Negotiating Images of the Chinese:

Representations of Contemporary Chinese and Chinese Americans on US Television

A Thesis Submitted to

School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Cheng Qian

September, 2019

Negotiating Images of the Chinese:

Representations of Contemporary Chinese and Chinese Americans on US Television

ABSTRACT

China's rise has led to increased interest in the representation of Chinese culture and identity, especially in Western popular culture. While Chinese and Chinese American characters are increasingly found in television and films, the literature on their media representation, especially in television dramas is limited. Most studies tend to focus on audience reception with little concentration on a show's substantive content or style. This thesis helps to fill the gap by exploring how Chinese and Chinese American characters are portrayed and how these portrayals effect audiences' attitude from both an in-group and out-group perspective. The thesis focuses on four popular US based television dramas aired between 2010 to 2018. Drawing on stereotype and stereotyping theories, applying visual analysis and critical discourse analysis, this thesis explores the main stereotypes of the Chinese, dhow they are presented, and their impact. I focus on the themes of enemies, model minority, female representations, and the accepted others. Based on the idea that the media can both construct and reflect the beliefs and ideologies of a society I ask how representational practice and discursive formations signify difference and 'otherness' in relation to Chinese and Chinese Americans. I argue that while there has been progress in the representation of Chinese and Chinese Americans, they are still underrepresented on the screen. More importantly, their portrayal largely adheres to long-standing stereotypical representations from early 20th century film.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

v

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

As a Chinese living overseas, when I was being asked 'where are you from', the answer peopler expected was not Newcastle or Manchester, but China, Japan or Korea. By asking 'where are you from', they actually meant 'which country are you from'. The follow-up questions were various. During my eight years in the UK, I have been asked whether the barbaric Minghun ceremony in *Bones* (Season 2 Episode 16, 2007) (2005-2017) is still a fashion in China, or whether it is true that Chinese women are more willing to live domestic lives, as television series present. My British friends were curious about whether I had a shrine to Buddha somewhere in my apartment, as the Chinese people on television have. All of these questions have driven me to start this study. With the rise of China, more people are becoming curious about the Chinese identity, ideology, beliefs, and other aspects of culture. However, political and sociological researches have shown that people tend to employ visual and aural information in order to make sense of and categorise individuals (e.g., Bodenhausen, Kang, and Peery, 2011; Hugenberg and Sacco, 2008; Park and Judd, 2005). When placing people into groups, different markers or 'tags' of characteristics are used to create identities. Where do these tags come from when the specific group is not involved in one's everyday life? Through what channels are the identities of groups created, maintained, and changed over time? What are the main 'tags' of Chinese and Chinese Americans in American television series? How and why these representations are shaped? Do they maintain or challenge the existing stereo-types of Chinese and Chinese Americans?

This thesis focuses on four contemporary American television dramas that have aired in this decade until today. It explores how American popular culture, as exhibited through US television shows, stereotypically portrays the Chinese through the analysis of Chinese characters. Based on the idea that the media can either construct or reflect the beliefs and ideologies of society (Helsby, 2005), it asks the question of how representational practice and discursive formations signify difference and 'otherness' in relation to Chinese and Chinese Americans in the televised world, as well as exploring potential impacts beyond the screen. It also examines whether the portrayal of Chinese and Chinese Americans in contemporary television adheres to or depart from long-standing stereotypical repres-entations in the past.

Popular cultural production plays a constitutive, not merely reflective role in the production of everyday life (Foucault, 1985). Television content not only reflects people's everyday life but helps

its audience to imagine and construct the world. Simplistic, stereotypical, and one-sided illustrations of issues that support the dominant political discourse of the West do little to question old regimes. Hall called this fashion of representation 'the West and the Rest' (Hall, 1992:185). According to him, the West stood in the position of dominant power and represented what it saw and how it saw it (Hall, 1992). Since the beginning of the 1950s, when television sets became commonplace, researchers started to study and evaluate the impact and influence of television on the viewers. As Douglas Phillips (2010) stated, American television plays an essential role in the world, as their programmes are syndicated and broadcast globally. Despite the growing popularity of online social media, television remains the 'primary storyteller' and serves as a social and cultural agent that circulates the variety of meanings (Morgan, et al., 2002:41). Research conducted by Hartmann and Husband (1974) attempted to determine whether television texts contribute to the formation and shaping of attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Since then, research on race and ethnic minorities in television became a critical part of television study. According to Hall (1981:27), the media constructs for viewers a definition of what race is, the meaning the imagery of race carries, and what the problem of race is understood to be. On television, there are specific ways through which the prototypes of racial minorities are coded (Entman and Rojecki, 2001). These types of characters often have a few immediately recognisable traits that connect the character to identity (Dyer, 1997). As Dyer further explains, social types are representations of those who belong, while stereotypes are attributed to those who do not (1997:14). Stereotypes are useful because they evoke a consensus that is often more apparent than what is real (Dyer, 1997). However, the stereotypes of racial minority groups are not created out of thin air. They are a part of a cultural discourse that reinforces a racial hierarchy that privileges the dominant group (the West). The dominant value held by the Western majorities are embedded in the media texts that contribute to the viewers' cognitive process of the world. Therefore, this thesis asks the question that what are the meanings and messages conveyed in the television contexts, what the stereotypical characteristics that television series has provided, and why such discourses are created.

Tension and concerns have been raised in the United States media industry in recent years as minority groups continue to struggle for equal opportunity and representation in media roles. In early 2016, actors, actresses, filmmakers, and viewers protested the Oscars, pointing out the lack of minority nominees for the second consecutive year. The trending hashtag 'OscarsSoWhite,' first tweeted in 2015 after the first year that no minority was nominated for an Oscar, returned in full swing, making several newspaper and magazine headlines. Discussions raged after the event, and

old research regarding minority groups in films was brought to people's attention. Minorities are not only concerned with the media industry's limited recognition of their groups, but they are also frustrated by the types of roles available to them. For example, content analysis by Stern and Taylor (1997) revealed that Asian-American actors were disproportionately represented in background roles and that they often played stereotypical characters who emphasised work ethic and business over their personal (romantic or social) lives. In her study conducted in 2001, Lee interviewed several Asian American actors and discovered that every actor she spoke with felt that 'big roles' were minimal, both in film and on television. The actors she interviewed felt that there was 'little opportunity to go beyond Asian specific roles' and obtain 'superstar status.' In a more recent interview, Constance Wu, actress in the television show *Fresh Off the Boat* (2015 - today), and Tony award-winner, BD Wong, has spoken up about the difficulty of finding leading or non-stereotypical roles as Asian American (Hess, 2016). In short, the minorities groups were underrepresented, and while they do appear, they were often presented in a stereotypical way which brought up the question of what are the main stereotypes among the limited number of Chinese and Chinese American characters.

Centred around the theoretical concepts of stereotyping (Lippmann, 1927; Hall, 1997; Helsby, 2005; Fiske, 2010) and otherness (Sartre, 1943; Silverstone, 1999; Van Dijk, 2001; Pickering, 2001), this study uses critical discourse analysis to explore the diverse range of characters in different genres of popular television dramas. There are fruitful, well-documented researches regarding Chinese stereotypes as well as their appearance in films. However, there are not many up-to-date studies on similar subjects in the medium of television drama. However, as Henry (2003:263) has stated, television has been our most pervasive, powerful, and cherished form of media output. Television dramas create a universe that with simulations of what people experience in reality. They explore thoughts, concerns, fears, and desires, and in turn, shape the audiences' social imagination. Portrayals and images from television dramas are an important part of shaping people's imagination and definition of Chinese and Chinese Americans in the United States, and China as a nation in the world as a whole. Furthermore, Larson (2006) has suggested that representations in popular culture can offer little access to the truth, but such representations provide an indication about how power relations are organised in a society at a certain moments. As television is one of the sites where the struggle for and against the culture of the powerful is engaged, it is also essential to explore the shifting power relations embedded in different forms of television content. Thus, in addition to what are the contemporary stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese American, this thesis also aims to answer

the question that how and why the historical stereotypes are changed, challenged or maintained, and how power is exercised in the shifting and maintaining of the representations.

The way that people tend to process information is heavily influenced by information that they have previously encountered. Bruner (1957) argued that prior experience operates on current perception by making certain categories more 'accessible' during the interpretation of incoming information. The impact of prior experience on ongoing perception and cognition is pervasive (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). To summarise this perspective, Sedikides and Skowronski (1991) state that prior experience determines what people see and hear, how they interpret that information, and how they store it for later use. In the process of stereotyping, people often exhibit better recall of stereotype-consistent than stereotype-inconsistent information (Fyock and Stangor, 1994). For instance, after exposure to film or television drama in which women are portrayed as sexual objects, males are more likely to encode the next female they encounter in a sexual way, paying more attention to her appearance than to what she says and how she behaves (Rudman and Borgida, 1995).

In most of the classic theories, researchers identified stereotypes as a categorisation process (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1988; Fiske, 1990; Tajfel, 1969). Once one encounters an individual, if a specific category occurs, the stereotype is automatically applied. According to Hilton and Von Hippel (2010), one of the most important consequences of stereotypes is that they can lead to unfair, negative outcomes when they are applied to members of stereotyped groups. According to Fazio and Towles-Schwen (1999), inhibition of an activated stereotype is a two-step process. One must first be motivated to inhibit the stereotype. If the person is not motivated to inhibit the stereotype, it will be applied. However, even if a person is so motivated, he or she might not be able to avoid stereotyping. In general, the application of the process can be summarised in the following figure. For example, some behaviours, such as verbal behaviours, are easily controlled by oneself, while nonverbal ones are not. Thus, one may be motivated to control the application of stereotype and may successfully do so, such as by speaking politely to a member of a negatively stereotyped group, but it will be much harder to control nonverbal indications of dislike, such as avoiding eye contact with the other person (Dividio, 2001). Therefore, one can only inhibit the application of stereotypes if one is both motivated and able to do so. As Bodenhausen (1999) stated, unless the person can and wants to inhibit a stereotype, stereotype application will likely occur.

As Bargh (1994) stated, under the right circumstances, information processing becomes automatic. Devine (1989) has proposed her idea that automaticity develops in the activation of social stereotypes just as it does for a variety of other cognitive tasks. To test her hypothesis, Devine (1989) first primed research participants (all of whom were White) by flashing a set of words on a screen so quickly that they could not consciously identify or recall them. Some people saw words that were consistent with stereotypes of African Americans, while others saw words that were not consistent with those stereotypes. People then read a paragraph about a person of unspecified race who was doing something that could be interpreted either as an aggressive shove or a playful push and evaluated that person. What Devine found was that when subconsciously primed with words that reflected racial stereotypes, almost everyone evaluated the racially unspecified target person with the stereotype. The findings suggest that people were more likely to think the person in the story was aggressive and hostile while they were primed with the African-American stereotype. Furthermore, though the prime words avoided references to hostility, participants still activated that portion of the stereotype. As a result, Devine (1989) concluded that stereotypes are so well-learnt that they become automatically triggered in individuals whenever a person from that particular group is encountered. According to her, because American culture is suffused with information pertaining to the stereotypes of African Americans, the activation of the African-American stereotype becomes automatised at a young age for most Americans. More importantly, as people grow older and begin to evaluate and reflect their beliefs, those who are not prejudiced learn to suppress or replace the automatically activated stereotypical thoughts in favour of more egalitarian ones. This suppression or replacement of stereotypic cognition is proposed to be an effortful process that requires conscious cognitive resources from the perceiver. Devine's theory is important both as a process model of stereotype activation and application and for its implications for stereotype use under a variety of circumstances. If group membership and the accompanying stereotypical information is automatically encoded whenever a member of a social category is encountered, the potential for that stereotype to be applied is manifestly increased.

Since Devine's study was published, research has studied and examined how stereotypes can be triggered without us even being aware of it. The results clearly indicate that stereotypes of various social groups can be activated automatically, and they can influence how people interpret incoming information (Blair & Banaji, 1996). What is even more disconcerting is that stereotypes can activate and influence processing even when people don't endorse them. The other application of stereotypes was traditionally reviewed as prejudice. According to Allport's (1954) classic definition, prejudice is

'an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalisation'. Therefore, prejudice is seen both as an outgrowth of stereotyping and as negative evaluations of group members. Supporting Allport's theory, the evaluative nature of one's attitudes toward members of different groups (prejudice) has been shown to be linked to the overall evaluative connotation of their beliefs about group members (stereotypes) (Eagly and Mladinic, 1989; Haddock et al., 1993, 1994; Stephan et al., 1994; Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn, 1991, 1993). Various theories of prejudice have emerged in the past decades. Though these theories differ as to whether people are thought to be consciously aware of their prejudices and in the importance placed on this awareness, the theories hold in common the view that negative evaluative responses to group members are primary components of prejudice. For example, according to Dovidio and Gaertner (1991), most people embrace egalitarian values yet have negative effect toward African-Americans. As a consequence, whether one is aware or not, this negative effect has an important impact on one's behaviour under the influence of one's prejudices. Therefore, the study of the main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans in popular culture became more important because the exposure of the in-screen stereotypes is very likely able to automatically trigger people prejudice and influence their behaviour towards the specific group.

Given that the media has changed dramatically in the past two decades, further research should be conducted to understand the contemporary representation and modern limitations of Chinese and Chinese American characters and their part in today's television dramas. The current literature regarding Chinese American media representation is limited. There are a number of books that have focused on Chinese American images in early films from 1920 to The Cold War, but television is barely mentioned. However, this literature provides a historical context for this study to reflect on. Work has also been done in the late 20th century regarding the concept of the model minority; however, very few of these studies focused specifically on fictional representations in popular culture. Furthermore, the research to date has focused only on hard-working and high-achieving model minority stereotypes while overlooking other stereotypes. There is limited up-to-date literature addressing Chinese stereotypes in media, particularly in television dramas. The question 'what the main stereotypes of the Chinese and Chinese Americans in contemporary television' remains unanswered.

Most of the limited amount of literature has been conducted from the audience's point of view using audience interviews and questionnaires and has included little investigation of the television content itself. The existing researches has mainly focused on the reception of stereotyping but has not ex-

plained how and why the stereotypes are created, challenged or maintained which this thesis is aiming to answer. There are also few Chinese American perspectives in the existing research. This thesis helps to fill the gap by focusing on gaining a deeper insight into how characters are portrayed and how the certain portrayals effect audiences' attitudes from both in-group and out-group perspectives. This research concerns anyone who cares about the underlying origins of the various representations of China and Chinese people in contemporary media. Additionally, when the Chinese American cultural studies do concentrate on the representations and media texts, they mainly focused on investigating the authenticity of the portrayal. For example, ethnic studies scholar Cynthia Wong has accused Amy Tan of misrepresenting Chinese culture and perpetuating crude stereotypes of the Chinese to make her work more palatable to white audience (Wong, 1994: 257). Although the authenticity of stereotypes might be important to some, I argue that what more important is its reasons of formation and social impact since media representations do not offer access to truth (Larson, 2006). However, no matter the representations are 'true' or not, the effect truly exists. The portrayals in contemporary televisions might not be 'accurate' portrayals of Chinese and Chinese American, but they are ideologically and politically important because what popular culture enables — it offers not only a means pf challenging hegemonic system of discourse and power but also a way to imagine, engender and embrace new desires knowledges and subjectivities (Lowe, 1998). Since the start of the study, I have been asked 'why study this', 'why not to choose something more serious and practical such as hashtag *BlackLivesMatter*?' The tension to justify the project spiked up when I read Hall's statement:

> Against the urgency of people dying in the streets, what in God's name is the point of culture study? At that point, I think anybody who is into cultural studies seriously as an intellectual practice, must feel, on their pulse, its ephemerality, its insubstantiality, how little it registers, how little we've been able to change anything or get anybody to do anything. (Hall, in The Guardian, 22/02/2014)

However, Lowe's understanding of what culture enables helped to ease the tension. He further suggested that when real world political practices proves inadequate, popular culture serves as a counter site to challenge the hegemonic system of valuation, existing racial and gender inequality, and the politics of identification (Lowe, 1998).

The state governs through the political terrain, dictating in that process the forms of sites of contestation. Where the political terrain can neither resolve nor suppress inequality, it erupts culture. Because culture is the contemporary repository of memory, of history, it is through culture, rather than government the alternative forms of subjectivity, collectivity, and practice are imagined. (Lowe, 1998:17)

This thesis will start from a brief introduction of the existing popular Chinese stereotypes in films dating back to the 1920s. Chapter 2 explores the representation of Chinese people in a historical context. In chronological order, this chapter introduces and analyses the portrayal of Chinese people pre-Pacific War (1920-1940), pro-Pacific War (1941-1949), and between the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the start of the Sino-US diplomatic relationship (1949-1972). Chapter 2 focuses on the essential Chinese and Chinese American representations as the Yellow Peril, the model minority, the broken lotus, and the Kong-fu master. It serves as an essential background of the study and provides academic readings about the particular representations offers important contextual knowledge that the thesis built upon. Though they have shifted in time, these representations could still be found in contemporary media productions. These portrayals will be revisited in the analysis chapters. Thus, chapter 2 provides the historical insight for this study to draw on and compare with. It gives the viewers the big picture of Chinese stereotypes in the historical context. It aims to raise the interest of exploring and understanding what is a stereotype and what are the stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans that I will focus in he following chapters.

Chapter 3 aims to offer the theoretical framework of this thesis by exploring the stereotype theories and stereotyping mechanisms. It reviews and examines literature from Lippmann's (1922) classic stereotype theory to Fiske's (2001) recent study on stereotype models. This chapter also reviews racial stereotyping and gender stereotyping along with the main Chinese and Chinese American stereotypes in popular culture. Chapter 3 answers the question that what is stereotyping and helps to analyse the Chinese stereotypes in question.

Following the theoretical foundation in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 focuses on the methodology and approaches this thesis applied. Chapter 4 mainly discusses and justifies two approaches; this thesis is applied from both visual and textual perspectives. Visual social semiotic analysis, Halliday's (1992) metafunction framework, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and Fairclough's (1989) three

dimensions of CDA are introduced and explained. This chapter also presents the process of data collecting, sampling, and how the samples were justified.

From Chapter 5 to Chapter 8, four types of portrayals are examined and analysed carefully. Chapter 5 studies the portrayal of the Chinese as the enemy and the contemporary Yellow Peril stereotype through the character, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen (Francis Jue) in *Madam Secretary* (2014 - today). Chapter 6 explores the long-standing model minority stereotype using Dr Topher Zia (Ken Leung) in *The Night Shift* (2014-today) as the principal character. Chapter 7 focuses on female representation. It mainly explores Dr Jone Watson's (Lucy Liu) role in *Elementary* (2012-today) with cross-references to the Dragon Lady and Broken Lotus portrayals of the Chinese females in films and television. Chapter 8 aims to understand the 'model US citizen' characters, Lieutenant Mike Tao (Michael Paul Chan) in *The Closer* (2005-2012) and *Major Crimes* (2012-2018), and Skye (Chloe Bennet) in *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.* (2013-today) to understand why these particular characters have shared the depth and complexity in the storyline as the white characters do. Chapter 5 to Chapter 7 are mainly structured by the order that reflecting to Chapter 2, while Chapter 8 represents a new type of Chinese American representation in contemporary television.

Last but not least, Chapter 9 brings more discussion on the characters, as well as their social impact on the audience, and draws a brief conclusion to this thesis.

To summarise, this chapter briefly introduced my personal experience as a Chinese overseas that raised the research questions and driven me to start this study. It generally stated the important role television and mass media play in people's cognitive process thus highlighted the importance of studying and understanding the essential Chinese and Chinese American stereotypes on television today. This chapter also identified the gap in existing literatures: they mainly focused on films; most of them are located in the historical context and there are little work done regarding contemporary dramas; they are mostly conducted through the audience reception perspective without close readings to the representations themselves. Thus, I suggest it is essential to ask what are the main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans on television today, which leads to the question how these particular stereotypes are shaped and do they maintain or challenge the century-old fashion of stereotypical representations of the Chinese. This study is aiming to bridge previous literature gaps and gain further insight into Chinese stereotypes in popular culture, the underlying psychological and

political cause of the shaping, shifting and maintaining of the stereotypes, as well as the social impact the stereotypes in question have.

CHAPTER 2 THE PORTRAYAL OF CHINESE IN FILMS

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the representations and portrayals of the Chinese in early American films dated back from the 1920s. The Chinese and Chinese Americans have been stereotyped from the very moment of their arrival at the United States. These stereotypes have already become an importation part in the visual representation system regarding the Chinese and Chinese Americans. Most of these stereotypes are still a living fashion and their trails could still be found in contemporary films and televisions. This chapter provides the critical reviews and scholarly readings of the most influential and long-lasting trends of Chinese and Chinese American portrayal in early American cinema which the latter empirical chapters will reflect to.

It is important to note that these representations are closely related to the global politics and Sino-US relationships at the time the particular portrayal is presented which will be examined closely in the following sections of this chapter. As Ross (2003) suggested, the images reflected the international situation at the time, and they remained popular because both the media elite and the public shared contextual frames in interpreting things. Overall, the Sino-US relationship can be viewed through four stages: pre-Pacific War, after the Pacific War, during the Cold War, and the present. This chapter provides the historical representations of Chinese and Chinese Americans in US screen of the first three stages by concentrating on popular portrayals in each era. It is noteworthy these portrayals are still 'alive' in the contemporary televised world. Thus Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 will revisit the representations introduced in this chapter and analyse the present stage of Chinese and Chinese American stereotypes that reflects to the stereotypes introduced in this chapter following the same order.

This chapter will start with a brief history of the Chinese images in US screen and the Jones' (1955) categorisation of eras, followed by a closer look to the characters picked up in different eras of the Sino-US relationship timeline. In chronological order, this chapter concentrates on Dr Fu Manchu and Detective Charlie Chan series during pre-Pacific War, Jade (Katherine Hepburn) in *Dragon Seed* (1944) and Aylward (Ingrid Bergman) in *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1958) after the Pa-

cific War, Dr No in James Bond film series during the Cold War, and Suzie Wong (Nancy Kwan) from *The World of Suzie Wong* (1960) as an example of the broken lotus portrayal.

