, like you feel, you feel healthier, and you know you you've gained muscle, and also you like the results, like also, also it's helpful like moving heavy objects, and it's like that right?

Contrary to Mike's disavowal of athleticism, Jack's decision of exercising in the fitness centre can be viewed as an effort to move closer to the hegemonic ideal, which was a motivation similar to Xavier's. Unlike the other participants, most of Xavier's friends were white, a fact that was juxtaposed against instances where he was targeted because of being Chinese throughout the interview:

> …Being a Chinese Albertan [.], I, I know that I've definitely been stereotyped, like as I have mentioned it through this interview, throughout my life. [Urmmm], but I think that's the resilience I've learned to deal with it. I've learned to realize that [.] just because there are stereotypes, doesn't mean anything, I *can, you know do everything*

> *just as good as you*. So, if anything is kind of like, [.] because of being a Chinese, because I've been treated as an underdog, I took that to heart. I don't, I don't, I don't feel any less of it for it.

Halfway through this excerpt, there appears to be a conversation partner he addresses other than the investigator— "I can you know, do everything just as good as *you*". Taking into account his experience of sustaining racism from both his teammates and coaches who were all white, and that most of his friends were white and had tried to join the school football team, this textual subject he was addressing was white people. He also mentioned that playing football was in a way a result of peer pressure. Therefore, the remarks cited here are akin to a manifesto of "beating white men at their own game". The sentiment reflected here was visible throughout the interview, and is a theme in the data—appearing to be out of place in a white-dominated society:

> …When I was being bullied for being Chinese, and I wish I wasn't Chinese. [Urmmm], times again, when I was playing sports, playing football where I was just like "why am I-, I wish I wasn't Chinese, cuz I could just fit in easier." It's like the old saying, right? It's like if-, the nail that sticks out gets hammered down. So, I was like why can't I just not stick out. [Urmmm], certain instances like that where, where I definitely felt like [.] being Chinese is a disservice, [urmmm] in society than [.] being Caucasian for example.

The most striking feature in Xavier's football experience was the resemblances with the studies carried out around two decades ago (Messer, 1990; 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 2001), from his openly misogynist coaches ("you effing pussies") to the players' locker room sex talks. Coaches urged players to play hurt by instilling a system where being hurt was distinguished from being injured. While the former was quickly dismissed, for the latter to be recognized by his coach, proof from a doctor was required and would still entail grievance from the coach for missing practice. Now, returning to co-coach with his former coaches, Xavier stated "not much has changed". A full circle was thus completed.

Most of the racist behaviours he encountered centred on physical and cultural stereotypes regarding Chinese/Asian people (Math jokes, "squinty" eye jokes, and "you're the Great Wall" as a compliment, etc.). Although they were not pernicious in nature ("I wouldn't say it's super malicious".), they made him acutely aware that he did not belong and resulted in his wishing not being Chinese as indicated in the previous excerpt. "I: Were you targeted by

your opponents in the games? P: "Opponents, my own coaches, and my teammates. [Urmmm], this sounds terrible [Chuckles]". As such, essentially, everyone targeted him. However,

> …Instead of the initial feeling of being singled out and just individually criticized, I realized that it might just be *a part of the sport*, [urmmm], where maybe you don't have to take it so personally. The criticisms are, being targeted is just the way of being, just a kind of tough love I guess.

The above excerpt indicates his acceptance of being racially singled out and he diverted the contributing factors thereof to the aggressive, competitive nature of the game. Commenting on being referred to as "the Great Wall", he stated:

> [Urmmm], [.] the comment kind of caught me by surprise. I wasn't expecting it to be used in that context, but I was *more so happy* with the fact that it was kind of like "Hey, you did a good job." And I kind of took that as a message more so than a [.] like the you know, the Great Wall.

Thus, in achieving masculine validation and belonging, he compartmentalized the racism he sustained. What he failed to see was although every player was being deprecated as part of the coaching strategy, the deprecation directed at him was racially "tailor-made". As the only Chinese on the team, his experiences spoke to what Mary Douglas names a disturbance of cultural order (as cited in S. Hall, 1997), a category "glitch" where the appearance of an Asian man was deemed jarringly out of place. As S. Hall (1997) explains, "Stable cultures require things to stay in their appointed place. Symbolic boundaries keep the categories 'pure', giving cultures their unique meaning and identity" (p. 236).