Representations of China first appeared on the American silver screen in the 1920s. At that time, the country was generally cast in the role of a beguiling, reflective, and fundamentally dangerous counterpart. During the several decades, various stereotypes were created and well known by the audience, some of them, including the image of Chinese as the 'enemy', were repeatedly produced over the years and are much alive today.

Jones' (1955) study on films involving the Chinese highlighted 246 films about Chinese images. In Jones' work, she categorised the Chinese images in groups, for instance, the evil mandarin, the warlord, the detective, the peasant, the houseboy, the cook, and the laundryman. Compared to Jones' categorisation, Isaacs' (1962) methods were more comprehensive as he linked the images to the particular time that the films have aired and fit them into a historical timeline. His six historical periods were: 1). the Age of Respect (eighteenth century); 2). the Age of Contempt (1840-1905); 3). the Age of Benevolence (1905-1937); 4). the Age of Admiration (1937-1944); 5). the Age of Disenchantment (1944-1949); and 6). the Age of Hostility (1949-).

In his study, each age is marked by essentialist features: 1) Confucian wisdom; 2) oriental despotism; 3) a resilient civilization; 4) the heroic Chinese; 5) the ungrateful wretches; 6) peaceful communitarian society. He used various examples of Chinese images and interviews with Americans to provide a picture of the predominant representations of Chinese in the US until 1958. He categorised those images into six chronological periods above, which coincide with the status of the relationship between China and the US. The portrayal, as Foucault stated, is the struggle for truth within the matrix of power relations. It always establishes economic and political relations (1980), with the intention of disclosing the mechanisms by which a certain order of discourse produces permissible modes of disqualifying others (MacDonald, 2003). Thus, the image of China at a specific 'age' could be seen as a social conditioning of representation in which the production of images occurs primarily at a societal level. For example, between 1937 to 1944, as Isaacs categorised as The Age of Admiration, was the time that China made great efforts in World War II as one of America's most dedicated allies.

Isaacs's categorisation will be the inspiration for the structure of the chapters which follow. However, after reviewing films and other literature on the subject, I found the catagorization doubtful, especially regarding the Age of Benevolence. In the following chapter, two most popular and long-lived character Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan were selected as analyzing materials. In particular, this chapter will be focused on the Chinese image in American films from the 1920s. Before the 1920s, Gardner (1961) investigated journal and magazine content relating to the Chinese from 1885, he argues that this period is the crucial time span when the Chinese image took root in the American mind and it is during this time when the stereotypic image system, which has remained remarkably consistent over the years, was constructed. Gardner also argues that the most dominant and mainstream perspective does not derive from the perspective of a few elites. It is the cluster of stereotypical characteristics including the opium den, gang activities, cheap laborious and contemptuous slurs that dictated the American image of Chinese (Gardner, 1961: 182).

Other than simply identifying the stereotypes, Miller (1966) traced the initial development of this stereotypical image system even further in depth. He argues that there were three kinds of sources of news media used most often to construct the American cognitive picture of the Chinese: traders, missionaries, and diplomatic reports. In his book, he investigated the shaping process of the derogatory Chinese image and how it affected the legislation of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which institutionally departed from the so-called melting-pot concept. He also argued that negative images of Chinese in America were most popular at specific historical moments: the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, and the Boxer Rebellion. These events generated much discursive activity among Americans because they were conflicts that involved the West. In his opinion, American press were interested in China only when there was 'a Chinese problem'. In the following sections, several films would specifically addressed to explain and reference such Chinese problems (e.g., Dr, Fu Manchu and Yellow Peril).

As the prior studies examined, the Chinese image in American screens and changing of stereotypes are related to the time period and political relationship of the two countries. Thus, the following sections of this chapter will explore the key images based mainly on Yellow Peril images, Charlie Chan stories, World War II alliance images, lotus blossom images, and martial hero patterns, which are the main cliches and representation of the Chinese formulated by the American's imagination of the 'Orientals'. Two things need to be noted here. One, the Oriental image, or as Said (1997) defined as *Orientalism*, refers to the way that Eurocentric and other white Western cultures imagine the idea

of Asia; it does not refer to how Asian cultures actually were or are. The other is, generally, in the early Hollywood productions, Asians frequently appeared in supporting roles, such as houseboys, railroad workers, cooks, and other assorted servants. Some characters do not even speak throughout the entire film. Though the supporting roles are not the main focus of this chapter, still they will be discussed in the following Chapters.

2 1920-1940: BEFORE THE PACIFIC WAR

2.1 The Yellow Peril Incarnate in One Man: Dr Fu Manchu

> A tall, dignified Chinese, wearing a fur-collared overcoat and a fur cap, aligned and walked in. For a mere instant while the light flooded out from the opened door, I had seen the face of the man in the fur cap, and in that instant my imaginary monster came to life. I knew that I had seen Dr Fu Manchu. His face was the living embodiment of Satan. (Rohmer, 1972:76-77)

Before the Pacific War, one of the most well-known Chinese screen figures was Dr Fu Manchu. Dr Fu Manchu was a fictional character first introduced in Sax Rohmer's series of novels during the first half of the 20th century, and his debut in film dates back to the 1929 film The Mysterious DrFu Manchu. The series continued with *The Return of Dr. Fu Manchu* (1930). After the 1932 release of the film *The Mask of Dr. Fu Manchu* (1932), which featured an Asian villain telling a group of Asians that they must 'kill the white men and take their women', the Chinese embassy in Washington issued a formal complaint against the film. However, the series continued until the release of *The Drum of Fu Manchu* (1940), when the US State Department requested that film companies make no further films with the character as China was an ally against Japan in the Pacific War (for the full filmography of the Fu Manchu series, see Appendix B).

Dr Fu Manchu is described as tall, lean and feline; he is high-shouldered, with a brow like Shakespeare and a face like Satan, and he has a giant intellect, with all the resources of science past and present (Rohmer, 1913). In the series of films, Dr Fu is a criminal mastermind; his murderous methods include various poisons, knives, and his 'tiny allies', snakes and spiders. He was clever, cunning, insensitive to his own pain and that of others, cruel, industrious, and pragmatic. In addition to these racial characteristics, which James Hevia (1998:252) called Chineseness, Fu was well educated, sophisticated, aloof, arrogant, and convinced. He was more than a master of ancient oriental

science, more than a clever Chinese, and more than a manipulator of various sorts of drugs. He also possessed a prodigious knowledge of Western science, which he learnt at European universities, where he got his doctoral degree. In addition, Fu was supported by other foreign agents in the films, including Muslim sects, drug-smuggling criminal organizations, Chinese secret societies, and other hostile anti-America fanatics, such as Kali-worshipping Indian Thuggees and acrobatic Burmese robber-assassins called Dacoits. Through these agencies, Fu Manchu presented a threat to the US. In every film, Fu is defeated and punished by an American hero, e.g., Denis Nayland Smith or Dr Petire in the early stories. The ending scenes of the films sometimes indicate that he died, but he is only dead until the next film, when he mysteriously reappears, planning another evil agenda. In *The Mysterious Dr Fu Manchu*, Rohmer endows him with the power of using drugs to control human life. Opium is the primary drug which destroys life while Dr Fu's 'elixir vitae' allows him to escape death and old age, thereby achieving immortality. In the film series, this devil incarnate is functionally immortal, living far beyond the normal human life span and surviving whatever cataclysmic blows his enemies might wreak against him (Brenchley, 2005).

Opium is an important element in the series. The idea of Dr Fu using opium to achieve immortality as well as manipulate and control others is interspersed throughout the series. From a Western historical perspective, the Opium War was an important landmark in Chinese-American relations. It coincided with the development of America's first mass medium that increased the public's awareness of Chinese people. As a highly addicting drug, opium became a metaphor for the imaginary Chinese threat, perpetuating the popular belief that the Chinese were invading the West, forming seedy communities, and destroying the moral and social fabric of the Western cultural order. On the other hand, the explanation of Fu's rebirth is quite vague, which could vindicate the Western view of China as a mysterious, unknown country.

The character of Dr Fu Manchu was a creature of the Chinese Exclusion Act and perpetuated the myth that the Chinese were trying to take over the Western world (Franklin, 2001). From the 1920s-1940s, the Chinese were depicted as physically, religiously, and morally incompatible with the ways of the West. The tradition of anti-Chinese popular fiction and films continued to influence the American public consciousness during that period of time. The Fu Manchu series reinforced many preconceived notions about the Chinese upon the readers: they are inscrutable heathens and sojourners. Dr Fu's image retrospectively justified the exclusion of Chinese immigrants because such a fictional construction encourages readers to believe that the Chinese have probably always been

15

involved in some sort of criminal activity anyway. In short, Dr Fu Manchu was the Western world's worst imagination of the Chinese, the Yellow Peril incarnate in one man (Rohmer, 1913).

Despite Dr Fu Manchu's intelligence, immortality, and evil power, the feminisation of this character is also noteworthy. Scholars pointed out that Dr Fu's masculinity was tempered by femininity (Okihiro, 1994). His appearance, according to Rohmer in the original book series, was feminine. Slender, sleek, and feline body; long, tapered fingers; soft, rustling, feminine voice – these elements were nothing close to a muscular, powerful male figure. Even his methods were feminized. Compared to the direct violent confrontation with the victim, Dr Fu prefers passive approaches such as poison, which was often deemed a typical feminine method to commit murder. There was a study that pointed out that poisoning is a common method of killing that is chosen by nearly half of female offenders (Hickey, 2013). In many crime-related television dramas, if the cause of death is poisoning, the detectives immediately jump to the conclusion that the offender is likely to be a woman, and in most cases, the inference turns out to be true (e.g., in *Criminal Minds, Bones*). Poisoning, together with other methods that Dr Fu prefers to use, such as spiders and snakes, require no direct confrontation with the victim, which alludes to his lack of physical power and his snaky characteristics.

Sexual attraction and relationships are also factors by which to analyze a character. In the series, Dr Fu shows hardly any evidence of either being attracted to or attractive to women, which is not commonly seen in films.

According to Shuck, 'each racial stereotype comes in two models, the acceptable model and the unacceptable model... The unacceptable model is unacceptable because he cannot be controlled by the whites. The acceptable model is acceptable because he is tractable' (1972). According to this approach, Dr Fu is a textbook portrayal of the unacceptable model. If his lack of sexual attraction and feminised figure can be summarised as a result of his unacceptability, then the opposite of his figure—the decent and gentle detective Charlie Chan's lack of attraction—is a more interesting topic to examine.

2.2 Humble and Gentle Majority: Charlie Chan

Around almost the same time, another classic Chinese figure on the big screen was detective Charlie Chan. From the time the state department requested the Dr Fu Manchu series be paused until 1981, according to Mitchell's (1999) *Guide to Charlie Chan Films*, there were 58 Charlie Chan films released (see Appendix B), including three Spanish-language adaptations and six Chinese-language adaptations. Unlike Fu in the series, Chan was set up as a fourth-generation descendent Chinese immigrants who spoke fluent English and received a proper Western education. In contrast to the mysterious Chinese thousands of miles away on another continent, Chan represented the majority of Chinese-American immigrants and satisfied the need in American culture to address the increasingly visible multi-racial social structure by depicting Chinese Americans as model immigrants.

When the movie series began its run in 1931, none of the Chan actors were Chinese. In the earliest three films, Charlie Chan was not even the main character. The first Charlie Chan film was *House Without a Key* (1926), a ten-chapter serial produced by Pathé Studios, starring George Kuwa, a Japanese actor, as Chan (Hanke, 1989). A year later Universal Pictures followed with The Chinese Parrot, starring Japanese actor Kamiyama Sojin in the starring role (Hanke, 1989). In both productions, Charlie Chan's role was minimised (Mitchell, 1999). In 1929, the Fox Film Corporation released Behind That Curtain, starring Korean actor E. L. Park (Mitchell, 1999). Again, Chan's role was minimal, with Chan appearing only in the last ten minutes of the film (Mitchell, 1999). The reviews of the film were unfavourable. Reviewers suggested Chan's character was no more than a waiter or cook (in Soister, 2004:71). Not until a white actor was cast in the title role did a Chan film meet with success (Ballo, 1995:336), beginning with 1931's Charlie Chan Carries On, starring Swedish actor Warner Oland as Chan. Oland, who claimed some Mongolian ancestry (Hanke, 2004), played the character as more gentle and self-effacing than he had been in the books, perhaps in 'a deliberate attempt by the studio to downplay an uppity attitude in a Chinese detective' (Hanke, 1989).'

In the series, Charlie is shaped as the smart and gentle chief detective of the Honolulu police department, whose tag phrase is 'Confucius said…' His physical attributes are not typical of most movie detectives, and he often relies on a mixture of brains, good manners, and charm to solve his murder cases. Charlie Chan is one of the earliest representations of a model minority in American popular fiction-someone who assimilates into mainstream American culture by moving from a working-class status to a middle-class professional one. Chan symbolises the American dream of

success: a minority who is allowed to interact with a predominantly white American society, living a life of relative economic comfort, and raising a family. The original author Earl Biggers conceived the benevolent and heroic Chan as an alternative to Yellow Peril stereotypes and villains like Fu Manchu. If Fu Manchu was the paragon of Chinese evil, Charlie Chan was the model of the friendly Chinese. The film scholar Dorothy Jones confirmed that John Stone, the producer of the original Charlie Chan films at Fox Studios, saw the characterisation of Charlie Chan 'as a refutation of the unfortunate Fu Manchu characterisation of the Chinese.' Wu (1982) points out in his study *The Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Fiction 1850-1940*, Biggers' main goal 'is to assure his readers that the character was not threatening to them in any way.'

> Charlie Chan's calm, apologetic, and passive tolerance of racial insults and harassment is an obvious sop to those who would be threatened by an Asian American detective with normal assertiveness and temper. His rotund figure is also important, symbolising the opposite of the lean Fu Manchu. Charlie Chan is a middle-aged family man. The existence of his family and his devotion to it further reduce the chance of threat. (Biggers, cited in Cohen, 2000:101).

If it was understandable that the evil Dr Fu Manchu was not sexually attractive at all due to his lack of humanity, the lack of Charlie Chan's sexual attraction was more comprehensive. Unlike the feminine personality of Dr Fu, Charlie Chan was more likely to be created as unattractive and 'sexless', which is the exact word used by Hagedorn in her anthology *Charlie Chan is Dead* when she describes Charlie as:

> The inscrutable, wily Chinese detective with his taped eyelids and wispy moustache... Always giggling, bowing and scraping. Eager to please, but untrustworthy... The sexless, hairless Asian male. (Hagedorn, 1993: xxii)

In the series of films, Charlie was a decent husband, a good father, and a devoted family man. But he was also kind of 'sexless' as Hagedorn states. First, Chan's appearance had nothing to do with being 'handsome' or 'attractive'. For one thing, this is because of the character being created as over-sized and clumsy looking: in Biggers (1925:69) words, he was a 'fat, inscrutable, flowery but flub-tongued effeminate little detective' who walked with 'the light dainty step of a woman'. Furthermore, as others have stated, when a white actor played an Asian role in pancake-yellow face makeup, the disguise looked freakish when set against the faces of authentic Asian actors (Doherty,

1999). On the other hand, unlike most screen detectives, Charlie Chan barely uses his physical power, if he had any; instead, he uses his brain and manners. To some extent, the fact that he never gets into violent situations denies his manhood and harms his attraction as a male.

In the Charlie Chan series, the other severely feminized image is Chan's second son. As with most feminized media images of Asian American house boys, his sole purpose is todo domestic housework. Similar characters fitting this stereotype can be found in various films and television shows, such as Sammee Tong in *Bastard Father* (1957) and Hop Sing in *Bonanza* (1959). However, as a middle-class professional, Chan's character does not seem to fit the serving stereotype applied to his son and other Chinese supporting roles. However, in his relationship to white characters, he is secondary and subservient. As Chan (2001) stated, he is a glorified servant to wealthy white Americans.

3 1941-1949, AFTER THE PACIFIC WAR

Although the racial impersonation of Asians by Caucasian actors remained a performance practice during World War II, after the attack on Pearl Harbour, the construction of a Japanese enemy in Hollywood films was perceived by government authorities as critical to the war effort. During the same period, China became one of the Americans' crucial allies, and due to the efforts China made in World War II, several films focused on the anti-Japanese war.

The film *Dragon Seed* was adopted by Pearl S. Buck's best-selling novel, which described the average Chinese farmer's heroic struggle with the invaders after their village was destroyed by the Japanese. The war in China had been raging full on since 1937 when this film takes place, and China suffered massive casualties while under siege from imperial Japan. Ling Tan is a farmer; he and his family lived in a peaceful, small village near Nanking. One day, he learnt that war was coming. The Japanese invaders dropped into the village. People were being killed, women were being raped, civilians died, and there was a lack of coffins in which to bury them. Many were simply thrown into the river. Like thousands of other families, Ling Tan's family also went through the disaster. Jade, the curious and free-thinking wife of Ling-Tan's middle son, Lao Er, wants to stand up to the invading Japanese. Jade longs to become educated and is interested in world events, especially the Japanese invasion. In the film, she stood up to the army and bravely poisoned the invader's food supply, which knocked out an entire regiment of Japanese soldiers. Throughout the film, Jade's character

serves as the most explicit mouthpiece of U.S. political ideology (Fuller, 2010). However, despite her heroic role, the film showed sympathy to the Chinese majority during the specific period. Various scenes in the film showed how people's lives were ruined by the Japanese invaders.

The film attempted to integrate the ideals of a wartime political agenda by utilising a bifurcation between good Chinese fighters for democratic ideals and the evil Japanese who tortured and humiliated them. It showed the American audience that the Chinese understood what they were fighting for, and they were there, fighting with them, willing to die for freedom. The Chinese characters in the film were portrayed with a degree of complexity, while the Japanese characters were presented primarily as caricatures with no possibility of character development. This film vividly captured wartime China and exploits a wartime narrative as ideological propaganda and commercial entertainment. It creates sympathetic wartime Chinese characters while negotiating existing Chinese stereotypes in previous films. In earlier films, Chinese people were mostly portrayed as Chinese in the West. Both Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan's activities were based on Western soil. However, the story of *Dragon Seed* takes place in mainland China. Furthermore, this story is no longer about one specific character but turns a lens on the Chinese majority during wartime.

In *Dragon Seed*, on the other hand, Academy Award winner Katharine Hepburn adopted an Oriental accent and taped her eyelids to play Jade, a young Chinese woman who leads her village against Japanese colonisation. Screen legend Walter Huston plays peasant farmer Ling Tan. In fact, the overall casting of the film has been summarized by James Agee as having Caucasian stars (Hepburn, Huston, etc.) solely playing Chinese characters, while Japanese roles are portrayed exclusively by Asian actors (see Appendix iii). As James Agee notes, it was hilarious for the Japanese to be played by Chinese while the Chinese were played by Caucasians (Agee, cited in Koppes and Black, 1988:242). To some extent, the choice of casting was a reflection of the producer's perspective of 'otherness.' In this specific period of time, with the political agenda that the film carries, the good Chinese ally was played by a Westerner, in other words, one of their own kind, while the Japanese invaders were played by the Orientals, 'the others'. Although the war broke down the boundaries between the so-called yellow and white, the casting choice still reviewed the racist perspective.

Another film shared a similar historical background, which is *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*. It is a 20th-Century Fox film based on the true story of Gladys Aylward, a tenacious British maid who be-

came a missionary in China during the tumultuous years of World War II. The story begins with Aylward, played by Ingrid Bergman, who was rejected as a potential missionary to China because of her lack of education. Over the next few months, Aylward saves her money to purchase a ticket on the Trans-Siberian railway, choosing the more dangerous overland route to the East because it is less expensive.

Once in China, she settles in the town of Yang Cheng, where she secures a post as assistant to a veteran missionary. Afterwards, China is being invaded by Japan, and Lin encourages Aylward to leave. She refuses, and as the town of Yang Cheng comes under attack, she finds that she has fifty orphans in her care. As the population prepares to evacuate the town, the Mandarin announces that he is converting to Christianity to honour Aylward and her work (she is rather taken aback by this, as she would have preferred him to convert through religious conviction). She is now left alone with the children, aided by the former leader of the prison revolt she helped to resolve. Just as they are preparing to leave, another fifty orphans appear from a neighbouring town, so Aylward has no choice but to lead one hundred children on a trek across the countryside. Although it should have taken them only a week, the roads are infested with Japanese patrols, and the group has to cut across the mountains. After a long, difficult journey, they all arrive safely on the day the trucks are to leave.

Christians played an essential part in the film. Aylward's identity as a missionary was clearly stated and announced. Historically, both Catholic nuns and Protestant women missionaries had been active in China since the second half of the nineteenth century and were engaged in establishing school systems for girls, providing medical care, and evangelising in the countryside. The film was a vivid representation of historical facts.

In *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, the Chinese were portrayed as brave but helpless figures who still needed to seek help from Westerners. They were victims of invaders and old inhumane traditions needing to be rescued by Western intervention, modernisation, and development. The film exemplified the tendency of the West to renew itself from non-Western cultures (Newman, 2007), to show and prove its own greater civility. For example, in the film, there was a scene specifically about the women's footbinding tradition. During that age in China, footbinding was considered a symbol of feminine significance. Aylward, on the other hand, accepted the role of 'foot inspector,'

following a decree against footbinding, and convinced the local villagers not to bind their daughters' feet.

In short, during this period of time, China was no longer a land of sinister villains like Fu Manchu, but a country of the ordinary, believable, and immensely sympathetic majority of people. Because of China's ally in the Pacific War, the pendulum governing images of China reached a positive point not seen before or since. Films such as *Dragon Seed*, *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, *Thirty Seconds in Tokyo* (1944)*, Stage Door Canteen* (1943)*,* celebrated China's valiant resistance to the Japanese invader (Greene, 2014). Within this decade, China had been regarded as the U.S.'s friend, ally, and ultimately, equal. Chinese troops were 'our kind of people' (*Thirty Seconds in Tokyo*) and 'the best hope for the future' (*Stage Door Canteen*); China was described as 'an ancient civilization which had never waged an aggressive war' (Borzage, 1943). However, although these characters were shown in a positive light, they still embodied the earlier Chinese stereotype; for example, they were sympathetic but powerless and needed to seek help from the Westerners (*The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*), or they were inevitably among the first to die in battle (*Thirty Seconds over Tokyo*).

4 1949-1972 BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP

4.1 Cold War Creation, Early James Bond Films: An Example

Films from the Cold War decades, with their emphasis on a worldwide Communist conspiracy and the dangers of a nuclear catastrophe, signal the changes taking place not only in American foreign policy but also in the nature of war itself. Greater focus is placed on specialists who best knew how to manage the highly sophisticated new weaponry, and filmmakers are confronted with the problems of transforming the images of former enemies into ones that are positive and reassuring (Manchel, 1990). China, a World War II ally, was re-cast again as an enemy. In the following chapter, China's role in the early James Bond films will be reviewed as an example of this re-cast.
Dr No is the first James Bond film and was released in 1962. In the film, James Bond is sent to Jamaica to investigate the disappearance of a fellow British agent. The trail leads him to the underground base of Dr Julius No, who is plotting to disrupt an early American manned space launch with a radio-beam weapon. As recounted in the film, Dr No traces his own evil to his birth as the unwanted product of an illicit relationship between the son of a German mercenary and a Chinese

girl from a good family. Just like Dr Fu Manchu, Dr No is another brilliant master criminal created in the film; as he states in a dialogue with Bond:

> Dr No: *I am a member of SPECTRE*
>
> Bond: *SPECTRE?*
>
> Dr No: *SPECTRE. Special Executive for Counter-Intelligence, Terrorism, Revenge, and Extortion. The four great cornerstones of power headed by the greatest brains in the world.*
>
> Bond: *Correction. Criminal brains!*
>
> Dr No: *The successful criminal brain is always superior. It has to be!*

The Chinese also played sinister roles in another James Bond film, *Goldfinger* (1964). In *Goldfinger*, Mr. Ling, a Chinaman in Mao's uniform, is in league with Goldfinger. He is the agent who recognises Bond when he is captured by Goldfinger and is a specialist in nuclear fission who arms the 'dirty' nuclear bomb that is placed in the vaults of Fort Knox. China has provided Goldfinger with the device; in what Bond states it is 'an inspired deal, they get what they want. Economic chaos in the West'. *Goldfinger* reflected mounting concerns in the West over China's increasing military strength (Nitins, 2011). Along with the storyline, the release time stamp of the film also seemed to coincide with world affairs as China detonated its first atomic bomb just weeks before the film's premiere in America.

Similarly, in *You Only Live Twice* (1967), China funded the global criminal group SPECTRE to capture American and Soviet space shuttles in orbit and instigate a nuclear war. The film suggested that, in the ensuing destruction, China would establish itself as the new global superpower.

The above images of China in the James Bond series could be considered a recreation and reproduction of Dr Fu Manchu, only with higher technological skills. Similarly, a hostile environment towards China was created in the films. During this specific period, China was seen as a growing threat to the Western world. After the Sino-Soviet split of 1960 and the ending of Soviet technical assistance, the Chinese began an independent nuclear programme to produce their own bombs and missiles. In October 1964, the Chinese exploded their first atomic bomb, ending the monopoly of such weapons enjoyed by the West and the Soviets. Declassified US national security documents showed concerns that a nuclear-armed China would constitute a formidable threat to the United States (National Security Archive, 1964). The idea of a preventive strike was taken up by the

US government. There were documents discussing the possibility of sabotaging the Chinese nuclear facilities (National Security Archive, 1964). The National Security Advisor, McGeorge Bundy, suggested that the Chinese nuclear weapons were the greatest single threat to the status quo over the next few years (1962). These concerns about China were raised in the US, and this concern is reflected in the Bond films (Black, 2000).

Despite the enemy images of China in James Bond films, Chinese females were mentioned in certain films as well, in an entirely different way. For example, the opening scene of *You Only Live Twice* started with a close-up of James Bond and an Asian girl in bed, kissing, with romantic music playing in the background. The conversation runs as follows:

> Bond: *Why do Chinese girls taste different from all other girls?*
> Ling: *You think we better, uh?*
> Bond: *No, just different. Like Peking duck is different from Russian caviar, but I love them both.*
> Ling: *I give you very best duck.*
> Bond: *Oh, that will be lovely. We've had some interesting times together, Ling. I'll be sorry to go.*

In this film, the heroic and physically superior white male is given sexual license over the willing and delicate Asian woman, who, as Elaine Kim (cited in Ty, 1996) notes, is 'imbued with an innate understanding of how to please, serve, and titillate.' The female figure who is, as Bond clearly states in this scene with his analogy of Chinese women to Peking duck, just like various other Chinese female figures in early Hollywood productions, is a typical stereotype of the Oriental female, which we will explore further in the next section.

4.2 Romance and the Yellow Peril: The World of Suzie Wong

The films of the postwar era concentrate, with particular venom and a strong sense of urgency, on feminizing Asia through the mechanism of white male/Asian female romance. Farquhar and Doi (1976) argued that Asian women in films have similarly been reduced to two categories: either the compliant, soft-spoken, and nurturing type, or sex objects such as bar girls, prostitutes, and exotic mistresses. Both categories seem to fit the Chinese case and contribute to double discrimination of

the Chinese. It also implicitly reflects the 'double standardised miscegenation system' (Wong, 1978) and 'sexualisation of racism' (Hemton, 1965), which has been practiced in the world of films. This kind of stereotype was labeled as a 'lotus blossom,' which refers to 'Geisha girls,' who aimed to please and serve rather than to manipulate a man. A typical stereotypical character here is Suzie Wong from the film *The World of Suzie Wang* (1960).

The film was based on Richard Mason's novel about his life in Hong Kong during the Korean War. Robert Lomax, the leading actor, went to Hong Kong to pursue his dream of becoming an artist. In the hotel he stayed, he met a young Chinese prostitute, Suzie Wong, 'cute, giggling, dancing sex machine with a heart of gold,' who became his muse, posing for him every day. In the meantime, Robert revealed Suzie's past: illiterate, orphaned, sexually abused as a child, brutalized regularly as a prostitute.

Robert is portrayed in the film as a hero as he overcomes racial and class condemnation by the white elite establishment on which he has to rely. Furthermore, in contrast to the hypocrisy of other white men in the film, who use Chinese women only for their sexual pleasure, Robert's loving white hero image becomes even more apparent. Unlike the character of Pinkerton in Puccini's opera, Madama Butterfly, Robert is not portrayed as an abuser of oriental women. Despite his noble intentions, however, scholars still describe him as the 'heroic' and physically superior white male who is given sexual license over the willing and delicate Chinese woman, who, as Eleanor Ty notes, is 'imbued with an innate understanding of how to please, serve, and titillate' (Ty, 1996).

As the only Chinese female character in the film, Suzie is depicted as a sympathetic Chinese prostitute who has been abandoned, abused, and dumped. She is saved by Robert, leaves for his sake, and asks for help after they separate. In short, Suzie's whole life is about men. However, Caucasian women in the film remain independent and potentially dangerous. An example is Robert's girlfriend, Kay O'Neill, who actively pursues him and attempts to control both his love life and career. To some extent, the film indicates that the Chinese women are more truly 'feminine,' content at being passive, subservient, dependent, domestic, and slaves to 'love' (Marchetti, 1993). Thus, Suzie delivers the West's sexual fantasy of Chinese women. Although she has been working the streets for years after leaving the home of her sexually abusive uncle at the age of ten, the film portrayed Suzie as incredibly shy about undressing herself in the first seduction scene. Compared to the independent and aggressive Caucasian female figures in the film, Suzie's role as a Chinese woman is morally

needy, expressed as the corrupt and fallen, and thus makes the 'white knight's' offer of salvation possible (Kwan, 1998).

The image of Suzie reflected the 'ideal companion or wife of white Americans' (Larson, 2006). However, in the film adaptation of Amy Tan's novel *The Joy Luck Club*, Rose Hsu says, 'I could not believe what she was telling me. It was straight out of some awful racist movie like T*he World of Suzie Wong*.' Likewise, Marchetti (cited in Chan, 2009:24) suggested that the narrative 'use the fantasy of rape and the possibility of lynching to reaffirm the boundaries of a white-defined, patri-archal, Anglo-American culture.'

4.3 Kung-fu Master, Bruce Lee, and Early Chinese Martial Films

While Chinese female figures were portrayed as sympathetic sexual fantasies to the Westerner, and Asian male are mostly portrayed as either the gentle and humble servants serving their white masters and controlled by the white-oriented world, or the evil yellow peril, Bruce Lee, the kung-fu master, became the first positive and masculine Chinese figure as viewed by Americans.

In the 1970s, the films of one of the most important stars in Chinese martial arts films, Bruce Lee, were instrumental in the initial burst of Chinese martial arts' popularity in the Western world. The famous movie, *Fists of Fury* (1971), *Way of the Dragon* (1972), and *Enter the Dragon* (1973), along with other Bruce Lee's martial films, were directed and written by Chinese directors; for instance, *Fists of Fury* was written and directed by Wei Lo. Therefore, instead of the American perspective of the Chinese, martial films are more like the Chinese perspective of Chinese, since most of the films were produced in Hong Kong and then became popular in the US. However, it was the beginning of the era in which the Chinese were becoming the symbol of kung-fu in the Western world, and it was the first time that a Chinese male character became sexually attractive to the Western audience. In the case of Bruce Lee, the stigma of the Asian male body as feminine in comparison to white males is transformed into a positive attribute. Slender, lithe, sinewy, and smooth, Lee's body takes on attributes usually associated with females, but the power in his body was so incredible that it made a tremendous cultural impact.

Bruce Lee's impact on popular culture was tremendous. First of all, he could be considered as the one who brought the Chinese (or Hong Kong) films successfully to the American film market for

the first time. He introduced his particular brand of muscular-heroic Chinese to the Western screen. Given his popularity in the film market, Hollywood filmmakers even started shooting projects centred around Asian cultures and martial arts. With the Kung-fu craze in theatres, more and more Americans started to get interested in martial arts, and that was when Kung-fu, Tae Kwon Do, Karate, and other various Eastern martial arts schools started cropping up across the country (Donovan), and for the first time, the Chinese culture became 'cool' in the American's eyes.

Bruce Lee was the opposite of all the other feminized or sexless male characters in the early films, and he was the representation of Chinese masculinity. However, although the cinematic image of Bruce Lee as a kung-fu master countered the female representation of Chinese-American men, his role in the only Hollywood film in which he appeared before he died was, in Elaine Kim's words, 'less a human being than a fighting machine' (Kim, 1986).

5 FROM BIG SCREEN TO SMALL SCREENS

Though the invention of television dates back to the early 20th century, anthology drama series (single dramatic performances)—the first form of fictional programming and the first network series—were first created in the 1950s. Filmed live in studios in New York, these hour-long dramas were self-contained stories that became famed for their quality due to their literary, dramatic, and social content. Critics consider the early period of TV drama the 'Golden Age' for its idiosyncratic style and bold social content. Gilbert Seldes, for a moment, hailed these series as being at the 'top of the prestige pyramid' and as the medium's 'most honourable accomplishments' (Seldes, 1952).

Starting in the late 1950s, the TV studios moved from New York to Hollywood. There, the film industry saw television as a conduit for film profit, experimenting with projecting television in movie houses and paying television for their movies. More generally, the studios saw TV as an advertising vehicle for their films. Studio-produced programmes were known as telefilms.

The studios left their entertainment stamp on television as programmes became more star-driven and more standardised. Warner Bros. began the film studios' shift to TV. In 1955, the studio produced Warner Brothers Presents for ABC—a programme hosted by the movie actor Gig Young,

in which episodes of the different series would rotate. The plots were loosely based on Warner Bros. films.

By 1965, this shift had established theatrical films as a staple of TV programming with prime programmes such as NBC's *Saturday Night at the Movies* (1961-1978) and ABC's *Sunday Night Movies* (1964-1995). Since then, television has played a powerful role in what Raymond Williams termed the 'dramatic society.' Engendered by motion pictures and radio, television became the most important cultural medium in the post-World War II era. Williams observed that thanks to the media, 'for the first time in human history, a majority of the population has regular and constant access to drama, beyond occasion or season.' Moreover, drama 'is built into the rhythms of everyday life,' having become a 'habitual experience' and 'a basic need' of modern life (Williams, 1989). During this period, critics, producers, and writers alike saw in television drama singular opportunities to make personal statements.

Television has often been positioned as the 'other' to the cinema (Mee and Walker, 2014). It is fair to say that television had a dramatic impact in its challenge to cinema-going, together with negative effects on the attendance at live events, the sale of newspapers and magazines, and the use of lending libraries. On the other hand, television is more of an ephemeral medium of quantity over quality. Therefore, it has an impact on a larger portion of the audience on a daily basis (Mee and Walker, 2014). As Douglas Phillips (2010) notes, as opposed to other channels, American television plays an important role in the world as its programmes are syndicated and broadcast globally. 'People in Europe and the USA typically spend three to four hours per day watching TV' (Gauntlett, 2002). Meanwhile, Gerbner argued that the role of television has effectively taken the place of tribal elders, of religion, and even of formal education through its role of myth-telling (Gerbner in Gunter and Wober, 1988). Therefore, studying and investigating narratives and characters in TV series is a potentially fruitful way of understanding identity formation as well as the representation and possible stereotyping of specific groups.

To summarise, this chapter has provided a brief history of the Chinese portrayals in early US films between the 1920s and 1970s, with a closer look into a few characters at different milestones of the Sino-US relationship timeline. The representations reviewed in this chapter could be categorised as stereotypes of the Chinese as the enemy, the Chinese as the model minority, broken lotus, and martial artist. These stereotypes are still very much alive in contemporary popular culture

representations of the Chinese and Chinese Americans. Therefore, the portrayals in the old films provided us with a mirror to reflect on. They are essential to determine how the new stereotypes maintained or challenged historical trends. In this chapter, I have summarised and categorised the key Chinese stereotypes in US films along with academic readings on the representations which provided the essential background that this study is built upon. But what is a stereotype? How are the stereotypes formed and what is their importance? In order to understand the stereotypes of the Chinese and answer the research questions, the next chapter will provide the theoretical framework and review the literature regarding stereotypes and stereotyping theories.

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW ON STEREOTYPE

This chapter will focus on stereotype theories and the mechanisms of stereotyping. Starting with the definition in Lippmann's classic study that first introduced stereotype theory, this chapter will review important literature on stereotyping, such as Katz and Braly's study, Allport's theory on stereotyping and prejudice, and Fiske's more recent study and model of stereotypes. This chapter will also briefly review racial stereotyping and gender stereotyping as well as main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese stereotypes in the context of popular culture.

1 DEFINITIONS AND LIPPMANN'S CLASSIC THEORY

The modern sociological theories of stereotype were inspired and strongly influenced by Walter Lippmann's work, Public Opinion, which was first published in 1922.

Lippmann investigated stereotypes in terms of 'picture[s] in our heads', which means the thinking that contributes to 'an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world' (Lippmann, 1922:95). Stereotypes were then more narrowly defined as normative ideas, attitudes or expectations concerning people, which are used to make judgements about them. Very similarly, Hamilton and Troller (1986) define a stereotype as a cognitive structure containing the perceiver's knowledge, belief, and expectations about a social group. These widely accepted definitions will be used throughout this research.

Lippmann (1922) considered the existence of stereotypes, for all intents and purposes, an ambivalent phenomenon. He established the idea of stereotypes as structured mental concepts with a simplifying function, which guides the development of perspective, cognition, and judgment. According to Lippman, stereotypes function as symbolic mechanisms: 'we pick recognisable signs out of the environment. The signs stand for ideas, and these ideas we fill out with our stock of images.' From this perspective, stereotypes appear to be a kind of screening filter that provides cognitive relief: 'for when a system of stereotypes is well fixed, our attention is called to those facts which support it, and diverted from those which contradict (Lippman, 1922:119)'.

Lippmann believed that most stereotypes are a very simple, striking, easily grasped form of representation that is nonetheless capable of condensing a great deal of complex information and a host of

connotations (1922). Similarly, other researchers argue that stereotypes matter because they are part of one's daily life; they influence one's judgements and behaviour towards other individuals; and this influence tends to be unconscious (Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996; Dijksterhuis, et al., 2000; Wheeler & Petty, 2001).

Lippmann also tried to explain the psychological reasons people very often hold stereotypes. The observation that people are most likely to hold stereotypical views towards other ethnic groups has become a classic argument on the value of stereotypes. He considered the system of stereotyping to represent a defence of one's position in society. Stereotypes, quoted Lippmann,

> ...may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of the possible world to which we are adapted. In that world, we feel at home. We fit in. We are members. It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them, they are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defences we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy (1922:96).

According to Lippmann, stereotyping is a method that people use to simplify the outside unknown, express their values, and defend their identity. His idea of 'defence' has been studied and discussed repeatedly in stereotype research. In this quote, Lippmann used the words 'our' and 'we' throughout the section. The idea of 'we' against 'others' represents one of the most important functions of stereotyping: to define the territory and thus who is within and who is not (Nelson, 2009). Van Dijk (2001) also argues that there is a recurrence in the stereotypes across mass media: 'others' are predominantly represented in terms of (1) socio-cultural differences, (2) deviation from dominant norms and values, and (3) violence and threats. These three features of 'others' will be examined and analyzed further through discourse, language, and visual perspectives in this thesis.

There is another question related to the value expression perspective that needs to be highlighted here, for it is closely relevant and significantly important to this project. As the work of Berger and Luckmann, amongst others, on the 'social construction of reality' stresses, not only is any given society's value of reality a historical product, but it is also necessarily implicated in the power relations in the society (Dyer, 1999). As Berger and Luckmann put it, he who has the bigger stick has

the better chance of imposing his definitions of reality (1967:127). National stereotypes exemplify such contextual influences on stereotype formation, with perceivers relying on features of a nation--political, economic, religious, geographic, and status within one's own nation--to characterise its residents (Fiske and Lee, 2008). Because they are shaped by the social context, stereotypes reflect cultural beliefs but shift over time. When social conditions change, societies update their stereotypes of groups because the social relations of those groups transform. The value express process, as well as the power relation that significantly affects the stereotyping system, will be one of the most important dimensions to discover the connection between television stereotypes and the power relation.

2 KATZ AND BRALY'S STUDY

In early 1930s, adapting Lippmann's theory, Katz and Braly (1933) published their study on racial stereotypes, in which the two scholars developed their famous attribute list procedure. Katz and Braly asked Princeton University students to check traits they thought described 10 racial and ethnic groups. Those traits that were endorsed as belonging to a particular group by considerable consensus were seen as stereotypic of that group. So, for example, 78% of subjects thought that Germans were scientific- minded, 84% thought that Negroes (in the terminology of that time) were superstitious, and 54% thought that Turks were cruel. In a second study (Katz & Braly, 1935), the rank order of preferences (a crude measure of prejudice) for the 10 groups rated was identical to the rankings in terms of the average desirability of the traits ascribed to the groups.

According to Katz and Braly, stereotypes are thought to be (1) relatively permanent mental fixtures of an individual (stability); and (2) intersubjectively distributed within certain social formations, for which they assume the functions of consensus building and standardisation (conformity); therefore, (3) they do not, or only seldomly rely on personal experience but are primarily socially communicated (second-hand) in nature; in addition, (4) they are limited to the simple combination of a few characteristics (reduction), and (5) accompanied by strong feelings (affective coloration). Finally, (6) functioning automatically, stereotypes are considered to substantially interfere with the processes of perception and judgment, which they influence and even determine (cliché effect). Regarding its function, a stereotype is generally associated with judgments, and (7) judgements based on a stereotype are often inappropriate (inadequacy).

With the results of their experiment, Katz and Braly explain stereotypes as standardised conceptions of people, primarily based on their belonging to a category (usually race, nation, professional role, social class or gender). Katz and Braly state that the stereotyping process leads to racial prejudice. Their research is a key inspiration for this project, based on the following factors: First, their choice of subject matter partially fits in the theme of this project, i.e., their primary interest was in negative attitudes towards other races. The other important factor is that they developed a very detailed definition of stereotypes and outlined their key features as below, providing aspects and perspectives for analysing each stereotype and its cause in this project.

Secondly, since the publishing of Katz and Braly's study, scholars have been using race as an important variable in the study of stereotypes (Dovidio & Gaertner 1991; McConahay 1986; Sears 1988; Sniderman et al. 1991; Hass et al. 1991). From this perspective, stereotypes play an important role in cultural identities. Stereotypes are widely held and widely recognised images of a socially salient minority group. For example, stereotypes might lead us to claim that Jews are greedy, wealthy, and scholarly; African-Americans are violent, lazy, athletic, and unintelligent; women are emotional and irrational; Asians are good at math and science and are hardworking; and so on.

Last but not least, Katz and Bradly's research suggested that stereotypes and prejudice are social norms. It is the beginning of a long tradition of seeing stereotypes and prejudice as closely linked, which made it an essential piece of work among stereotype research. Various theories of prejudice have emerged to explain the stereotypes that people hold about members of the targeted groups.

After Katz and Bradly, numerous scholars considered the word 'stereotype' to be synonymous with 'prejudice' (Allport, 1954; Bodenhausen & Richeson, 2010; Forbes, 1989; Nelson, 2009; Salinas, 2003). Though this is an old idea, it is still the most important way for one to think about stereotypes (Nelson, 2009). According to Allport's theory (which will be discussed in the next section), prejudice is 'an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalisation'. Therefore, prejudice is seen both as an outgrowth of stereotyping and as a negative evaluation of group members. Supporting these theories, the evaluative nature of people's attitudes toward members of different groups has been shown to be linked to the overall evaluative connotation of their beliefs (Eagly & Mladinic 1989; Haddock et al., 1993, 1994; Stephan et al., 1994; see also Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991, 1993).