> I: So, what was it about football that you enjoyed the most?
>
> P: Ok. [urmmm], so, what I enjoy the most actually was- I felt like I had a lot of self-improvement. It taught me a lot of resilience, in terms of being able to take on criticism, being able to [urmmm], [.] to be singled out, I guess? I, I, I kind of [.] [urmmm], embraced the fact that I was singled out where I was kind of easily targeted. So, I wanted to make sure I wasn't [said with emphasis] easily targeted by getting better [urmmm].

Therefore, his experience of playing football and becoming captain of the football team became a bildungsroman of an "underdog" breaking "stereotypes", using his words. The process of

growing into resilience once again points to the strenuous task of performing the masculine role that intrinsically penalizes the racial category to which he is made to belong.

"I don't Date Asians"—Moments of Non-Belonging

Dyer, Frankenberg and Sullivan (as cited in Ahmed, 2012) note that "whiteness is invisible and unmarked, as the absent center against which others appear as points of deviation" (p. 35). Its normativity of course extends beyond athleticism. While being or being perceived as different is not intrinsically problematic, the meanings attached to the participants' differences in the gender order ensure the negative connotations and, at times, articulations thereof, thus problematizing their sense of belonging. These moments of non-belonging ranged from the proverbial "where are you from?" to the instance Mike shared:

> I: Have there been instances in which you wished that you weren't Asian?
>
> P: Yeah, for sure. I think people [.] judge me based on how I look. I talk fast to begin with. So, I hope this is not difficult for you to transcribe later on.
>
> I: It's fine.
>
> P: Anyways, I speak fast. But, sometimes when people look at me and how I speak, they automatically assume they don't understand what I am saying. I had this shopping experience. I was asking this salesperson where to find a specific item. I was speaking perfectly good English, in my opinion. But to that person, it was like "No, don't understand you. You need to talk to someone else." I was like you don't even try to listen to me. Here, you're already asking someone else to you know, help me find this item, when I know that what I am speaking is clearly perfectly pronounced English.

The instances where the participants were made aware of the fact that they did not belong also included school education. The following is from Xavier[26]:

> Regarding the issue of race in education, I had remembered the unit in my Grade 6 social studies class (approximately in 2004-2005) where we had learnt about China. For this unit we had learnt pieces of the culture, traditions, regions, and differences compared to western society. Unfortunately, I believe this topic was presented in a very poor manner. The textbook that we had used was very focused on the differences

[26] This is from e-mail follow up. The participant responded in writing.

> Chinese cultures and traditions had in comparison to Western culture…. In retrospect, I had wished that my teacher, a Caucasian male, had emphasized how diverse traditions, cultures, and even people are in China, instead of attempting to generalize the vast amount of variation there truly is. In the time we were learning about China, I faced a lot of racial and stereotyped jokes based off of information that was poorly taught. I remember being asked several times a week by some other students if I had eaten dog and if all my parents cooked for me was rice. These were very narrow minded comments by ignorant kids at the time but I feel that proper education could have prevented some of it. Simply stating differences for the sake of stating differences serves no educational purpose…. I have seen and heard criticism from the public saying that globalization should not be taught in Alberta and even some ridiculous comments along the lines of, "they are trying to brainwash our children into thinking that our country isn't great and that some communist countries are better". Other comments such as, "we should stop teaching our kids about all these other countries and start teaching them about Alberta's history and what makes us Albertans".

The question is of course what constitute Alberta's history and to whom the identity of Albertan extends. If the teaching of globalization and cultural differences, problematic or not, is seen as brainwashing, then, do these Chinese Albertans, with varying degrees of Chinese enculturation during their upbringing, count as Albertans? And where do they belong, apart from in the "secluded hallway at the back door of the drama room"?

Also highly jarring in the data is the across-the-board agreement that Asian/Chinese men in Alberta are perceived as either less masculine or not at all, therefore, occupying a disadvantaged position in terms of romantic relationships, against the most sought-after group: white men; in heterosexual relationships, whereas it is rare for Asian men to be with white female partners, the reverse is much more significant. These are consistent with research exploring Asian/Chinese men in romantic relationships (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Nemoto, 2008). Thus, romantic relationship is another location where the participants experienced extra emotional management, owing to their perceived inferior masculinity. When I posed the question— "have there been instances where you wished to hide the fact that you were Chinese or Asian?" Jack responded that not being Asian could help with dating. In their online dating experiences, both Daniel and Mike, who were gay-identified, had witnessed racist profiles where certain versions of "no fat, no fem, no Asian" were written. Xavier had an instance where a white female rejected him in person, stating that "I don't date Asians". Daniel shared his first experience of going to a gay bar and spoke with a white man:

> …[Uh], I just remember hearing something you know [Chuckles], like you're pretty cute for an Asian. And then I was like, "Okay, I guess it all have to do with race". Yeah, like it in that context.

It speaks volumes for the complacence of privilege, when racism could be so elegantly phrased as a compliment. Both Mike's and Daniel's experiences reflected an important theme in the status quo in North America regarding gay men of colour in terms of dating: enunciated racism (Chen, 1999; Han, 2010). For instance, black men are instrumentally used to fulfill white male submissive fantasies. As Fanon noted, "One is no longer aware of the negro, but only of a penis. The Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He is a penis" (as cited in Han, 2010, p. 389); Asian men, owing to their perceived effeminacy, are either rejected or fetishized as "subservient geishas who will submissively tend to all of the white male fantasies of domination" (Han, 2010, p. 388). Regarding this, Han (2010) characterises with an analogy:

> Being a gay man of color is to experience the unnerving feeling of being invited to a potluck while being told not to bring anything since nobody would be interested in what you bring, and then not being offered any food since you didn't bring anything anyway. (p. 384)

The problem of Emotional Attachment to the Sporting Nation--Closing Remarks

Discussing sport and hegemonic masculinity in Canada, Atkinson (2011) writes:

> Indeed, mainstream sports cultures in Canada remain one of the last bastions for overtly extolling the virtues of hegemonic masculinity. Sports like hockey, football, rugby, baseball, and others remain a culturally protected social space replete with an unapologetic appeal to nostalgic notions of being manly in a hyper-traditionalist North American sense (p. 140).

Atkinson's (2011) perspective that sport is often linked to nostalgia in North America is shared by others. Kimmel (2005) argues that in turn-of-century United States, the baseball park was imagined to be a surrogate frontier where middle-class white men experienced incorporation into community by playing the game away from the "corrupting forces" of the city, where they felt under-siege owing to waves of immigrants and the rise of the women's movement. Thus, baseball functioned as an agent of nostalgia. As he writes, "The geographic frontier where masculinity was demonstrated was replaced by the outfield fence…. What had been lost in real experience could be reconstituted through fantasy" (Kimmel, 2005, p. 72). In contemporary Canada, the ice rink assumes such a role, as the nostalgic construction of it helps with the

imagination of a less racially complex Canada (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). Commenting on the sense of familiarity and nostalgia hockey is made to signify, M. L. Adams (2012) writes, "Nostalgia is a powerful means of keeping us from imagining how Canada might be different; it is part of the process of marginalizing women and people of colour, of limiting the stories we can tell about ourselves" (p. 82). Hockey therefore serves to construct an un-hyphenated Canadian identity, a Canadian Canadian identity that is "unmarked, non-ethnic, and usually white" (Mackey, as cited in M. L. Adams, 2012, p. 82).

When invited to discuss highlights from his school life, Xavier shared:

> …I had some really good friends when I was young. And I actually, in elementary, I guess I moved around quite a lot. [Urmmm], my parents ended up getting divorced, [urmmm] midway through my elementary. It's not enough to contribute to anything. [Urmmm], so, I lived in [omitted for ethics concern] and [omitted for ethics concern], and [omitted for ethics concern]. It's kind of a flip. [Urmmm] but, every school I attended, I had pretty good friends and we always [urmmm] engaged in a lot of sports in recess. So, I really quite enjoyed it, cuz it's usually a hodgepodge of different [urmmm], different faces, not really, [urmmm], separate from one another. It wasn't like, "Oh yeah. You're a Chinese kid; oh yeah. You're a black kid; you're a white kid, whatever". Like, we were just all friends. And we were just having fun playing soccer, [urmmm], you know, building snow forts like we did.

In what is viewed as more complex and what is simpler, emerge two different types of nostalgia; Xavier's is the reverse of what hockey signifies in that regard. For him, it means inclusion, equality, and belonging.