3 ALLPORT'S VIEWS ON STEREOTYPING, CATEGORISATION AND PREJUDICE

Following Lippmann's (1922) analysis and inspired by Katz and Braly's experiment, Allport (1954) published his famous book *The Nature of Prejudice*. In Chapter 12, entitled Stereotypes in Our Culture, Allport proposed his well known theory that stereotyping is an instantiation of the categorisation process. He suggested that the rationalising and justifying function of a stereotype exceeds its function as a reflector of group attribution (1954:96). He observed that members of a group, once categorised, are assumed to be similar to one another. The accentuation of within-category similarity and between-category differences is now a well documented effect (Judd and Park, 2005; Tajfel and Wilkes, 1963; McGarty, Yzerbyt, and Spears, 2002). People cannot have an impression of a group unless they can tell the difference between that group and some other group. Categorisation is the cognitive process by which people detect those differences and similarities.

There are two major themes of Allport's theory: (a) categorisation is a fundamental process that gives rise to stereotyping and prejudice; and (b) the contents of stereotypes are, above all, culturally shared forms of justification and often turn out to be false.

Concerning to the two points above, categorisation is a necessary but not sufficient cause of prejudicial attitudes. He stated that a stereotype is not identical with a category; it is rather a fixed idea that accompanies the category (1954). A stereotype is a belief system in which psychological characteristics are ascribed more or less indiscriminately to the members of a group. According to Allport, it acts both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and thinking. In another way, the categorisation (or simplification) and justification function are compatible and mutually reinforcing (Jost and Hamilton, 2005). Allport also pointed out that the fault lies not in any malicious intent, but in culture-bound traditions. This is because people use stereotypes both to maximise cognitive efficiency and to justify cultural and institutional forms of prejudice in which members of some groups are accepted while others are rejected (Jost and Banaji, 1994).

Underlying the development of stereotypes and prejudice, several researchers have focused on the perception of people as members of social categories. This research is based on the idea that stereotypes are belief structures that influence the processing of information about stereotyped groups and their members. As Allport pointed out, a stereotype is sustained by selective perception and selective forgetting.

Inspired by Allport's work, others have demonstrated the stereotyping process: (1) direct attention to certain aspects of the available information, (2) colour the interpretation of that information, (3) influence the way in which the information is retained in memory, (4) shape judgements and subsequent actions, (5) serve as hypotheses that are tested and disproportionately favoured in the interpretation of new information, and (6) play an important role in eliciting from target persons that very same behaviour that confirms the perceiver's biased expectations (Jost and Hamilton, 2005; Fiske, 1998; Hamilton and Sherman, 1994; Macrae and Bodenhausen, 2000). These mechanisms explain how even false stereotypes can be perpetuated over time. It doesn't matter whether the stereotypes are true or misrepresented. While they are created, shaped, and captured over time, the effect of them is real. The overwhelming effect of stereotypes, therefore, is to perpetuate prior beliefs and prejudices. As mentioned above in the last point, the stereotyping process helps structure not only people's knowledge of things, but also their expectations, because stereotypes tell people what characteristics the category usually contains, and leads viewers to expect certain things once other traits of a category have been encountered. Thus, when people encounter someone of a particular social group, whether based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, occupation, etc., the stereotype people have in mind for that group tells them what features or traits they should expect to encounter.

Hamilton and Gifford (1976) confirmed Allport's claim that it is possible for a stereotype to grow in defiance of all evidence (Allport, 1954). They demonstrated that people could develop false stereotypes through a process of illusory correlation without being aware of truth. Individual people have limited capacity to perform cognitive tasks such as processing information. Nevertheless, they exist in a complex, multi-faceted world that places enormous demands on that limited capacity. This complexity results in an overload of people's information processing capacity and leads them to take shortcuts and to adopt biased and erroneous perceptions of the world (McGarty, Yzerbyt, and Spears, 2002). These cognitive biases are shaped by actual inequalities of opportunity in society and by selective reporting and representation in mass media (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). For example, in the United States, people are exposed to associations between 'Black' and 'criminal' and between 'White' and 'politician' or 'celebrity' (Banaji and Bhaskar, 2000). As Allport observed, stereotypes are socially supported, continually reviewed, and hammered in by the media of mass communication. Moreover, as Ruscher (2001) suggests, films, televisions, and the web not only create relevant stereotypes, but more importantly, they provide the audience with relevant social norms: whom one

can and cannot like. This influence becomes part of an individual's everyday language; Bargh (1999) described this as the 'cognitive monster' that poisons an audience's social interactions. According to him (1994), sometimes information processing becomes automatic. Devine (1989) has proposed that automaticity develops in the activation of social stereotypes just as it does with a variety of other cognitive tasks. She has argued that because American culture is suffused with information pertaining to the stereotype of African-Americans, the activation of the African-American stereotype becomes automatised at a young age for most Americans. Devine's theory is important as a process model of stereotype application. If group membership and the accompanied stereotype information are automatically encoded when a member of such social category is encountered, the potential for that stereotype to be applied is increased.

4 FISKE'S MODEL

According to Allport (1954), stereotypes are, above all, culturally shared forms of justification that often turn out to be: (1) inaccurate, (2) negative, and (3) overgeneralised.

Looking at those features, it is not difficult to notice the similarities in different works approached by different scholars. Following Allport, Katz and Braly suggest that stereotypes are uniformly negative and inadequate. Similarly, other scholars also consider negativity an important feature of the stereotype. Nelson (2009) argued that although stereotypes can be positive, they are primarily negative.

Related to this project, Ginneken states that stereotype represents one of the most common ways we discuss and make sense of films and television programmes. Ginneken (2007) reviewed three peculiarities of the stereotypes delivered by television: (1) it implies a tradition of representation, for example, a number of films or television programmes represent a group of people in a similar way over a period of time; (2) the image is often negative; (3) the image is most likely 'unrealistic'.

From the above descriptions and key features of stereotypes, it can be seen that negative, inaccurate, and unrealistic, are common descriptors here. Inaccuracy has always been a problem for most scholars. Although some have tried to determine the accuracy of stereotypes (Judd, Ryan, & Park, 1991; Lee, Jussim, & McCauley, 1995; McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980; Ryan, Park, & Judd, 1996),

the conclusions they have drawn have not been consistent. Daniel-Henri Pageaux also confirms that a foreign image comes from the common imagination of a group, and that there is no point in investigating how accurate and realistic the image is; the question instead should be to what extent the image fits in the culture of the creators (Pageaux, 1989). Considering it is difficult to determine whether or not certain stereotypes are accurate, the inaccuracy feature will not be discussed further in this thesis. Instead, it will focus on how and to what extent the stereotype fits in the culture of the creator.

This leads to the question: Is negativity really a key feature of stereotypes? Are the images of Chinese people necessarily negative due to the nature of stereotypes? Contrary to popular belief, Harding (1954) argues that the term 'stereotype' is not automatically related to negativity. He suggests that though very much prejudicial, the term is neutral and is not necessarily associated with a negative connotation. Moreover, a newer model of stereotype content has been introduced, aside from the classical theories. This model is summarized in the following chart.

Fig A The warmth and competence model

Fiske et. al. (2002) Four types of stereotypes resulting from combinations of perceived warmth and competence.

As the chart above shows, Fiske and her colleagues (Fiske, et. al., 2002) attempted to categorise the fundamental components of stereotypes, focusing on the dimensions of warmth and competence.

These two dimensions are basic to social psychology (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957) and capture a good proportion of the variance in perceived stereotypes (Nelson, 2009).

Individual and group perception utilises two recurring dimensions that are variations of morality/ warmth and ability/competence (Alexander, Brewer and Herrmann, 1999; Peeters, 2002; Phalet and Poppe, 1994). In the stereotype content model, perception immediately answers two key questions for the perceivers: (1) Do out-group members intend good or ill toward me or my group; and (2) Are they able to act on these intentions? (Fiske et al., 2002)

Fiske's study took place in the US, but such stereotypes stem from phenomena common to all humans: (1) the basic survival need to identify 'friends or foes' and (2) the ubiquity of hierarchical status differences and competition for resources (Cuddy et. al, 2009). In the US, stereotype content and its social structural correlates have proved systematic in three respects (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, and Glick, 1999; Fiske et al., 2007). Firstly, across groups, stereotypes share common dimensions of content: warmth and competence. Secondly, many out-groups receive ambivalent stereotypes: more positive on one dimension and less positive on another. Third, group stereotypes follow from social structure: perceived status predicts competence stereotypes and perceived competitiveness predicts (a lack of) warmth stereotypes. As one of the most recent and most popular studies in the field, the stereotype content model is an essential inspiration to this project. The model provides a detailed categorisation and a considerably accurate measurement of different stereotypes.

5 RACIAL STEREOTYPING

5.1 Orientalism

Published in 1978, Said's work Orientalism has had a long lasting on Asia studies in Europe and United States. According to Said, Orientalism refers to several overlapping domains:

> [It refers to] first, the changing historical and cultural and relationship between Europe and
> Asia, a relationship with a 4000-year-old history; second, the scientific discipline in the west
> according to which, beginning in the early nineteenth century, one specialised in the study of
> various Oriental cultures and tradition; and, third, the ideological suppositions, images and

fantasies about a currently important and politically urgent region of the world called the Orient. (Said, 1986: 211)

In his work, Said identified four preconditions and suggested without which Orientalism could not have occurred: 1) European expansion which brought the West into contact with other societies; 2) the confrontation with other histories this contact necessitated, which culminated in comparative history; 3) 'sympathetic identifications' which for some offered the only access to the panoply of alien cultures 'each permeated by an inimical creative spirit'; and finally 4) 'the impulse to classify nature and may into types' and to bring order into the promise variety of experience that could no longer be contained and inherited conceptions of the world. (Said, 1979, cited in Dirlik, 1996: 98)

For Said, Orientalism was a discourse in the sense that Foucault used the term. Power, Western political power in specific, was one of the key arguments Said presented in Orientalism. In postcolonial times, the power that the West excessed on the Orient is no longer military based. Instead, the act of power took the form of representation as the power of sexual attitude (Costa, 1997). Said suggested that to present the Orient was to construct it, invent it, and thus to eventually exercise power over it (cited in Yan and Santos, 2009:296). Said noted the underlying power relations between the West and the Orient as:

> Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient — dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it; in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient. (Said, 1979:3)

In Western discourse, the East was constructed as an Other in opposition to the West. The West is civilised, masculine, advanced, normative, and rational while the East is cruel, sly, mysterious, exotic and backward (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). Sardar (1993) stated that identifying the Orient was to maintain the Western imagination of itself. Thus, Orientalism has become the 'life force' of Western self-identification and their self-positioning in the world order.

5.2 Racial Stereotyping in Media

Summarising the definitions and explanations from various authors above, stereotype primarily describes conceptions concerning social or ethnic groups and their members, usually 'images of the

Other', or less often, 'images of the Self'. This concept could be allied to the media in order to examine how the characters in a narrative represent, influence, or shape certain conceptions about people. Mass communication researchers have often used the word 'stereotype' to mean representations of reality that are false and, by implication, immoral and have proceeded without further clarification to document their frequent appearance in the mass media (Noelle-Neunann, 1984).

On one hand, stereotypes serve as an important reference for the creation of fictional characters, for they are structured and stable mental images of individuals who belong to a specific group. However, this kind of affection also works in the opposite way.

Popular media narratives actively affect the audience's imagination. The notion of media images embedding themselves almost automatically in the human mind and imagination was made commonplace in the 1960s when Marshall McLuhan (1964) stated that media was the medium of the message. However, it was not until more recently that the scholars made headway in documenting the effects of media stereotyping (Brewer, 1989). In the 1980s, researchers began to dedicate efforts to examining the influence of media representations on individuals empirically. This relatively small amount of media research seeks to illuminate the connection between exposure to media stereotypes of race or ethnicity and audiences' real-world attitudes, beliefs, identity, self-concept, and behaviours. Consistent with other media research, this research confirms that a relationship exists between exposure to media stereotypes and individuals' propensity for making real-world race-based stereotypic judgements.

Researches have shown that there is a significant relationship between exposure to racial portrayals in the media and audience evaluation of race in terms of competence (Zukerman & Singer, 1980), social roles (Atkin, Grenberg & McDermont, 1983), pro-minority policies (Ramasubramanian, 2010), and stereotype-consistent race-related attitudes and beliefs (Dixon, 2006; Ford, 1997; Mastro, 2003; Oliver, 2004). The results of these studies suggest that media have both short and long term effects on how people view themselves and others, and how they experience the world.

In the short term, exposure to media stereotypes activates stereotypes, and causes individuals to make stereotyped judgements following the exposure. According to Scheufele (2000), salience plays an important role in the process. Salience refers to how memorable, meaningful, or readily available a piece of information is to an individual. In the context of media effects, priming explains

that exposure to media stimulus readies individuals to make evaluations based on the constructs that the media have primed and thus made most accessible to individuals. Exposure to a stereotype of a minority group in the media may prime individuals to think about members of that group in terms of the stereotype.

Mental models provide a framework to understand the idea of stereotype-creation as well as activation. Mental models are cognitive representations of situations, people, places, events, and things (Radvansky and Zacks, 1997), and these cognitive structures are flexible and able to adjust to the presentation of new information. The media helps audiences create new mental models related to race and ethnicity, or it can increase the likelihood that audiences retrieve from memory particular mental models. This framework aids in explaining how the media teaches audiences to think about race or ethnic groups. In other words, the media creates, not just reflects, racial stereotypes.

For example, Mastro and Ortiz (2007) suggested using mental models to explain the relationship between repeated exposure to stereotypes of Latinos on US television and real-world attitudes and beliefs about Latinos in the US. The survey-based study indicated that the more television college students consumed and the less real-world contact the students had with Latinos, the more stereotyped their judgements were of Latinos in the real world. They argued that heavier television exposure to stereotypes of minorities contributes to the increased creation and retrieval of mental models consistent with stereotypic representations. Therefore, repeated media exposure not only contributes to the creation of stereotypes of minorities but also makes stereotypic information more accessible.

Rather than examine the short-term effects of exposure to media stimuli, other studies investigate the cumulative or, in other words, long-term influences of media exposure on race-based attitudes and beliefs. The concept of chronic accessibility has been developed to explain these kinds of effects of repeated exposure to primes. From within the priming framework, it is proposed that repeated exposure to media stereotypes, or the frequent activation of this stereotypical information, would make this stereotypical content consistently more accessible (Leopre, Brown, 1999). Therefore, exposure to media stereotypes may have long-term, persistent effects on how people view the world.

Another theory known as the cultivation theory was developed to provide another framework with which to study the cumulative effects of exposure to media representation (Gerbner, 2002). The cultivation theory posits that over time, heavy exposure to media results in an individual's possessing a view of the world that is more similar to the mediated version of reality. In the case of racial stereotyping in the media, repeated exposure to such media content increases the likelihood that individuals will adopt race-based attitudes and beliefs in line with these media representations. Additionally, Lee et al. (2009) found support for the idea that college students' heavy television consumption was linked to the stereotyping of Asian Americans. Lee's research further suggests that the genre of television consumed may be important to understanding the relationship between media exposure and individuals's real-world racial stereotyping.

Another essential work related to understanding the effects of racial media stereotyping is driven by Tajfel's social identity theory. People have a tendency to categorise individuals into social groups, and to make comparisons based on in-group characteristics and negative out-group characteristics. Interpersonal contact with members of the out-group is thought to aid in breaking down stereotypes and improving group relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, in reality, racial segregation often develops and discomfort can arise from attempting to interact with out-groups with whom one has had very little experience and with whom relations have been strained. In the case of media stereotyping, it is thought that mediated contact with members of racial minorities may produce both negative and positive results. Ortiz and Harwood (2007) demonstrated a potentially positive effect of exposure to a minority group in the media. They found that exposure to a black-white television friendship (on *MTV's Real World: Austin*), and a gay-straight friendship (on NBC's *Will and Grace*, 1998 - today) was related to less reported social distance between majority and minority group members. This suggested that positive interactions between racial majority and minority group members in the media may have the potential to improve real-world race relations and reduce ethnocentrism.

Children between the ages of 2 and 17 watch an average of 25 hours of television each week; adults are estimated to spend half of their leisure time watching television or consuming media; more than 52 million copies of the more than 1400 daily newspapers in the United States are sold each day; more than 25 billion books are sold each year; 86 percent of US homes have cable television, and 61.8 percent of them have computers (infoplease.com, 2017). From the statistics, it is easy to as-

sume that media is so powerful that it has become a very important part of people's everyday lives. Thus, the importance of media stereotypes should not be underestimated.

In 1977, the US Commission on Civil Rights published the first of two reports that examine the representations of minorities on US entertainment and news television programming as well as the diversity of workers in the television industry. With the US civil rights movement and rising concerns over racial discrimination, the commission turned to investigate the frequency with which minorities and women appeared on television, the types of roles they occupied on screen, and the roles they were given beyond the screen in the television industry job field. The finding of this investigation indicates that minorities were significantly underrepresented and stereotyped in television programmes. Moreover, the investigation revealed a lack of minority employees in the industry's positions of power. It was argued that the composition of the television industry contributed to the limited and often stereotypical portrayal of minorities in television. Therefore, in 1979, the US Commission on Civil Rights published its report:

> …because of the medium's capacity for fixing an image in the public mind, its responsibility for avoiding stereotypic and demeaning depictions becomes central to its role. The encompassing nature of the medium necessitates that diversity among decision-makers, newsmakers, and newscasters become an integral aspect of television. (cited in Brewer, 2011:151)

As the quote above indicates, the commission recognised television as a pervasive and significant influence in American life and as a cultural storyteller that should be studied and held accountable for the messages delivered. People largely depend on television not only to obtain information, but also to learn norms and values of other culture through media exposure. From the television representations people form subsequent attitudes and perceptions towards minority groups because 'when experiential knowledge does not exist, we often assume that images we see in films reflect reality (Baker, 1996:261). Hence, media plays an essential role in socialising individuals and normalising race-related attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours.

Several decades after the commission's publication, the frequency and nature of media portrayals based on race persist. Although the rate of some minority groups has increased since the report, racial minorities are still underrepresented on television in general.
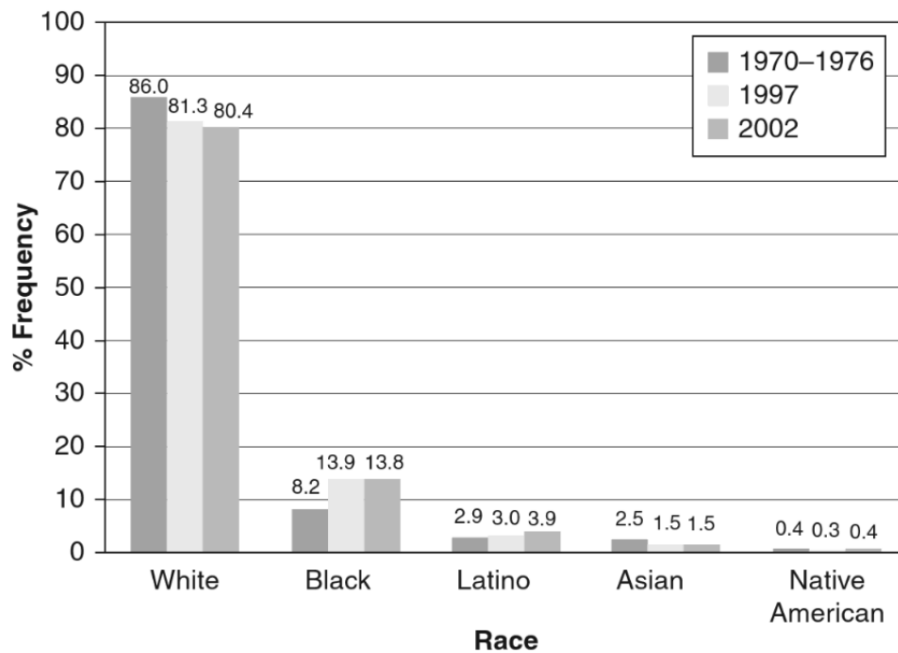
Figure B Representation of Race on Prime-Time Television from 1970 to 2002

Data from 1970 to 1976 are from research report conducted by Gerbner and Signorielli (1979), 1997 data are from Glascock (2003), and 2002 data are from Mastro and Behm-Morawitz (2005)

Furthermore, content analytic studies suggest that many longstanding racial stereotypes endure in the media today despite the changing television landscape. For example, African Americans were depicted in as having a low social status on television. On the screen, they commonly have negative personality traits such as lazy, untrustworthy and unintelligent (Atkin, 1992) and most of them lived in neighbourhoods that highly involved in crimes. Likewise, studies have shown that Latinos are commonly portrayed as criminals, buffoons, or Latin lovers (Berg, 1990; O'Guinn and Meyer, 1987). Their images in prime-time television are young, have less authority, less intelligent and more seductively dressed (Mastro and Behm-Morawitz, 2005).

5.2.1 Asian-American Portrayal in US Television

Researches have suggested from the moment the first Chinese workers arrived in U.S., the American press and general public has portrayed them as strangers from a different shore (Lee, 1996; Lyman, 2000; Kivisto, 2002). The Chinese Americans are perceived as unassimilable aliens because they look, think, and behave differently (Lyman, 2000). They remain exotic and mysterious because

of their eating habits, family values as well as the imaginary martial training and Feng Shui practice. They are the 'Others' for their Chinese values and norms which are different from the dominant (White) culture (Jo and Mast, 1993). As Huntington stated, people remain part of their original civilisation regardless of current geographic, social and economic location. The Chinese Americans today can hardly escape from their original 'Chineseness'. Regardless of class, age, gender or generation, Chinese Americans are confronted with the question 'where are you from?' which actually means 'which country are you from?' (Tuan, 1999)

For decades, the American entertainment media has defined the Asian image to the world. Asian American images in US media can be broadly divided into two opposite images (Ng, Lee, and Pak, 2007). The first image is the 'yellow peril,' which was the name used to define early Chinese labourers in the American West during the mid-19th century. Chinese immigrants first came to the US as cheap labourers to build the railroads in the West. Among all labourers, Chinese workers were isolated from the other immigrants (Takaki, 1990; Wu, 1996). During and after the completion of the railroads, Chinese Americans were dehumanised as the unsavoury foreign contaminants. They were portrayed as uncivilised, sinister, heathen, filthy yellow hordes (Wing, 2007) that threatened to invade the US and take over the white race. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the product of the fear of the 'yellow peril', which drastically reduced the number of Chinese immigrants in the US until after World War II (Wu, 1996).