As part of the frontier legacy, the fiercely physical masculinity still occupies a prominent position in the imaginary of a unique Canadianness, which finds expression in hockey in contemporary Canada. As I have discussed in this chapter, institutionalized dangerous masculine codes and normalized violence in hockey reveal the broad celebration of such masculinity, which is also corroborated by analysis of the research data. Promulgated as the most popular sport, hockey plays a significant role in cultural politics in Canada. The whiteness that inscribes hockey and the masculinity it represents makes the national identity imagined through it inevitably white and the nostalgia it signifies reactionary. Inhabiting spaces within such whiteness entailed onerous emotional management for the participants. Identifying with the nerd identity and sport/physical activity participation emerged from the data as two main strategies for masculinity negotiation. Whereas I have argued against the first, the second

appears to be only effective to a limited degree, owing to the racial configuration within the gender order in Canada. I conclude this study in the final chapter by pointing out the consistency of Chinese masculinity through historical and contemporary contexts.

Chapter Six Conclusion

I have argued throughout this thesis that since their arrival in Canada, Chinese men have endured discriminations institutionally and ideologically. In historical context, not least around turn of the century, the injustices Chinese workers in Canada sustained clearly bore gendered properties. Upon arrival, they entered a cultural frame where a rugged, stoic, somatic type of masculinity was in its key stage of formation, where white men, with the ethos of a forever white Canada, marked their bodies as small, weak, and disease-ridden. Such marking functioned as a successful strategy to construct the Chinese workers' masculinity as inferior against the backdrop of a hardened gender division which was followed by compulsory heterosexuality and tightened surveillance over sexual behaviors that deviated from the norms of procreation. Therefore, Chinese workers were often economically assigned to jobs that were traditionally associated with women and femininity. The primary implication thereof was the gendered meaning attached to their location in the economy, i.e. the "Chinese race" was inherently feminine and thus unworthy. Whereas gendered division of labour ensured the superiority of white men economically, the racist sexual "rendering" of Chinese workers promoted the stereotype that they were either "asexual wimps" or sexually uncontrollable "fiends" secretly harbouring unspeakable desires for white women. Deprived of political power, these Chinese men were eventually consigned to a space of limbo and must be constantly erased (Lowe, 1992) from the powerful imaginary of a white Canadian national identity. Yet, occupying a subordinate position in the gender order, these men buttressed white masculinity and contributed significantly to the formation of Canada as a nation. The persistent pronouncement in official texts and manifestations in journalism of their constructed inferiority guaranteed the success of the unmarked white masculinity. The historical oppression of the Chinese men in Canada thus partially comprised a long-standing tradition of white Canadian hegemonic masculinity and gendered Canadian identity well-persisting into the contemporary society.

In the second half of the thesis, I have discussed the findings of the current research. Focusing on the discursive framing of masculinity in the data in relation to the social construction of masculinity in sport, I have underscored that a built, well-exercised body is an important component of the hegemonic masculinity that has arisen from the data. The hegemonic status of this masculinity is manifested in the power/capital afforded culturally and institutionally to men possessing such bodies. The embodiment of aspects of this masculinity

by white men further demonstrates the political nature thereof. The effectiveness of the hegemony is revealed, as the participants' framing of this masculinity excluded themselves from it and placed themselves at lower positions or the subordinate position in the gender order. Through analysis of normalized hockey violence and institutionalized dangerous codes of masculinity, I point to the cultural celebration of the rugged physical masculinity in Canada. The normalization of violence is also reflected in the data, suggesting a broad consent towards hockey violence and the brand of masculinity hockey represents, which is carefully orchestrated as a way to signify a Canadian national identity. The domination of whiteness and white men in hockey once again illustrate that ideal masculinity and national identity in Canada preferentially pick which subjects to include in the imagined community, leaving women and men of colour with varying degrees of lessened belonging. Situating the data in this context, I have maintained that the participants' sense of belonging to the nation is problematized, which contributes to and reflects their occupying marginal/subordinate positions in the gender order. This is evident in their exclusion from sport, physical activities, and the cultural ideal pertaining to men at large. Coupled with the racism they sustain in everyday lives, this state of exclusion makes their management of sense of belonging strenuous.

Most participants sought strategies of negotiating their masculinities. Asserting the nerd identity and participating in sport and physical activities are two most salient forms of negotiation. I have contended that the first be rejected, taking account of the great risk of further entrenching the racialized masculine positions Chinese and Asian men inhabit. The second appears to be useful, insofar as it alleviated their exclusion and bargained for positions closer to the hegemonic ideal. Yet, the hegemonic masculinity hockey represents that stemmed from the frontier legacy is still culturally enshrined; the broad politics surrounding race as manifested in hockey still bears conspicuous contours of an ideal white Canada. Together, these significantly qualify the effectiveness of the strategy. Reflecting on the persistent presence of the white rugged mesomorphic masculine ideal in Canada, the subordination of Chinese masculinity in historical context, and the continuous displacing thereof to marginal positions found in the current research, I thus make a tentative conclusion that Chinese masculinity in Alberta is consistently a subordinate masculinity, occupying lower positions or bottom in the gender order.