On the other hand, the second image is pretty much the opposite to the first one. The term 'model minority,' which will be further analysed and examined in Chapter 6, is associated with the image of the 'perpetual foreigner' stereotype. After the Civil Rights movement, the media promoted Chinese and Japanese Americans as model minority groups in comparison to African-Americans and other racial minorities (Wing, 2007). According to Pack and Shah (2003), the changing of Asian Americans' images in US media reflected the changing political conditions of Asian immigrants in the United States. However, Lee (2006) suggested that the model minority notion was actually serving to divide American minority groups.

Earlier studies on the subject of Chinese in American films already reflect the competence dimension. In Wu's (1996) research on the Chinese occupations on screen, he argues that of all the characters he studied, none of them fall in the 'entertainment, art, sports and mass media' category, and very few fall in the category of 'government, courts, law, official authority.' Based on Wu's results,

the Chinese have more 'clearly lower class' people by 6.2 percent and have less clearly upper class people by 4.7 percent. Though the situation changed in the new century on the small screen, Wu's study still raises a good example of using the level of competence as a dimension to analyse Chinese representation and stereotypes in television.

Generally, up to date, a large amount of researches have been conducted on African-American stereotypes in film and television (Dixon and Linz, 2000; Taylor and Stern, 1997; Atkin and Fife, 1994). The studies revealed that African Americans were overrepresented as lawbreakers, athletes, and rappers (Bowen and Schmid, 1997) in media messages. As a result of such portrayals, Chinese Americans are more likely to be considered dangerous and harmful by the public (Romer, 1998). However, comparatively fewer studies have been conducted on the portrayal of Asian Americans with similar depth. Among those studies, most of them have been approached by analysing news reports and commercials. According to Taylor and Stern (1997), Asians are more likely to appear as background characters in advertisements than other racial groups. This situation has changed in the new century, but research that targets the new role of Asian Americans in American media is still missing and needs to be explored. The following sections are going to provide a brief review of the main Chinese stereotypes in media.

5.2.1.1 The Yellow Peril

In this section, I will describe and discuss the Yellow Peril, a stereotype that was introduced in Chapter 2, illustrating its historical persistence and maintenance and reproduction in the media. The Yellow Peril is defined as a long-standing stereotypical representation of Chinese Americans as threatening to take over, invade or otherwise negatively 'Asianise' the United States and its society and culture (Ono and Pham, 2009), which had its origin in the very beginning of Chinese migration to the United States to work in the mines and on the railroads. In most of the cases, Yellow Peril discourse constructs an Asian-Western dialectic, emphasising the powerful, threatening potential of the Chinese and Chinese Americans while simultaneously constructing whites as vulnerable, threatened, or otherwise in danger. The Yellow Peril discourse exists across different sectors of society; is reproduced across time, space, and media; and is not easily changed or eliminated (Ono and Pham, 2009). Before examining the enemies in contemporary television drama, I will start with the historical Yellow Peril discourse, paying particular attention to such discourse in early cinema

and the complex relationship between media representations and historical and social events and contexts.

Though the fear of Yellow Peril began in the late 19th century, scholars believe the conceptual framework of the term had a much earlier origin. Marchetti (1993) suggested that the particular concept was deeply rooted in medieval fears of Genghis Khan and Mongolian invasions of Europe in her book on the Yellow Peril themes in Hollywood films. She further wrote that 'Yellow Peril combines racist terror of alien cultures, sexual anxieties, and the belief that the West will be over-powered and enveloped by the irresistible, dark, occult forces of the East' (Marchetti, 1993:2).

After the creation of the concept, the stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans as Yellow Peril have experienced several periods of going through different methods of representation. In the mid 19th century, the stereotype was shaped as a racial and social pollutant. Between the 1860s and the 1870s, the portrayal was normally linked with drugs and opium dens. Later on from the 1870s to the beginning of the 20th century, the Chinese (and Chinese Americans) were commonly portrayed as coolies, which means labourers who undertake very heavy work and are paid a very humble salary. Since then, the Yellow Peril became a fear of the 'flood of cheap labour threatening to diminish the earning power of white Westerners' (Marchetti, 1993).

Many scholars pointed out that the creation of Yellow Peril portrayals in media was closely linked to the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Starting from the Angell Treaty of 1880 which specified that China would self-limit the emigration of Chinese workers to the States and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which was 'the first federal law to bar immigration on the basis of race and class' (Ono and Pham, 2009:29), subsequent legislations in 1884, 1888, 1892, 1893, 1898, 1901, 1902, and 1904 further limited Chinese immigration to the United States (Choy, Dong and Hom, 1995). Because of these exclusion acts, many images and portrayals of the Yellow Peril were then created in films. During the Chinese exclusion era, Chinese persons were perceived as non-Western in dress, language, religion, customs, and eating habits, 'human oddities', mysterious, unreliable, and completely immoral (Wong, 1978). In the late 19th century, the Yellow Peril discourse constructed an image of Chinese people in which 'nonwhite people are by nature physically and intellectually inferior, morally suspect, heathen, licentious, disease-ridden, feral, violent, uncivilised, infantile, and in need of the guidance of White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants' (Marchetti, 1993:3). Kawai (2005) further stated that, 'overlapped with the image of East Asia's large population size and the emergence

of Asian imperial power, the presence of Oriental faces in the United States evoked among White Americans an alarm that the yellow race might overtake the White nation by outnumbering and out-powering the White race'.

One of the most famous representations of the Yellow Peril is Dr Fu Manchu, whom I mentioned and introduced in Chapter 2. The first US version of the Fu Manchu series was *The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu* (1929), which was adopted from Sax Rohmer's novel. He was described as diabolical, sinister, and evil, a particularly masculine representation of the Yellow Peril. This image continued into television in the 1940s and 1950s. This villainous character functioned across time to maintain a discourse of the Yellow Peril and intersected with many other films and media representations, such as Emperor Ming the Merciless (Charles Middleton) in the *Flash Gordon* films, which began in 1937. As one of the most popular and influential figures in the genre, the 'Yellow Peril incarnates in one man' (Rohmer, 1913), Dr Fu Manchu, who has been studied by various scholars. Some have highlighted the feminisation of Dr Fu's character. For example, Okihiro (1994) points out that Dr Fu Manchu's masculinity is tempered by femininity. I have described the character, as expressed in Rohmer's original novel series, as having a 'slender, sleek and feline body; long tapered fingers[, and a] soft, rustling, feminine voice'. Additionally, rather than direct, violent confrontation with the victims, as used by most criminals, Dr Fu Manchu prefers a passive approach, such as poison, which has often been seen as a typically feminine method of committing murder, as introduced in Chapter 2. Chan (2001) suggests that as the incarnation of the Yellow Peril, Dr Fu perpetuates the myth that China was trying to take over the Western world. He further adds that at the end of each Fu Manchu film series, the yellow peril is contained in spite of the exaggerated threat posed by the scheming Chinamen. White male supremacy, as an ideological construct, is reestablished as Asian men are ritualistically vilified in order to maintain a sense of superiority among white men (Chan, 2001).

The repeated production of the Yellow Peril indicated that the ethnic Chinese, regardless of whether they have been born in the US, were still regarded as foreigners, thus animating a territorial response. In addition to this, they are often perceived as inviting crimes, as reflected in the recurrent images of criminal behaviours set in the various Chinatowns that have become ubiquitous in the standard police drama series (Wong, 1978). These mythical discourses are often constructed in the narratives to mask the reality of a threatening figure to the dominant group of the society (Dorfman and Mattelart, 1975).

However, the representation of Yellow Peril in its historical and literal sense no longer exists in contemporary television, but the ideas and concepts beneath the Yellow Peril portrayal have found their way to today's small screens. The Chinese-as-villains discourses, which are embedded in the core concept of the Yellow Peril, are repeatedly reproduced in a concealed and civilised manner. Similar to Japanese Americans were seen as traitors, Chinese Americans are seen as potential spies or enemies that endangers America's national security (Lyman, 2000). In Chapter 5, I will analyse a certain episode of *Madam Secretary* in which China and the Chinese government are involved in the narrative to examine the idea of the contemporary 'Yellow Peril'.

5.2.1.2 The Model Minority

The trend of portraying Chinese Americans as the model minority dates from the 1960s, since the appearance of detective Charlie Chen. A news article in US News and World Report in 1971 declared that 'at a time when Americans are awash in worry over the plight of racial minorities — one such minority, the nation's 300,000 Chinese-Americans, is winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work' (Tachiki et al., 1971). Since then, Chinese Americans have been perceived as a successful minority relying on their own efforts instead of the social welfare programs provided by the U.S. government.

Recently, the concept of model minority has shifted slightly. Recent studies determined the present model minority Chinese American stereotype as 'intelligent, ambitious, hard-working, mathematical, family oriented, skilful and self-disciplined' (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2007; Ho and Jackson, 2001; Kao, 2000; Lin, Kwan, Cheung and Fiske, 2005). The primary evidence for the concept is the US Census survey data, which shows that Asian Americans, compared to other racial minority groups, have higher academic achievements (e.g., test scores, graduation rates, enrolment at top universities), economic achievements (e.g., high median family income, presence in science, engineering, and professional occupations), and social achievements (e.g., comparatively fewer experiences with racism) (Kitano, 1995). Thus, successful Asian Americans were compared to other less successful racial minority groups to imply that individual effort alone can determine one's life chances, regardless of structural barriers and institutional racism (Omi & Winant, 1994).

McGowan and Lindgren (2006) provided essential characteristics and phenomenon of model minority portrayal: 1) Chinese Americans should be extremely hard-working — more hard-working than Whites; 2) Chinese Americans are said to be intelligent and highly educated, though a significant number of them are dismissed as math and science geeks; and 3) As the group they are seen as economically successful, especially compared to other ethnic minorities. In 2005, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium published a report revealing that the roles played by Asian Americans had reinforced the model minority stereotype. The report examined and analysed television series and confirmed the roles of Asian Americans had occupations that emphasise their intelligence and hard work ethics.

6 GENDER STEREOTYPING

In this section I would like to briefly summarise a few points on gender representation. Historically, during the early time of American cinema, the representation of females was based on codes drawn from the Victorian era. Their jobs were to manage households and raise children, but not work outside the home (Benshoff and Griffin, 2011). During this time, there were also images of bad women, women who were described as explicitly sexualised, and the storyline of these films usually ended with bad things happening to them. The main message contained in those films is how to be submissive and beautiful in order to find a man to raise a family with, and how horrible their lives would be, if they could not (Benshoff and Griffin, 2011).

Similarly to the early era of film, Mittell (2010) described how gender stereotypes had been a part of television since the creation of the medium. He stated that 'television emerged in the postwar era of suburbanisation, the baby boom, and a return to more traditional gender roles of female domesticity' (Mittell, 2010:412). These stereotypes reflect the cultural context at the time of television's creation, when the sole role of women was to take care of their children and the home. Later on, during the 1960s and 1970s, working females became more visible in television. However, these working women were still portrayed in certain kinds of work, and their roles within the family stayed the same. Shanahan et al. summarised the general situation in that era:

> Women in prime time television were outnumbered by men by a ratio of 3-1, and they were often typecast in roles that were 'typically female'. They were more likely to be young, attractive, married and portrayed in the context of the home. When they were shown in occupations

they were more likely to be shown in typically female roles, such as nurses, secretaries and so on (Shanahan et al., 2008:4).

The percentage of working women on the small screen has kept rising from the1980s until today. By the mid 1980s, television faced the consequences of its shortage of female representation. As women were the main consumers of television, television ratings began to drop because of their one-sided stereotypical representation, and the networks were forced to incorporate female leads to their prime-time shows (Faludi, 1991). However, the implication of females' right to choose to pursue a career instead of family life was blurred by the message that 'having it all implied walking a tightrope between professional success and personal failure' (Genz, 2010:99). Those television figures reflect that women's careers were challenged and, on most occasions, ended with the character returning to domestic safety. This was ensured by 1) providing female characters with low-paying and low-status jobs; 2) representing the workplace as shallow and mean; hence, a man's world; 3) a retreat epiphany which trivialised and undermined the job; and 4) an eclipse of the job by other factors, such as romance and family (Negra, 2009).

During the 1990s and the 2000s, the workplace or household choice theme continued to be reproduced on television, which showed women repeatedly facing dilemmas between work and family; needless to say, family was the preferred choice. Press (2009) suggested that 'women's roles in the workplace [in the 1990s] were increasingly shown to be undercut by a sense of nostalgic yearning for love and family life that they were seen to have displaced (pp 139).' In her article, Press (2009) explained how programmes in the late 1990s, such as *Ally McBeal* and *Sex and the City* (1998-2004), featured female protagonists who were successful in their careers, but who felt that their lives were incomplete because they were not fulfilling the 'woman's role' of being a wife and a mother. Most of the plot-lines of these shows revolved around trying to find the perfect guy to fall in love with and settling down into a traditional familial role. This concept will be used in Chapter 7 to compare Watson's role and her romantic relationships in *Elementary*.

With gender equality and feminism becoming an important topic in all forms of the media, the current situation of female representation in television has changed tremendously, but the main trends have stayed the same. Researchers have used a quantitative content analysis to point out several issues concerning gender representation in the media. The most striking finding that was common in several studies is that women are highly under-represented in most forms of the media (Gilpatric,

2010; Lauzen & Dozier, 2005). In her study on gender representation in prime time television, Lauzen and her colleagues (2008) found that females composed 43% of all characters in the 2007-2008 prime-time season. In her most recent study on prime-television in 2015-2016, the percentage dropped to 41%. As females make up more than half of the US population, they remain under-represented in television. Her findings through the years could be summarised as in the following charts.
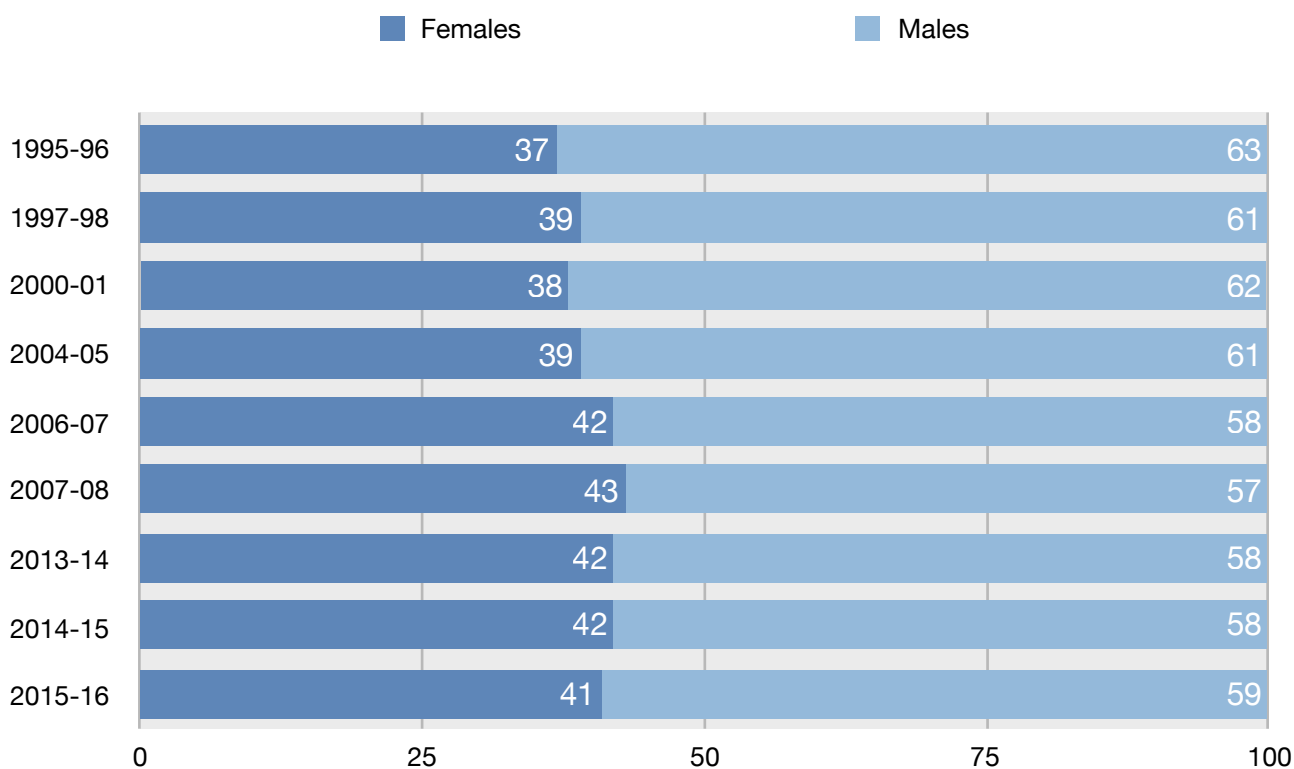
Figure C. Comparison of Percentages of Female and Male Characters on Prime-Time Television

Lauzen (2008), pp 3, and Lauzen (2016) pp 6

Besides the under-representation, there is clear evidence that the ways male and female characters are portrayed in television are far from equal. Many feminist and sociological media studies asserted that certain depictions of gender roles in prime-time television programmes reinforce women and their place in society (Press & Cole, 1999). For example, 1/3 of women have no observable occupation in television, while only 1/7 men are in the same situation (Lauzen, 2008). Studies in 2002 on the top 100 grossing films showed that the majority of female characters were in their 20s and 30s, while male characters were usually in their 30s and 40s (Lauzen & Dozier, 2005). Lauzen's (2008) study also showed that in 2007–2008, the majority of female characters (63%) were in their

20s and 30s, whereas the majority of male characters (57%) were in their 30s and 40s. Furthermore, the study also showed that women were usually portrayed as less successful the older they got and less appealing overall, while men were portrayed as more successful and appealing the older they got. Another study revealed that televisions' representation of women was overwhelmingly valued by their identification as mothers, wives, or lovers (Lang, 2015). Lauzen and her colleagues (2015) found that 43% of female characters played personal-life-related roles, such as mother or wife, while only 25% of male characters played in the same manner. Women were portrayed as dependent on other characters, over-emotional, and confined to low-status jobs when compared to enterprising and ambitious male characters (Bussey and Bandura, 1999). According to Lauzen and Dozier (2005), in films, women's successes were based on youth and looks while men's success depended more on their achievements. Men and women were portrayed as having quite different occupations, with women more likely than men to be in roles, such as homemakers, shop assistants, or working in the leisure industries. Women were also more likely than men to be seen carrying out such tasks as housework, childcare, cooking, and grocery shopping, and more likely to be seen showing emotions, such as affection, dependence, and anxiety, as compared to men's aggression, arrogance, and competitiveness (Bryson and Bunker, 2015). The following table summarises the traits used or discussed in previous research; they are not all put as opposites to each other, but are a basic list of features.

Feminine Traits	Masculine Traits
Physically weak	Physically strong
Submissive	Assertive
Emotional	Unemotional
Dependent	Independent
Nurturing, helpful	Self-serving
Afraid, fearful	Hero, brave
Troublesome	Problem solver
Follower	Leader
Victim	Perpetrator
Described as physically attractive	Described as having higher economic/career status and being intellectual
Asks for/accepts advices	Offers advice

Ashamed	Proud

Table 1 Analytical Traits of Feminine and Masculine

England et al. 2011, pp 561 table 2&3

The table summarises the traits when the researchers try to distinguish if the characters are represented in a feminine or masculine way. According to Doyle (1989: 111) television and films typically showed males as 'aggressive, dominant, and engaged in exciting activities from which they receive rewards from the others for their masculine accomplishments'. Media portrayals of men illustrate the importance of accomplishment within masculinity by placing male characters in position of leadership and power while minimising their household roles (Vigorito and Cury, 1998). By contrast, as stated earlier in this section, women are more likely to be sexualised, and relegated to stereotypical roles such as housewives, mothers, subordinates, or victims.

Ever since the Second Wave feminism, the studies on the representations of women in all forms of media has become an essential project. Friedan (1963) opened her famous research for *The Feminine Mystique* with a content analysis of women's magazine in which she found that most articles has positioned women in the kitchen and as subservient to men. It is traditional in television and films that woman is associated with 'weakness, vulnerability, gentleness and to some extent invisibility' (Jeanes, 2011:404). Mulvey (1998) pointed out that for the purpose to protect the male viewers and prolong their pleasure, the woman is either turned into a fetish or restored to her 'due place in the patriarchal order by the end of film by punishing her or by reintegrating her into a romantic relationship (MacDonald, 1995:27). Traditional feminine characters were shaped around romance, sentimental or emotionally committed and consumed with desire to attract the male gaze and create romantic situations (Korobov, 2011). These characters were commonly linked with ignorance and objectification. However, there exists a new fashion of female characters portrayal which breaks the traditional feminine norms. Roussell (2013) summarised the traditional and post-feminist feminine traits as the following table.

Theme	Traditional Feminine Traits	Postfeminist Feminine Traits
Mental State	Weak, Ignorant, lacking of inferior, short sighted (Jeanes, 2011)	Educated, confident (Snyder, 2008)
Physical State	Thin body Ideal, overemphasis on attractiveness and sexuality through clothing or body (Levant, et al., 2007)	Self-emphasis on well-kept body and attractiveness rather than accepting of male gaze
Emotional State	Sentimental, overemotional, dependent on men (Levant, et, al., 2007)	Determined, strong sense of self (Banet-Weiser, 2004; Aapola, Gonick and Harris, 2000)
Sexual State	Chastity, agreeable to men's sexual advances, obsessed with romance, desire to attract male gaze, failure to voice sexual desires (Butler, 1990; Korobov, 2009)	Empowered by Second Wave feminism, sexually free and forceful, acceptable to enjoy multiple sex partners (Snyder 2008)
Cultural State	Shy, passive, gentle, invisible, secondary (Jeanes, 2011)	Rebellious, independent, individualistic, claim men as equals (Banet-Weiser, 2004; Aapola, Gonick and Harris, 2000)
Occupational State	Subservient, wives, rarely presented as successful professionals (Lotz, 2006)	Capitalistic, productive consumers, professionals (Durham, 1999)
Familial State	Mother, caretaker, nurturer (Levant et, al., 2007)	Struggle between family and work (Snyder, 2008)

Table 2 Traditional/Postfeminist Femininity Traits

Adopted from Roussell, 2013, pp 11

On the other hand, Oakley (cited in Morgan, 1992:56-57) summarised the key traits of a 'real man' as aggressive; independent; unemotional (or normally hides his emotions); not easily influenced; dominant; competitive; logical; adventurous; decisive; self-confident; ambitious; never cries; acts as a leader; and not feeling uncomfortable about all these features. A more revealing theorising of 'the real man' falls within the bounds of hegemonic masculinity (Vigorito and Curry 1998) as it is the embodiment of tradition and stereotypical masculine norms and values (Connell, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is a representation of the society's idea of what a real man should be like, and how a real man should behave. Trujillo (1991) expanded the definition of hegemonic masculinity by identifying five major features that defined when masculinity was hegemonic in US media culture which are: l) when power is defined in terms of physical force and control (particularly in the representation of the body), 2) when it is defined through occupational achievement in an industrial, capitalistic society, 3) when it is represented in terms of familial patriarchy, 4) when it is 'symbolised by the daring, romantic frontiersman of yesteryear and of the present-day outdoorsman', and 5) when heterosexually defined and centred on the representation of the phallus (Trujillo, 1991, pp. 291-2). These feature will be applied in Chapter 6 in order to understand the representation of Dr

Zia in *The Night Shift*. The hegemonic masculinity ideal may not be what most men are, but is very general accepted as the public male role model that most men are consented to (Ramazanoglu, 1992).

6.1 The Sexless Chinese American Men

In her analysis of the Western masculine ideal, Connell (1995) identifies the current formulation of masculinity as a thoroughly modern identity accompanying the rise of nations. She argues that defining masculinity was a necessary component of empire-building and colonisation, which also linked current hegemonic ideals of masculinity with violence, rationality, heterosexuality, and above all, whiteness. Though the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes apply to both sexes, disparities exist in media. Butler (1988) argues that masculinity is extremely fragile and must always be reproduced in performance, but the gender script is different for Asian males than for other men of colour. According to Chin and Chan, the stereotype of Asians is unique in that it is the only racial stereotype completely devoid of manhood (in Kim, 2005). Chou (2012) explains that the phenomenon is because:

> White men have to come up with something for each of the other colour groups in order to keep them away from white women. So, for black men, it is that they are dangerous or violent, and then for Asian men, it is supposed to be the opposite… So, when you look at these contradicting stereotypes, there are these evil bad guys who have to be powerful in order to make a good villain for the white hero, and at the same time, there are these weak nerds who are sexless or asexual.

Since Charlie Chan, the sexless Chinese American male characters have been quite common throughout the century. Historically, they are more often related to domestic jobs that many Asian men were forced to take, such as laundry, cooking, child care, etc. Job preference was a result of complex interactions of historical factors, such as discriminative laws barring them from employment opportunities (Daniels, 1988). Thus, Chinese men are denied access to 'male' jobs, but could only work the asexual ones. Contemporary television is still structured to support white male narratives, with Asian-Americans serving other characters' interests as sidekicks, professional consultants, and/or scientific specialists who are technologically savvy, educated, and work well under the purview of lead (white) characters. Consistently, Asian-American men are commonly denied the sexu-

ality and masculine virility afforded to white males on screen. The process of emasculating Chinese males seems to be necessary in their assimilation into American society. In most films and television shows, Asian men cannot, in any case, engage with women, especially white women.

Perceived by the media in the 20th century, the model minority stereotype has led to the portrayal of Asian-Americans as 'reserved, quiet, diligent, and studious' (Mok, 1998:195). Though 'deceptively positive on the surface' (Zhang, 2010:22), the stereotype carries negative connotations of Asian-Americans as nerdy, passive, and socially inept. For men, this stereotype can be particularly acute as it fails to convey 'the charismatic, masculine American icon' (Mok, 1998:195). The model minority stereotype has been continuously endowed with 'timidity, docility, and childishness,' which responds to 'a paternalistic white racial imaginary' that positions white masculinity as the norm of sexual desirability, power, and dominance (Kim, 2005)

It is very rare to find an Asian male in a television drama's leading role. Most of them are assigned to secondary roles, as the sidekicks to the white hero, and are not shown expressing sexual interests. Chou (2012) explained how the images of a lack of sexual involvement take root in reality as Asian American men have to cope bitterly with being ignored by non-Asian women and watch Asian women partnered by white men. As a support to the idea that Asian men were shaped so in order to keep them away from white women, while Asian American women have dated men from other races constantly in film and television shows dating back to the 1920s, Asian American men do not often have the chance to date or marry girls from other races, especially white girls.

It seems as though audiences do not wish to watch a romance between an Asian and a white girl. There are very few Asian leading male characters in television shows who are romantically involved with a non-Asian female. There has been only two, from what I have observed, or one because one of them was canceled after being on air for only one season. One of them was Henry Higgs, played by John Cho in *Selfie*. Though nominated for the 'Favourite New TV Comedy' of the People's Choice Award in 2014, the show was on air for only 13 episodes before it was canceled. Even the famous and popular *Dr. Who* girl, Karen Gillan, who played as the main actress, did not save its poor viewing rates and Nielsen rating.

The other was Glenn Rhee, from *The Walking Dead* (2010 - today). In *The Walking Dead* Glenn, who was defined as an American-born Korean, served as third place in the lead actor, Rick's, team

after Shane's death in 'zombie apocalypse.' His first appearance in the show was outstandingly sexy; it even made me wonder if he could simply escape from the emasculation and asexuality of the Asian-American stereotype. Saving Rick in S1E1 was the most masculine moment of his life in the series. Afterward, he started his life-long career of running to escape and serving under Rick's leadership. Despite the fact that Glenn served as the main fighter in the team who was robust and brave facing the zombies, his history of confronting other human beings (all of them were from other races) was a tragedy, and to some extent, a mystery. In the show, he was portrayed as an intellectual figure with a special skill-set and quick thinking, which guaranteed his survival from the zombies every single time. In S6E3, with a dead body on top of him and surrounded by numerous zombies, Glenn made his way out and survived. It seems like he could survive the most horrible situation as long as another human being is not involved. On the one hand, he was shaped to be a fearless zombie-killer, while on the other hand, he did not win any solo fight against another human, even a disabled one. This could be seen as evidence of his lack of masculinity, at least compared to other characters. In the show, Glenn fell in love and finally married Maggie. Even though his manhood and position in the team were criticised by other characters from the show multiple times. In Season 2 Episode 10, the leading actress, Rick's wife Lori, told Maggie that 'Glenn is a big boy, you should tell him to man up and pull himself together.' In S2E6, Maggie's view of Glenn was nearly the whole picture of his life. She said,

> *'You are smart; you are brave; you are a leader. But you don't know it, and your friends don't want to know about it. They'd rather have you fetching peaches.There is a dead guy in the well? Send Glenn down. You are a walker bait.'*

In the history of representation, the radicalised spheres of labour, the economy and material production have specifically affected Chinese men. They had fewer entry points in an entertainment industry headed by white men, while Asian women have been afforded wider arenas of performance. While contemporary Asian American actresses—names such as Sandra Oh, Lucy Liu, and Ming Na Wen arise—took on lead roles in films and television shows during the 1990s, Asian American male leads remained elusive, if not completely invisible. I have reviewed two of them in the last section, as Dr Yang and Chen. Though the model minority and perpetual foreigner stereotypes apply to both sexes, disparities exist in media. Chinese American men are depicted as more socially awkward and meek, traits that are unappealing in American Romanticism (Sung, 1967), while women are more competitive (Dragon Lady stereotype) or pretty and delicate (Broken Lotus stereotype).

6.2 The Representation of Chinese and Chinese American Females

Though more visible than Chinese males in films and television, until the early 1990s, the Chinese American female actors were still playing very narrow roles. To summarise, Tajima (1989) suggested there are two basic types of Chinese American female representation: the Lotus Blossom (a.k.a. China Doll, Geisha Girl) and the Dragon Lady. Chinese females in early films and television are, for the most part, passive figures who exist to serve men — as a love interest to white men (lotus blossom), or as partners in crime of men of their own kind (dragon lady) (Tajima, 1989:309). The dragon lady stereotype is portrayed as the mysterious seductress serves men's sexual desires while also being deceitful, manipulative and cunning. The lotus blossom representations on the other hand, portrayed Chinese and Chinese American women as submissive male-pleaser who combine wifely features and male-pleasing attributes (Uchida, 1998).

Not only are the two stereotypes very much alive in contemporary television series, which I will examine later in chapter 7, but they also influence other characters' judgements on different occasions. For example, in *Bones* (*The Boneless Bride in the River*, S2 E16), the forensic anthropologists identify that the victim is Asian based on her hair. From a remaining kneecap that is recovered by the team, it is concluded that she '*has spent a lot of time on the knee'*. Consequently, it is said, '*she's either a nun or a prostitute'*. Later on, it turns out that the victim was neither a nun nor a prostitute but had a bone defect, which caused her knees to look as if she had spent a long time kneeling. The reduction of Chinese women to either sex objects or submissive and innocent 'nuns' leads the investigators to conclude that this must be the reason for the shape of her kneecap. That this was a premature and incorrect categorisation becomes clear shortly after, pointing to the danger of jumping to conclusions based on the assumptions of existing stereotypes.

Tajima (1989) also highlighted the two very different kinds of relationships that Chinese American female characters in popular culture had with white men and with men of the same race. She further suggested that there was a 'noticeable lacking of the portrayal of love relationships between Asian women and Asian men, particularly as leading characters' (Tajima 1989:312). As I have stated in the last chapter, romance between Chinese American men and white women is significantly rare, if not totally missing on-screen, because it ruptures white male hegemony.n On the other hand, the pairing of a white male and a Chinese female seems quite common. The most obvious examples of this en-

counter are T*he World of Suzie Wong* which was introduced in earlier chapter. Ono and Buescher (1996) further stated that in the name of saving women, colonialism presented itself as necessary and benevolent force. Frankenberg suggested (in Ono and Pham, 1996:65) that whiteness is a product of negative difference; people come to know who they are by what they are not. Thus, he added that 'the only way white people can understand themselves as white is by contrasting their experience with those people of colour'. According to Shohat et al. (1997), this white male-Chinese female romance is naturalised and has its colonialist root manifested in the rescue narrative. She pointed out that:

> Not only has the Western imaginary metaphorically rendered the colonised land as a female to be saved from her environmental disorder, it has also projected rather more literal narratives of rescue, especially of Western and non-Western women. (Shohat, 1997:39)

It is noteworthy that the rescue is not only physical, but also psychological. According to Kabbani (1986), those females were rescued from the male patriarchy of Asian men who were depicted to be undesirable, barbaric, and uncivilised in the Western mainstream culture. The West's dominance is secured through the narratives of romance and sexual involvement that justify white males' possession of the bodies and souls of women of colour (Marchetti, 1993).

This chapter has mainly focused on reviewing the theories of stereotypes and stereotyping, starting with the terminology and definition of 'stereotype' in Lippmann and Allport's classic works, followed by more recent studies conducted by Fiske and the warmth and competence model he has introduced (Fiske et al., 2001). This chapter also has established the racial stereotyping and gender stereotyping as well as their applications in US televisions which will be further explored in each analytical chapter (Chapters 5–9), regarding different stereotypes such as yellow peril and model minority. While this chapter provided the theoretical foundation that this thesis is based on, the next chapter will focus on the methodology and approaches this study applied.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

As the last chapter provided the theoretical framework of this thesis, this chapter will explain the study's samples and methodological approaches. It will describe the samples and sampling process and the data collecting procedures, followed by the introduction and justification of data analysis approaches. The main analytical approaches used will be visual social semiotic analysis and Halliday's metafunction framework, as well as a critical discourse analysis.

1 SAMPLING AND JUSTIFICATION

The sample for this study comprised Chinese and Chinese American characters selected from American television series. As mentioned in former chapters, as popular culture takes centre stage in struggles to define meaning (Hall, in Habell-Pallan and Romero, 2002), and television has become one of the most important media for communication, in line with the constructionist camp of discourse analysis, I tend to target the Chinese characters in American television. Aiming to answer the research questions, I examined the Chinese characters in contemporary American television and developed a set of criteria for selecting shows to analyse. I reviewed the IMDb list of the 100 most popular U.S. television shows, TV Guild's top 50 shows, and Nielsen's Rating top 50 shows. I selected shows from the top ratings' lists because they are watched and appreciated by the largest audiences and, thus, are more likely to have an impact on the audiences' understanding of the Chinese and Chinese American populations. After carefully reading through the characters and starring staff members of the shows, the list of the samples is presented as follows:

List of the Characters:

Desperate Housewives (2004-2012), Yao Lin & Xiao Mei, illegal immigrants working for Gaby as housemaids;

Xiao Mei, starring Gwendoline Yeo, 9 episodes (2006);

Yao Lin, starring Lucille Soong, 7 episodes (2007);

Glee, regular actor (2009);

Mike Chang, regular actor, starring Harry Shum Jr.;

Mike Chang Sr., starring Keong Sim, 4 episodes (2011-2012);

Awkward, regular actress (2011), Ming Huang (starring Jessica Lu);

The Blacklist (2007), Wujing, staring Chin Han, Season 1, Episodes 3 and 18 October 2013;

Prison Break (2006), Bill Kim, starring Reggie Lee, 17 Episodes (2006-2008);

24 Season 4, the Chinese nuclear specialist working with terrorists;

Major Crimes, leading actor (2012- 2018), Lieutenant Mike Tao (starring Michael Paul Chan);

The Closer, regular actor (2005-2012), Detective Mike Tao (starring Michael Paul Chan);

Grimm, regular actor (2011-), Sgt. Wu (starring Reggie Lee);

The Mentalist, regular actor (2008-), Detective Kimball Cho (starring Kim Kang);

Unforgettable, regular actor (2011- 2016) Senior Detective Jay Lee (starring James Liao);

CSI Las Vegas, regular actor (2001-2012), Archie Johnson, Audiovisual technician (starring Archie Kao);

Law and Order: Special Victims Unit, regular actor (2001-2014), Special Agent George Huang, M.D., forensic psychiatrist and criminal profiler;

Rizzoli and Isles, (2010-), Dr Susie Chang, senior criminalist at Boston P.D. crime lab; Dr Susie Chang, starring Tina Huang, 26 episodes

House of Cards Season 2 (2014), Xander Feng, Chinese businessman Xander Feng, starring Terry Chen, 5 episodes (Chapter 18/20/21/25/26);

Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D. leading actress (2014 -), Skye, starring Chloe Bennet;

Elementary, leading actress (2012 -), Dr Joan Watson (staring, Lucy Liu), surgeon and detective;

Madam Secretary (2014 -), Chen, Chinese Foreign Minister

Scorpion (2014-2018) regular actress, Happy Quinn, starring Jadyn Wong, engineer on a government contractor team.

Selfie, (2014) Henry Higgs, regular actor, starring John Cho

The Night Shift (2014-) leading character, Dr Topher Zia, starring Ken Leung

Cashmere Mafia (2008) Mia Mason, starring Lucy Liu

The list has included most, if not all, Chinese and Chinese American characters in IMDb's top 200 American television dramas list. However, there are a few characters excluded from the list. Most of them are non-speaking characters. Some of them do not even have a name. For example, the owner of a Chinese restaurant in *The Big Bang Theory* (2007 - today)and the illegal immigrant in *Grey's Anatomy* (2005 - today)have barely spoken and had little importance in the storyline. Also, the shows and characters were collected during 2014-2015, and the list ends by the end of the Obama administration; thus, the television shows that aired more recently, since the Trump administration's taking office, or those that had only one season by that time are excluded (for instance, *Fresh off the Boats*, *Mr Robot* (2015-), and *Seal Team* (2017-). Due to the Trump Adminis-

tration and recent shifts in Sino-US relations that have changed the themes and portrayals in the televised world, I decided to exclude television shows aired after the arrival of the Trump Administration because they have only been out for one season, and a complete pattern remains unestablished. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study, Chinese and Chinese American characters refer to those who have recognisable Chinese ethnic background in the script and storyline. Therefore, a few characters, such as Happy Quinn in *Scorpion* and Kimball Cho in *The Mentalist*, were excluded since their ethnic backgrounds were blurred in the storyline, and they showed no clear identification with any ethnic ancestry.

Re-examining the list, I used the following criteria to further narrow down the characters for analysis in this study. This study tends to pick more recent and ongoing television shows rather than contemporary television series with Chinese or Chinese Americans involved. Regular characters are preferable to guest characters and those who only appear only on certain episodes because, with more appearances, their characteristics and storylines are more thoroughly developed. From the characters from ongoing shows, those characters who have developed for more than three seasons and have a larger share of the storyline are picked because with more appearances in the shows and more importance in the storylines, these characters will seeming to be more complex and will offer more material for analysis. Therefore, I chose to focus on the leading actors and actresses and determined the main ones as follows:

Dr Joan Watson (staring, Lucy Liu), leading character in **Elementary**;

Dr Topher Zia, starring Ken Leung, leading character in **The Night Shift**;

Detective, later Lieutenat Mike Tao, starring Michael Paul Chan**,** regular actor in **The Closer**, and leading character in **Major Crimes**;

Comparing these characters and shows picked up to the popular Chinese and Chinese stereotypes which were identified from films and relevant literary works, I found that the Chinese enemy figure was missing from the samples. Hence, among Bill Kim (*Prison Break*), Wujing (*The Blacklist*), Xander Feng (*House of Cards*), and Chinese Foreign Minister Chen (*Madam Secretary*), using similar criteria based on television shows' airing length and characters' exposure in the shows, I have chosen Minister Chen in *Madam Secretary* for the main analysing or the enemy representation analysis.

There are several reasons for choosing these shows. All of them were rated among the most popular television shows in recent IMDb surveys and Nielsen Media Research and have enjoyed a high audience viewing rate and positive audience score. I tended to choose more popular and high-rated shows. I also excluded the shows that are not being renewed for the upcoming 2018-19 season, because that implied that the show will soon lose its timeliness. Moreover, though they fall under the same umbrella of television drama, the shows belong to different sub-genres: *Elementary* and *Major Crimes* are crime shows, *The Night Shift* is a medical drama, and *Madam Secretary* is political drama, but all three are popular genres in contemporary American television shows. The fact that the shows fall under different genres is helpful as it gives the study a diverse field to cover.

2 DATA COLLECTION

Before collecting data, I have reviewed each of the shows on Youtube and Amazon for a better understanding of the storyline in general. After having a thorough understanding of the shows' main storylines, the episodes in which Chinese and Chinese American characters were involved were picked out in particular. A shortlist was made to keep track of each character's name, gender, age, education level, occupation, and marital and family status. I watched the relevant episodes several times. While watching the selected episodes, I took notes and summarised the plot-line of each episode. To avoid misunderstandings, I compared the notes to the episode summaries on IMDb's website. After gaining general knowledge of the shows and picking out the episodes to analyse, I started to collect data.

Two kinds of data, visual data and text data, were collected for the study. Visual data in this thesis are mainly screenshots from the shows. While watching, I took screenshots of each frame of relevant scenes in which Chinese and Chinese American characters were involved. The main focuses while studying the screenshots are the key elements of visual analysis, which will be explained in depth in the following data analysing section. The visual elements that I am specifically focusing on are: 1) the visual representation of the characters' appearance, including their looks, costumes, gestures, and facial expressions; 2) the visual elements of the frames, including camera angle, light positioning, and character framing as well as other mise-en-scene elements such as background layout and other objects in the scene. Apart from the screenshots, several official posters have also been selected and will be examined using the same criteria. These key elements will be examined

through the scope of visual social semiotic analysis to determine the meanings conveyed in the visual representations.

The other type of data collected for further analysis is text data. In this thesis, the text data is the dialogue in the episodes. While watching, I manually transcribed the dialogue in the shows. I have also reexamined the accuracy of the transcript by comparing it to the television scripts website Springfield (https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/). Relevant texts involving the Chinese and Chinese-American characters will be examined by applying the critical discourse analysis, which will be further explained in the next section.

3 DATA ANALYSING

3.1 Visual Analysis

> *We live in a world of things seen, a world that is visual, and we expend much of our physical and emotional energy on the act of seeing.* (Berger, 2008)

Visual analysis is a research method that allows the researchers to dig deep into the visual form and look closely at images to try and better understand the meaning they convey. This 'giving and taking' process encourages the audience to make sense of the world (Hall, 1997). This meaning can be coded in various forms of images. It could be a still shot from a film, an advertising post of a television drama, or a photograph from a magazine. As one of the most popular mediums to deliver meaning, with or without a sense of awareness, when we watch a film or television, we are also seeing portrayals of certain types of people and of the societies in which they live (Berger, 2008).

Dating back to the silent era, films were known as 'motion pictures' or 'moving pictures' and produced without sound. Visuality was the only quality that audiences could rely on to understand and make sense of what they saw. Today, film and television can generally be considered as a combination of the visual and textual.

Berger (1977:1) argues that 'seeing comes before words and establishes our place in the surrounding world. A child looks and recognises before it can speak.' The visual is central to the cultural construction of social life (Rose, 2001). Most people receive 80 percent of the information that conveys

messages about the surrounding world through their eyes (Berger, 2008). This 'seeing prior to words' phenomenon is similar to the effects of television drama. In most cases, the visual appearance of the character is perceived before the lines are spoken. While it takes multiple episodes to establish the storyline and the character's personality, this appearance, along with the cinematographic elements, allows the audience to have a sense of the whole picture.