Considerations for Future Research

Throughout the interviews, in one way or another, the participants constructed pieces of social reality essential to their existence. These five partial histories of participants' school

lives tell us much about the idea of being and the aspirations to be "proper" men framed in discourses. I have not aimed at transferability in undertaking this project. Thus, my effort is confined to the uncovering of components of hegemonic masculinity via the discursive spaces in these men's accounts. Yet, it is important to bear in mind that these local discourses do not transpire in a vacuum. As the participants unanimously framed their positions in relation to the hegemonic masculinity instead of inhabiting or embodying it, future research should be carried out exploring masculinity from more privileged positions; moreover, future research should also seek participants working full-time jobs. The rationale is that, as men proceed from school years to the job market and thus potentially experience what Messner (1992) names "de-tribalization", their position in the gender order and conceptualization of masculinity can manifest visible differences. Regarding the latter, there may be a sizeable disparity and/or significant overlap among the different groups of participant. Nonetheless, masculinity in Alberta at this historical moment needs further mapping, and can benefit from this research as a point of departure.

Another aspect of importance is the faint traces of the neoliberal aspiration discourse (Spohrer & Stahl, 2017; Walker & Eller, 2016) found in the data, manifest in these men's desire to be the provider, to be professionally successful, to make money, and meanwhile maintain their bodies to the standard of everyday performance and capitalist spectacles. To achieve such a masculine status, Atkinson (2010a) argues, men need to learn to practice hegemony in "pastiche" ways; they need to become chameleons. It is pastiche insofar as it is put together and exhibits multifarious qualities adjusted to suit local contexts. The on-going so-called masculinity crisis means that white men will enact pastiche hegemony to answer the question posed regarding the legitimacy of patriarchy (Atkinson, 2010a). Thus, the many ways of doing hegemony deemed traditionally illegitimate can be a viable focus of future research. The metrosexual men have achieved this by appropriating what is regarded as effeminacy under E. Anderson's (2010) orthodox masculinity frame, practice of personal grooming for instance (Anderson, 2010a). In Alberta, these new ways of masculine performance can also be compared with the bush/frontier/hockey model of masculinity.

In terms of methodological approaches, a diverse range of cultural artefacts should be analyzed to intertextually examine the discursive construction of masculinity as a form of mediated spectacle (Wilson, 2007). Critiquing modernist ideologies of economic production and consumption, Guy Debord (Debord, 1992) first wrote in 1967 that:

> The whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. All that once was directly

> lived has become mere representation…. An earlier stage in the economy's domination of social life entailed an obvious downgrading of being into having that left its stamp on all human endeavor. The present stage, in which social life is completely taken over by the accumulated products of the economy, entails a generalized shift from having to appearing: all effective "having" must now derive both its immediate prestige and its ultimate raison d'etre from appearances. At the same time all individual reality, being directly dependent on social power and completely shaped by that power, has assumed a social character…. (para. 1, para. 17)

Of course, there is much to signifying practices of masculinity one can take away from this seminal work. Yet, as I reflect on the decline of need for manual labor and the simultaneous ascendancy of exercising and muscle-toning (Forth, 2008), Debord's scathing critique appears to lend significant theoretical magnitude in understanding everyday normative representations, of which masculinity is certainly a part. This type of normative representation finds loci of enunciation in a profusion of social media at present. Photos proudly demonstrated and lauded on Instagram for example, are subject to the careful filtering, often literally, of everyday capitalist spectacles. The compression of time and space such platforms precipitate means instant access to personal spaces previously unavailable. Thus, the exhibitionist urges on the one hand and the invited voyeurism on the other make the exchange of normativity and, potentially, reproduction of social structures instantaneous. Future research should thus attend to these loci, treating them both as sites for data and as mediums of reproduction. Some musings for now include the ways in which masculine performances are exhibited on these platforms at the junction of frontier legacy and the flexible neoliberal man, and the ways in which such exhibition relates to data collected via interviews.

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