In order to understand and analyse these elements of visual appearance and cinematography, I apply Idema's (2011) six-level telefilm analysis framework to break up television drama into different layers of meaning, containing cells. The first four levels will be examined using visual semiotic analysis and then ideology theories and discourse analysis to see the work and the character as a whole.

Level	Description
1 Frame	A salient or representative still of a shot
2 Shot	In a shot the camera movement is unedited; if the camera's position changed this may be due to panning, tracking, zooming, and so on, but not editing cuts
3 Scene	A group of shots, which depict an event in the story and occur in one place
4 Sequence	A group of scenes that forms a distinct narrative unit, which is normally connected by a unity of location or unity of time.
5 Generic stage	Roughly, stages are beginnings, middles and endings; each genre has a specific set of stages: narratives tend to have an orientation, a complication, a resolution and many a coal factual or expository genres may have an introduction, a set of arguments or facts and a conclusion, or an introduction and a series of facts or procedures
6 Work as a whole	Depending on the lower levels, the work will be more or less classifiable as a particular genre; the primary distinction is between narrative (fictional, dramatic genres) and factual (expository, thematic, issue-oriented genres); genres are predictable relations between social-cultural, industrial-economic and symbolic mythic orders

Table 3 Six Level of Tele-Film Analysis Framework and Cinematography Analysis

Adapted from Six Level of tele-film analysisIdema (2001) *Analysing Film and Television*, pp189

3.1.1 Frame and Shot

At the lowest level of analysis, the frame is what the analyst takes to be the salient aspect of a shot. A frame refers to one still photographic image, like a single negative on a film strip. Films today are projected at a rate of 24 frames per second to give the illusion of motion (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009).

At the next level, shots are uncut camera actions. It is one continuous recording of any length. Shots are like cells or distinct spaces, the succession of which reconstitutes homogeneous space (Mitry, cited in Idema, 2011:188). It is the basic unit from which a television episode or film is constructed. In order to understand the shots in a television drama, Teasley and Wilder (1996) categorised a brief table for the viewers to check.

Shot size	Camera Movement
Long shot A shot taken from a sufficient distance to show a landscape, a building, or a large crowd. **Medium shot** A shot between a long shot and a close-up that might show two people in full figure or several people from the waist up. **Close-up** A shot of one face or object that fills the screen completely. **Extreme close-up** A shot of a small object or part of a face that fills the screen.	**Pan** The camera moves horizontally on a fixed base. **Tilt** The camera points up or down from a fixed base. **Boom** The camera moves up or down through space. **Tracking (dolly shot)** The camera moves through space on a wheeled truck (or dolly), but stays on the same plane. **Zoom** Not a camera movement, but a shift in the focal length of the camera lens to give the impression that the camera is getting closer to or farther from an object. **Hand-held** A shot taken with a hand-held camera or deliberately made to appear unstable, shaky or wobbly; often used to suggest either documentary footage, realism, news reporting, or amateur cinematography.
Camera Position	**Editing**

High angle	Cut
The camera looks down at what is being photographed.	The most common type of transition, in which one scene ends and a new one immediately begins.
Neutral angle	**Fade-out / Fade-in**
A shot that approximates human vision; a camera presents an object so that the line between camera and object is parallel to the ground.	One scene gradually goes dark and the new one gradually emerges from the darkness.
Low angle	**Dissolve**
The camera looks up at what is being photographed.	A gradual transition, in which the end of one scene is superimposed over the beginning of a new one.
	Wipe
	An optical effect in which one shot appears to "wipe" the preceding one from the screen.

Table 4 Cinematography Elements

Adapted from *Reel Conversations: Reading Films with Young Adults* by Teasley and Wilder (1996).

3.1.1.1 Shot Size

Shot size, or shot scale, is the most crucial aspect of framing and composition, as the distance of the camera from the subject in the shot determines the scale of the screen image and affects the implied proximity of the spectator to characters (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009).

In general, a long shot is commonly used to establish a setting by giving a wide view of the overall space in which the action will unfold. It helps the spectator to locate him or herself within the narrative.

Mid shots focus the audience's attention on a particular subject and are commonly used to show an action. With a middle distance shot, the camera is close enough to pick up details though still far enough away to be able to follow the subject as it moves.

A close-up shot of an object or person is aiming to focus the viewer's attention on a particular detail. Besides framing a particular detail or object, close-ups are often used to film a person because bringing the audience close to the subject connotes intimacy or intimidation, enhancing emotion, identification, or impact (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009). For example, in an establishing sequence, a close-up of a person normally suggests that he or she is a main character.

3.1.1.2 Camera Angle

After shot size and framing, another significant aspect of a shot is the camera angle. Though the camera can be positioned at any angle towards the subject, the three main angles are neutral, high, and low. When filming from a neutral angle, or a 'straight angle,' the camera is positioned straight on, facing the subject at eye level without tilting upwards or downwards. High-angle shots are those in which the camera is positioned at a higher level than the subject on screen, tilted downwards to view the subject. The effect of a high angle is to diminish the subject in the screen space, which can imply that one character is shorter than another, is sitting, or is disempowered (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009). In a low-angle shot, the camera is positioned lower than the subject and is tilted to look upwards, allowing the subject to dominate screen space and sometimes giving the impression of aggrandisement. High and low angles are commonly used to influence the viewer's impression of a particular character. A character filmed with a low angle (camera placed low) will seem strong, powerful, tall, proud, etc., whereas a subject filmed with a high angle (camera placed high) will appear weak, insignificant, vulnerable, or small. A Dutch angle may be used to make a scene more frightening or to make the viewer feel anxious or queasy.

3.1.1.3 Camera Movement

Camera movement is another important way to add meaning to the shot. Panning is a camera movement that scans screen space along the horizontal plane, moving right or left to give the impression of a head turning, often to follow a moving figure. A very fast pan can suggest widespread chaos.

A handheld camera is a mobile framing technique in which the cinematographer carries the camera instead of using a tripod, producing a wide range of movements with a jerky look (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009). It creates tension and involvement by making viewers feel as if they are part of the action. Also, it lends a dangerous or documentary feel because the rough and unsteadiness of the handheld filmed images.

A zoom is not a camera movement because while zooming in or zooming out, the camera is actually still. However, from the observer's view, it does not appear much different from other camera movements. In this study, it will be considered under the camera movement category. Zooming gives the illusion of movement as the lens elements change to magnify or reduce the scale of a sub-

ject in the frame while the camera is rolling. A zoom into a close-up of a face could suggest strong emotion and make the audience concentrate on the details.

3.1.2 Scene and Sequence

A scene represents a group of shots, and a group of scenes form a sequence. Generally, a sequence or a scene represents 'a place, a moment in time, an action, compact and specific' (Metz, 1974:127-128). The basic unit of meaning in a film or television show is the shot, and how the shots are organised into a sequence is what tells the story. In summary, the shot is a section of a media production during a single take. A scene is composed of one or more shots filmed at one time and place. A sequence is composed of a group of scenes having dramatic unity (Oumano, 1985).

Sequences combine into generic stages. Stage boundaries mark significant shifts in the narrative. They are the film elements that show the viewers where they are in the overall context: this is where things go wrong; this is where they have another argument; this is where things come to an end, etc.

3.1.2.1 Staging Elements

In film and television, the stage equates to the screen. The scene is created within an area bounded by the edges of a screen. A stage can be broken down into four key components:

1) Costume (clothing, accessories, prosthetics and makeup);
2) Setting (architecture, decoration, scenery);
3) Action (figure movement, object movement, performance); and
4) Lighting (including coloured light and shadow). (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009)

Together, these four elements are essential components in constructing the story world. The settings could indicate a location and tell the audience where the action takes place, while the lighting could give a clue of the time of day, telling viewers when the action takes place. Combined with the dialogues and performance, these elements give the viewers a general answer to the questions of who, when, where, and why, and therefore, they express and dramatise the mood and thematic content of the storyline, conveying meaning through visual style.

70

Other than giving clues of n'when,' lighting can also create atmosphere and mood as well as signify meaning. For example, high-key lighting is harsh, soft-key lighting creates romance, spotlighting picks out a character from a group, and full-face lighting suggests openness and honesty while shadow on a face could suggest fear or lack of trust (Campsall, 2002).

In a film or television drama, what is shown in the frame is entirely controlled by the producer or director, and by controlling what is shown in the frame, they control the audience's or spectators' understanding. Thus, by understanding the stage, viewers can possibly get a clue about the producer's or director's mind, for example, their purposes in creating a character in a specific way.

3.2 Visual Social Semiotic Analysis and Halliday's Metafunction Framework

While cinematography analysis breaks films into different layers of micro meaning, making cells for researchers and observers to deconstruct and gaining meaning from each cell of the whole, visual social semiotic analysis can further examine those cells and take the meaning-making process into a broader context.

Visual social semiotics is a relatively new field of study and has been defined by Jewitt and Oyama as involving 'the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with images and other visual means of communication and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted' (2001: 136). Visual semiotic analysis asks two basic questions, which are essential to the study. It asks 'the questions of representation (what do images represent and how); and the question of the hidden meanings of images (what ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in images stand for)' (van Leeuwen, 2001).

Visual social semiotics follows Halliday's work with the three 'metafunctions', which are: the function of creating representations; the inter-personal function, the part language plays in creating interactions between writers and readers or speakers and listeners; and the sexual metafunction, which brings together the individual bits of representation and interaction into the kind of wholes that reviewers recognise as specific kinds of text or communicative event (1992). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) have extended Halliday's idea from text to images, using different terminology: representational instead of ideational, interactive instead of inter-personal, and compositional instead of textual. They believe that image, colour, music, typography, and other visual modes are similar to lan-

guage and that they can simultaneously fulfil and realise the three broad communicative metafunctions as language does. According to them, images not only represent the world but also play an important role in interaction. Combining the Halliday and Van Leeuwin studies, the three metafunctions can be summarised as follows:

1) They represent and portray the social and natural world (representation);
2) They construct and effect social relations (orientation);
3) They develop conventions as coherent, identifiable texts in particular media (organisation).

According to Halliday, in all meaning-making processes, whether the images are in fiction film or documentary, the music, the actual talk, and even the noise-sound track always perform three overacting functions, or metafunctions. These metafunctions are representation, orientation, and organisation.

Representation considers meaning insofar as it tells the audience about the world. These meanings could be represented visually, verbally, musically or otherwise. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) have distinguished representational meaning into two kinds of image in light of the different characteristics of image. One type is narrative images which involve four processes: action, reaction, speech and mental, and conversion process; another is conceptual images, which include three kinds: classification , analytical, and symbolic process.

Orientation is how meanings position characters and audience. Does the camera use a long shot or a close-up to shoot the characters? Does the camera use a high angle, a low angle or an eye-level angle, or is it positioned behind the character? Is the character positioned in the middle or the far corner of the screen? All these questions related to orientation will be asked and categorised for further analysis in this study. This layer of interactive meaning will be examined from three aspects as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) suggested: contact (demand or offer), social distance (intimate, social, or impersonal), and attitude (involvement, detachment, viewer power, equality, representation power, etc.).

Thirdly, organisation concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text. The visual editing of the television could provide the viewers a broad sense of the production. The organisational meaning of images is realized through three interrelated systems: information value

(given or new, ideal or real, important or less), salience (achieved through size, colour, tone, focus, perspective overlap, repetition, etc.), and framing.

Applying the semiotic approach to the micro-elements established in the prior section, we could review, for example, the tone used in the scene, which reflects the screenwriter and director's psychological, emotional, and intellectual attitudes towards their story. The colour scheme of a film or television drama has a significant impact on viewers and is closely linked to the expression of theme and characterisation. A bright warm tone may indicate a harmonious atmosphere and friendly relationship between characters, while a cool or low variation tone with lots of grey colours may indicate a relatively painful story. Another example is that a slightly blurred shot with a soft focus is often used to make the character (mostly female) more attractive and romantic. On the other hand, a hand-held camera style may create a sense of anxiety or confusion.

Film and television images play an important role in people's everyday lives since they transmit particular ideas in an indirect, subconscious, and entertaining way. Producers signify meaning through techniques such as colour, costume, setting, camera angles, vocals, and music, in addition to culturally understood codes and conventions related to myth and ritual (Hansen, 1998). By examining the symbolic and technical ways in which producers of visual content produce these meanings for the audience to draw on, this analysis helps to understand the process by which the producers of television programmes employ storylines to underpin, reproduce, or confront stereotypes relating to what one may call an 'outsider's' position within society. By decoding the meaning-producing process, we can uncover visions on social, political, economic, or cultural issues, and finally, see the stereotypes and stereotyping process as a whole. Viewers from different positions may decode the meanings differently. Therefore, Rose (2012) is concerned with reading position. She claims that different audiences decode television programmes in different ways. She identified the gap between television representation and the audience. This is one of the main reasons that social semiotic analysis is chosen as the approach among all the branches of visual analysis. Not only because it specialises in analysing fictional texts as well as visual methods, but also because it recognises the importance of reading position. According to Kress (1989), written and spoken texts represent particular selective views of the world or 'subject positions' (i.e., fields), and they set out social relations of 'reading positions.' By establishing reading positions, texts can interpellate readers, situating and positioning them in identifiable relations of power and agency in relation to texts.

Idema (2001) suggested that social semiotics is concerned with political understanding, the reading positions, and the practical possibilities that an analysis makes available. It acknowledges that the analyst's own reading position is likely to guide his or her interpretation. It centres on the issue of how the viewer is positioned by the method (in this case, television stereotypes) in question and how the viewer sees certain social allegiances and values as being promoted over others. In this case, this approach narrows the gap between text and audience. The analysis is produced under the influence of the viewer's own social, ethnic, economic, gender, and knowledge background or, as Bernstein (1990) established, coding orientations. Idema further stated that there are no ultimate truth claims for the results of this type of analysis, but the researchers are able to support their own claims with systematic evidence and base their political arguments on them.

By recognising the coding orientation and locating Idema's claim within the self-conscious sphere of current film theories, this project will apply a visual social semiotic analysis to look closely at the micro meaning-making process and then use the discourse analysis to bring the microcells together and, thus, see the stereotypes in a general picture. In the analytical chapters, I will take a close look at several frames and scenes in the chosen television episodes applying visual semiotic analysis to decode the message each scene contains and using critical discourse analysis to examine the general idea that the specific stereotype expressed. While this section has provided the approaches at the micro level, the next section will introduce and justify the critical discourse analysis as the macro level analysing approach.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

3.3.1 Discourse, Power and Dominance

MacDonald (2003) defines the term discourse as a system of communicative practices that are integrally related to wider social and cultural practices and that help to construct specific frameworks of thinking. John Dryzek suggests, 'discourse is a shared way of apprehending the world,' which 'enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent stories or accounts' (Dryzek, 1997:8). Each discourse rests on certain assumptions, judgments, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debate, agreement, and disagreement about an object. Fairclough (1995) provides more detail on how discourse is both socially shaped and socially shaping. He argues that discourse is not only created by social and cultural forces, but

that it also contributes to social and cultural norms and frameworks. In Fairclough's approach, discourse is an important form of social practice that both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities, and social relations, including power relations, and, at the same time, is also shaped by other social practices and structures.

Hall (2002) suggested that discourse is not only always implicated in power but is also one of the systems through which power circulates. Van Dijk (1993) suggested that to understand how discourses contribute to their reproduction, it is essential to understand the nature of social power and dominance. Despite all the complexities and subtleties of power relation, Van Dijk (2001) argued that CDA is a type of analytical discourse research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, domination, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts. It focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

The justification of the abuse of power involves two complementary strategies, namely the positive representation of one's own group and the negative representation of the others (Van Dijk, 1993). This commonly occurs in white discourses about ethnic minorities. Arguments, stories, semantic moves, and other structures of such discourse consistently, and sometimes subtly, have such implications (Van Dijk, 1991). Thus, discourses, in this study, stereotypes, the specific branch under the umbrella of discourse, are being expressed and persuasively conveyed to contrast one's own with the 'Other', for example, by emphasising one's tolerance, help, or sympathy towards the Others or by focusing on negative social or cultural differences, deviances, or threats attributed to the Others. Van Dijk (2001) led a research programme to identify discourses that expressed and reproduced social representations of the Others. He argued that there is a recurrence in the stereotypes and prejudices across 'discourse types, media, and national boundaries': Others are predominantly represented in terms of 1) socio-cultural differences, 2) deviation from dominant norms and values, and 3) violence and threat. Thus, cultural differences will be enhanced and magnified and similarities ignored or mitigated. The Others will be seen as violating precisely those norms and values that the dominant group finds important. The concept of the discourse of 'others' and 'othering', which will be further explored in the analytical chapters, will be one of key study subjects in this research.

When power operates so as to enforce 'the truth' of any set of statements, then such a discursive formation produces what Foucault describes as a 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1972). In order to ana-

lyse how dominant groups control the discourse that then shapes social consequences, it is essential to analyse the context in which the discourse is produced, the lexical and syntactic surface structures, and the rhetorical figures and speech acts (Van Dijk, 2001). Stereotyping and over-generalisation are key study subjects of such rhetorical figures. Media is a medium of values and codes that promulgate dominant ideologies (Helsby, 2005). CDA, thus, allows researchers to find out if, and to what extent, the television programmes break social conventions and what meaning can be derived from any observed departure.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relation between discourse and social-political developments in different social domains (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Van Dijk defined CDA (1995) as a multidisciplinary approach to language that strives to highlight the nature of social power and dominance by substantiating the intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society, and culture. It is an approach that merges 'critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication' (Van Dijk, 1995). Similarly to Van Dijk, other researchers addressed that while a discourse analysis concerns itself with the study of relationships between language and the contexts in which language is used, CDA is instead concerned with issues of language, power, and ideology within the discourse of texts (McCarthy, et. al., 2006).

Although film studies and ideological studies prescribe various methods of analysing film and television, CDA allows the study of the television text through a focus primarily on the language constructed through dialogue and symbols in relation to both the visual and aural elements of images, lighting, orientation, and sound cues as well as to existing power structures in society (Bordwell, 1989). One of the most important reasons for choosing CDA instead of other analytical approaches to study discourse is that CDA sees language as everywhere and always political (Gee, 1999). Thus, CDA is considered a type of socio-political analysis of discourse. Such an analysis, according to Van Dijk (2001), attempts to relate structures of discourse with structures of the society. Social relations such as class, gender, and ethnicity are thus systematically associated with the structural units, levels, or strategies of talk and text embedded in their social, political, and cultural contexts. Thus, language users are defined as members of communities, groups, or organisations and are supposed

to speak, write, or understand from a specific social position. Fairclough noted that it is 'mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practice, meanings, values, and identities are taught and learned' (Fairclough, 1995:219). Therefore, CDA is able to uncover the ideologies encoded in discourse and expose the manner in which texts support socially destructive ideologies such as racism and nationalism (Crawshaw and Tusting, 2000), which fits the purpose of this research.

As contemporary CDA has shown, language, discourse, and texts are multi-semiotic. Television dramas are conceived, produced, written, directed and acted by human beings with the purpose of telling a story to the audience. In addition, they often depict social conflicts, struggles, and different forms of oppression, and they are often used to convey or promote meanings and social messages. Thus, television dramas serve as multi-semiotic discourse texts that lend themselves well to Fairclough's approach to CDA. He takes a macro-social perspective in order to take into account that social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations that people are often aware of (Fairclough, 1992). It is central to Fairclough's approach that discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities, and social relations, including power relations, and at the same time is also shaped by other social practices and structures. He detailed a theoretical model and methodological tool for empirical research in media interaction (Neuman, 2003). According to Fairclough (1992), CDA refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices. He also reviews that discourse contains three dimensions:

１）The object of analysis (including verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts);
２）The processes by means of which the object is produced and received by human objects;
３）The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.
Each of these dimensions require a different kind of analysis: 1) text analysis (description); 2) processing analysis (interpretation); 3) social analysis (explanation) (Fairclough, 1989, 1995).

3.3.2.1 Text Level

At the next level, Fairclough employed a detailed textual analysis to gain insight into how discursive processes operate linguistically in specific texts. Dialogue, as Fairclough pointed out, figures in three main ways as part of events in social practices. First, it is part of an action. For instance,

people in different careers tend to have different language patterns. Secondly, it figures in representations. Social actors represent themselves differently according to their positions. Thirdly, dialogue figures in ways of being in the constitution of identities. Thus, text and language simultaneously represent aspects of the world, and they simultaneously identify social actors to contribute to the constitution of social and personal identities (cited in Lassen, 2006).

At this level, I will look into the transcript of dialogues through vocabularies (wording and metaphors), semantics, utterances, and grammar (transitivity, modality) to identify 'representations, categories of participant, constructions of participant identity or participant relations' (Fairclough, 1995:58) of subjects, objects, and social positions; how subjects and objects were positioned; and instances of relations of power in the use of language. For this part of the analysis, I will work with the checklist based on Halliday's (1985) grammatical references for ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings, which is also the basis of Fairclough's key elements for text analysis (Fairclough, 1989:110). To summarise, these key terms are 1) lexicalisation, 2) patterns of transitivity, 3) the use of active and passive voice, 4) the use of nominalisation, 5) the choices of mood, 6) the choices of modality or polarity, 7) the thematic structure of the text, 8) the information focus, and 9) the cohesion devices. For example, the meaning of certainty or uncertainty is primarily conveyed in the modality or polarity of the text, hence establishing a hierarchy of power.

Despite the language patterns of certain characters and the position between characters presented by dialogue, I will also focus on the language barriers of some characters. The lack of English language skills and strong foreign accents have been recurring themes in the representation of Asian, particularly Chinese, characters. There is a large body of literature that establishes the close correlation between language and culture. Accordingly, communicative competence on an oral level is embedded in a notion of cultural competence and vice versa. It is assumed that people who share a language are more likely to belong to the same culture group and, hence, share a broadly similar set of values and morals. With this insight, I will examine the language skill and language barrier of the Chinese characters in American television shows to analyse their positions compared to the majority characters in fictional reality, as well as what these representations mean to the audience.

3.3.2.2 Processing Level

After the next level, my analysis will then expand to the processing analysis level. At this level, I will analyse what the factors that influence the interpretation are and how this process influences the production, distribution, transformation and consumption of texts. A fictional text is nearly always taking place in a larger social context, abundant with complex power relations. Therefore, the text is interpreted by readers depending on the rules, norms, and mental models of the society they live in. This is the reason why, at this level, 'reading position' will be an important element to consider.

Looking at a text critically is not very difficult when viewers disagree with it--when the positions that it offers to readers are far removed from what they think, believe, and value. In cases where we begin from a position of estrangement or alienation from the text, it is easier to read against rather than with the text. In such a case, the interests served by the text may be apparent; the reader may even be at the receiving end of the consequences entailed and might have little difficulty in questioning the text. That is why, when viewers see a racial minority character in a detective show, even for one glimpse, they will easily jump to the inclusion that he or she is the suspect. A range of factors, both textual and non-textual, structure the reader's engaged-estranged location in relation to any particular text. To better uncover the reading position, I will look back to the visual elements uncovered in the visual analysis section and make sense of those non-verbal texts such as make-up, costumes, and other visual elements of a character's appearance. Combining that with the Othering and self-defencing function of stereotyping that we discovered in the last chapter, I will discuss how some Chinese characters are particularly shaped by an estranged appearance as 'the other' to establish an estranged reading position for the audience.

3.3.2.3 Social Level

According to Fairclough, text cannot be analysed in isolation. It can only be understood in relation to other discourses and to the social context. Thus, CDA is an attempt to establish the link between language, power, and ideology and to account for the process of revealing those political and ideological information (Fairclough, 1992).

Before analysing the political or ideological information conveyed in the show, the social level analysis will begin with who is sending the message or, in other words, who is expressing the power. In order to understand the social struggle and the access to power persuasion, Fairclough refers to

Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (1986:47). Cultural capital can be see as 'cultural goods' such as a high job position, access to exclusive social institutions, and so forth. In this case, the cultural goods are possessed by television and broadcasting companies, who are mostly sharing the Western values, which will be further explained in Chapter 9.

The final level of the analysis will be analysing the wider socio-cultural, political, ideological, and historical context and structure surrounding the text. At the explanation level, I will focus on the underlying power relations and examine how the power relations shape beliefs, fantasies and desires so as to regulate practices of institution building that set the stage for material production and reproduction activities that in turn construct social relations that finally return to ensure the perpetuation of power. Generally, the main target here is to uncover the link between the text in the show (both verbal and non-verbal) and the power structure of the society. Furthermore, another goal of this analytical level is to understand the persuasive influence of power. In other words, I am trying to uncover the ways through which dominant groups in society succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept the former's moral, political, and cultural values.

4 JUSTIFICATION AND LIMITATION

The advantages and shortcomings of CDA research have been the subject of a certain number of critiques. Several criticisms have been levelled at the methodology adopted by CDA research. The most notable ones come from Widdowson (1995) in a series of articles. In his articles, he argues that many of the concepts and analytical models of CDA are vague. Following Widdowson, other CDA critics agree that 1) texts are arbitrarily selected; 2) texts are limited in length, which leads to concerns over the representativeness of the texts selected; and 3) there are limitations and difficulties in drawing any conclusion (Verschueren, 2001; Stubbs, 1997). In a more recent article, Widdowson (2004) stated CDA's shortcomings and its theoretical foundations are quite tangled in many cases, and the use of concepts and categories may seem to be inconsistent, which does not encourage the production of a systematic theory. To them, CDA is a biased, unprincipled, conventional, and decontextualised cherry-picking linguistic feature (Chilton, 2004). However, it has been argued that using large data sets could help to avoid or reduce researcher bias (Tenorio, 2011). With this insight, all the texts relating to the Chinese characters will be transcribed from the television episodes without modification, and enough texts will be collected to provide a representative sample. When decoding and interpreting texts using CDA, it is difficult to exclude the author's own political

standing and belief. However, in this thesis, the author's reading position and personal attitudes are, in fact, relevant to the study. Also, as stated earlier, visual social semiotic analysis does not exclude the interpreter's reading position as well.

Martin (1992) criticised that because CDA's inability to put into practice its social-based ambitions, in the end, it observes social phenomena people mostly dislike, producing persuasive analysis on why they are offensive, but failing to suggest practical action. He proposed Positive Discourse Analysis in which he argued that researchers should analyse not only texts they found objectionable but also texts they found admirable and motivating for the purpose of social progress. To address Martin's critique, this thesis also attempts to overcome the 'social-based ambition' by exploring and analysing positive representations (Chapter 7 and Chapter 8).

Noted in his work on language, ideology and power (1989, 1995), Fairclough has highlighted the semiotic reflection of social conflict in discourse, which translates into his interest in social process (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). He described the procedure as researchers look at a specific social problem with a potential semiotic dimension which could be analysed by identify its styles, genres, and discourses; identify the differences between styles, genres and discourses; study the processes by means of which the colonisation of dominant styles, genres and discourses is resisted; and finally, structural analyse the context, agents, tense, transitivity, modality, visual images or body language (Fairclough, 2009). Fairclough has stated that his work specialised for the theme of processes of social change in their discourse aspect (Fairclough, 2005:76). Even the most influential critic Widdowson (2004) of Fairclough's work admitted that Fairclough's approaches are effective in order to 'revealing aspects of meaning from a particular socio-political perceptive, demonstrate the way texts can be constructed, and how they can be made relevant to understand social life (Widdowson, 1995:513)'. Thus, the framework that Fairclough has offered goes beyond investigating the text and acts as an agent of understanding the social interaction underlying the composition of a certain discourse and as a means of social change which is essential in this study. As stated in his work:

> …in developed capitalist countries, we live in an age in which power is predominantly exercised through the generation of consent rather than through coercion, through ideology rather than through physical force, through the inculcation of self disciplining practices rather than through the breaking of skulls. Part of this development is an enhanced role for language in the exercise of power: it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are trans-

mitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt. (Fairclough, 1992:95)

Hence, although Fairclough is not the only influential author that works on the social nature of language, his key insights are that discourse is shaped primarily by power relations in society, and that discourse shapes social relations. His idea that language serves to construct particular political positions which entails unequal relations of power shed the light for this research.

To summarise, this chapter first introduced the process I have made to identify, narrow down, and justify the sample, followed by explaining and justifying the main approaches that will be applied in the following analyses. After establishing the sample and sampling procedures of this study, I further explained the data-collection process of both visual and text data, which were used in the later analysing chapters. The following Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 will present the data I have collected and analyse them applying approaches identified in this chapter through the scope of stereotypes and stereotyping theories discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 5 CHINESE AS THE ENEMY

1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, I investigated films from the 1920s to the 1980s and generated the common Chinese stereotypes during that era. Specifically, I focused on the Yellow Peril, the model minority, and female representations of a broken lotus and dragon lady as the most popular discourses of the Chinese and Chinese American in early films. In the following chapters, I will examine these three main representations in contemporary television with an insight into stereotype theories introduced in Chapter 3.

Films and television have long been recognised as a method in which messages, themes, and ideology can be delivered to many viewers. Street (cited in Wheeler, 2014) argued that film and television narratives help make political practice conspicuous while demonstrating how the public 'lives' through its popular culture to attain meaning, identity, and political efficacy. According to studies conducted on television viewing habits, American viewers start being exposed to broadcast messages as early as three to four years of age, and average viewers watch for more than three hours per day (Gauntlett, 2002). Television presents a world of places, people, and roles that the audience might not experience in their real life. Thus, the role of television has effectively taken the place of tribal elders, religion, and even formal education in its role of myth-telling (Gerbner, in Gunter and Wober, 1988). It has been argued that the real instructors of the young generation are not school teachers or college professors but the television (Barber, 1998). Therefore, studying and investigating the television's representation and the minority portrayal system transmitted through television programming is important in understanding the stereotypes and ethnic identity in a broader context. My particular concern with such a representation and portrayal system is its impact on ethnic stereotypes. Television producers tend to capitalise on more stable formulas, routines, and formats that have been proven successful to secure their ratings, and television networks are also more likely to accept these products to convince their advertisers of the channel's ability to capture the largest audience (Woll & Miller, 1987). Therefore, the stereotypes embedded in those routines and formulas have repeatedly been shaped and produced through ages on the small screen.

In Chapter 3, I highlighted Lippmann's (1922) idea that a stereotype system is a self-defence method that legitimises the status quo and its hegemonic potential regarding ideology in the given society (Grossberg, 1984). As television is a popular medium with which to produce and deliver stereotypes to the audience, scholars have pointed out television's functions of image representation, which include legitimation (Lippmann, 1922), the reiteration of legitimacy, and the maintenance of established power and authority, mainstreaming, and resonance (Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Gerbner, 1980). Furthermore, Gerbner and Gross (1976) have also indicated that television drama makes for a format that often lulls its audience into a sense of reality. Thus, the long-run tradition of representing the Chinese as the 'Yellow Peril' may have become a socially constructed reality to many television viewers. However, as Ono and Pham (2009) have stated, there is no one-to-one correlation between what the media construct is and what people think or even what media producers 'intend' and what ends up on screen. Therefore, in order to understand and make sense of television representations, I will look into the representations themselves and examine the historical and contemporary media portrayal of discourses such as Yellow Peril, model minority, and Chinese females.

In this chapter, I will focus on the Chinese as the Yellow Peril as it is one of the longest lasting and still most popular trends of portraying the Chinese in films and television. It is also the best example that reflects Lippmann's classic theory of stereotype that serves as a part of one's self-defence system. There are all kinds of enemies in television today—serial killers, drug dealers, and gangsters. Regarding the race of the criminal list, there are no distinct differences. In fact, one of the most popular crime dramas, *Criminal Minds* (2005-today), portrays more American serial killers who are Caucasian than any other race. However, on an ideological level, it is a totally different story. In terms of threats to U.S. national security and international policy and enemies of Western universal values, the list suddenly becomes short. Only two countries serve to represent all these enemies—China and Russia. Therefore, after a brief review of the Yellow Peril stereotype, I will focus on the representation of Chinese people as threats to the national security of the United States and its political system and universal values. The main character in question will be Chinese Foreign Minister Wu (Francis Jue), in *Madam Secretary*, along with a few characters in other shows such as *Mr Robot* and *Bones*.

2 ENEMIES IN TELEVISION DRAMA

Though the most important television drama that I reference has very little to do with the crime genre, in order to understand the big picture of the enemy faces in contemporary television, it is impossible to leave crime dramas out of the picture.

First, crime has been one of the most popular genres since the very beginning of the television drama. Studies showed that approximately one-third of prime time television programming since the 1980s has been devoted to the crime-related series (Estep & MacDonald, 1983). Rhineberger-Dunn, Rader, and Williams (2008) reported that in 2008, the three major networks (NBC, CBS, and ABC) alone offered a total of 19 crime dramas during prime-time hours, Mondays through Sundays, and this number did not include programmes appearing on cable networks such as HBO and Netflix. In addition, it appears as if, among prime-time television viewers, crime-related police procedurals series are the most popular ones. Nielsen's rating identified that at the beginning of 2017, four of the top ten shows were crime series (*NCIS*, *NCIS: Los Angeles*, *Bull*, *NCIS: New Orleans*), and during the entire 2016 season, four of the most regularly watched prime-time television dramas were *NCIS* (no. 2), *Bull* (no. 5), NCIS: *New Orleans* (no. 6) and *Blue Bloods* (no. 10).

Second, criminals in the crime dramas are portrayed as the most obvious enemy types that viewers can perceive on television. It is one of the easiest ways for the audience to tell who is the good guy and who is not and who are the friends versus the enemies. The various crime dramas in television offer the audience a perception of a dark 'real world' that most of them most likely have never encountered. Researchers have pointed out that as most television viewers have very little experience dealing with violent crimes directly, all those popular prime-time crime shows on the three major networks provide them the opportunity of cultivation, where the viewers' primary source of knowledge on victims and offenders comes from watching the shows on television (Bailey & Hale, 1998; Barak, 1995; Danner & Carmody, 2001; Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Potter & Kappeler, 1996). This means, regardless of its accuracy, the message was delivered from the crime shows and perceived by the viewers, hence significantly affecting the viewers' understanding of their real world and their fear of crime (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1978; Goidel, Freeman, & Procopio, 2006; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004). Combining the nature of television watching that I have briefly introduced in the last section of Chapter 2 and the conceptual content about television's impact stated earlier this chapter, it is easy to assume that when viewers watch a televi-

sion crime drama, they, even while being aware of its fictional nature, may still inadvertently think that the drama accurately 'mirrors' real society.

Regarding the Chinese and Chinese American's role in American television, Wu (1996) studied the Chinese characters in the dramas produced by the major networks, including ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX, from 1976 to 1986. He found that approximately 23% of the Chinese characters commit violence towards Americans on television and that 20% of their crimes are non-fatal and 3% are fatal. However, more recent studies have shown that the situation has significantly changed in that the Chinese and Chinese Americans in contemporary crime dramas actually have very little to do with violent crimes, unlike half a century ago.

There are not many studies that focus on criminals in contemporary prime-time television, and most of this small number of studies focused on African and Hispanic Americans as offenders in crime dramas. For example, Gustaferro's (2013) analysis of the famous HBO series *The Wire* (2002–2008) found that 82% of the cocaine defendants were black, yet 65% of users in the US are white. Other television crime dramas that researchers have paid much attention to are the *Law and Order* series, including *Law and Order (L&O*, 1990–2010), *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit* (*SVU*, 1999–today), and *Law and Order: Criminal Intent* (*CI*, 2001–2011), because of the series' great success. The *L&O* series is the longest-running series of its kind in the history of television. The original *L&O* series is the longest-running US prime-time television series on a major broadcast network, and the *SVU* series is the longest running US prime-time television series currently on air. Through its run, *CI* drew an average of 9.3 million audience members, *L&O*, an average of 10.2 million, and another 11.8 million for *SVU* (IMBd). Aired for over 20 years, nominated 164 times, and winner of 43 awards in various categories over the years (IMDb), the *Law and Order* series provides a window for viewers to encounter crimes and criminals. Furthermore, the series is presented in a documentary-like fashion (Shniderman, 2014). This format offers viewers the impression that real-life events are occurring by presenting information such as dates and locations at the bottom of the screen.

What researchers found from over 1,000 criminals who conducted violent crimes in over 20 years of airing is quite interesting. While many are concerned that African and Hispanic Americans might be overrepresented as criminals in such series, studies have found that Whites are significantly overrepresented as perpetrators (Sood and Trielli, 2017). Compared to the baseline drawn from

the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the New York Police Department's Crime and Enforcement Activity Report (NYPD), Sood and Trielli (2017) found that African and Hispanic American offenders in *Law and Order* were represented much less than they are in the real world. Harrison (2012) studied the criminals in *L&O* between 2000 and 2010 and found that 72% of the offenders were White, 13% were African Americans, and 4% were Hispanic Americans. Harrison (2012) also identified that less than 1% of the criminals in *L&O* were Asians. Similarly, another content analysis (Levine, 2013) conducted on four popular American television crime dramas statistically categorised the general descriptors of the suspects and perpetrators in *L&O: SVU*, *Criminal Minds*, *Body of Proof* (2011–2013), and *Rizzoli and Isles*. Her findings on the suspects and offenders' races can be summarised in the following table.

Race/Ethnicity	Suspects	Perpetrators
African American	5.8%	2.7%
White	86.4%	89.2%
Latino	6.5%	8.1%
Asian Americans	1.3%	N/A

Table 5 Race of the Suspects and Perpetrators in *L&O: SVU*, *Criminal Minds,* and *Body of Proof*
Adapted *from Levine (2013) Table 8 & 9, General Descriptors of Suspects/Perpetrators*

Compared to the real-world situation provided by UCR and NYPD, both studies have shown that African and Hispanic Americans are significantly underrepresented as offenders in the television crime drama. These dramas portray white people as the majority of suspects and perpetrators while the FBI and NYPD reports say otherwise. Additionally, the two studies also indicated that the Chinese have very little to do with crimes in the world of crime dramas. Levine (2013) found that only 1.3% of suspects and none of the perpetrators in the four television crime dramas were Asian Americans, and Sood and Trielli (2017) stated that less than 1% of offenders in L&O were Asians. As a matter of fact, there are various stereotypical people of colour established in contemporary television series; for example, the white perpetrators include mentally disabled serial killers in *Criminal Minds* and other crime dramas. The other commonly recognisable stereotypical criminals include the Mexican cartels and human traffic rings, Hispanic and African American drug dealers, pimps, and street gangs, as well as the Italian mafias.

These facts from the limited number of studies may result in the assumption that the majority of Chinese and Chinese Americans are law-abiding citizens and lead to the question of why study Chinese villain stereotypes if the phenomena most likely no longer exists in contemporary television. My answer to this question is that Chinese villains still exist in many television series beyond just crime dramas. Now, the characters have been raised to a more ideological level. They are not simply offenders, criminals, gangsters, or drug dealers; instead, they are, in a broader context, enemies to the national security, international politics, and even the ideological values of the United States. Before the Trump administration, there were not many television shows embedded with a 'national enemy' theme. The climate has significantly changed with the Trump administration; there are now at least three shows focused on the US military and enemies of the nation (e.g., *Seal Six*, *Valour*, and *The Brave*) that were newly aired this season (2017-2018) which I am not going to explore further because of their lack of relevance and involvement of Chinese and Chinese Americans. While the Chinese as the nation's enemies barely appeared in prime-time television dramas before this administration, solely the Chinese and Chinese Americans (with Russians of course) enjoyed most of the national enemy portrayals. These were Wujing (Chin Han) as a freelance Chinese spy targeting CIA agents in *The Blacklist*, Bill Kim (Reggie Lee), a shadowy danger to the White House in *Prison Break*, and the Chinese nuclear specialist working with terrorists in *24*. Besides these Chinese intelligence agents or nuclear scientists who endangered U.S. national security in those shows, there are other 'enemies' or, to be more specific, 'frenemies,' presented in a more concealed, civilised manner. Encounters with these enemies no longer occurred in Chinatown, on the battlefield or in anti-terrorist operations but shifted to United Nations conferences and negotiating tables at the White House. The weapons used in these encounters are language, speech, and diplomacy. In other words, there is still a war going on beneath those friendly, smiley, hand-shaking scenes. The perfect example of such a war can be seen in *House of Cards* and *Madam Secretary*. In the next section, I will introduce Chinese Foreign Minister Wu's role in *Madam Secretary* as well as its subterranean implication of China as the stereotypical enemy of today.

3 FOREIGN MINISTER CHEN IN *MADAM SECRETARY*

Among the political dramas, *Madam Secretary* stands out because the other political series such as *Veep* (2012-present), *House of Cards*, *Homeland* (2011-present), and *Scandal* (2012-present) all have a cynical attitude about how people in government work, but on the contrary, *Madam Secret-*

ary tries to portray the people who hold government jobs as hardworking and dedicated to making Washington D.C. responsive to the needs of the country. The *Madam Secretary* series, produced by Barbara Hall (a political science major in college who has also worked on Homeland), is centred around the life of the female Secretary of State, Elizabeth McCord (Tea Leoni), who works on issues of international diplomacy. Having aired in 2014 with 14.8 million viewers for its pilot episode, the show had just started its fourth season in 2017. The series has received generally positive reviews from television critics; for instance, the average score of the show on Metacritic was 66 out of 100, which indicates 'generally favourable reviews', and on Rotten Tomatoes, the average rating was 6.9/10. Though the show is a success, it has also received negative press, including being listed on the 'Anti-Asian TV shows list' (Wordpress) and being protested by the Philippine government for an offensive episode. Also, a few episodes of the series have been banned online in Mainland China because the Chinese government believes that the representation of China in these episodes is rather offensive.

Before starting to read Minister Chen's image closely, I would like to briefly address the appearance frequency of the foreign officials in the show. Along with Minister Chen, there were many more foreign officials and diplomats presented in *Madam Secretary*. Among them, Chen has the most appearance throughout the seasons. The IMDb full cast list revealed that Chen had his appearance in 19 episodes in total. The following table summarised the total appearance of foreign officials who had repeated appearances in more than one episodes in the show.

Character	Cast	Appearance
Chinese Foreign Minister Ming Chen	Francis Jue	19 Episodes
Russian Foreign Minister Konstantin Avdonin	Yasen Peyankov	13 Episodes
Russian Foreign Minister Anton Gorev (deceased)	Yorgo Constantine	5 Episodes (Season 1)
Israeli Ambassador Lior Dori	David Wohl	4 Episodes
President of Iran Najid Shiraz	Houshang Touzie	4 Episodes
President of Russian Federation Maria Ostrov (deceased)	Angela Gots	4 Episodes
Saudi Arabian Ambassador Prince Asim	Nuah Ozryel	4 Episodes
Education Minister of Afghanistan Amina Salah	Anna Khaja	3 Episodes
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran Zahed Javani	Usman Ally	3 Episodes

Ukrainian President Mikhail Bozek	Lev Gorn	3 Episodes
President of Philippines Datu Andrada	Joel de la Fuente	3 Episodes
Israeli Prim Minister Aaronson	Stephen Singer	3 Episodes
Indian Foreign Minister Chondita Samant	Sakita Jaffrey	2 Episodes
Prime Minister of India Jaya Verma	Sarita Choudhury	2 Episodes
Prime Minister of Iraq Omar Arif	Ramsey Faragallah	2 Episodes
President of Kyrgyzstan Kenatbek Nogoyev	Rob Yang	2 Episodes
President of Poland Jozef Demko	Piotr Adamczyk	2 Episodes
French Foreign Minister Monique Beauvais	Carol Davis	2 Episodes
Mexican Ambassador Rafael Lopoz	Teddy Canez	2 Episodes
Pakistan Foreign Minister Konstantin Abedi	Hari Dhillon	2 Episodes
President of Afghanistan Sharza	Jay Harik	2 Episodes
Bulgarian Minister Arsov	Edward Furs	2 Episodes
President of France Leon Perrin	Francis Dumaurier	2 Episodes

Table 6 The Foreign Officials in *Madam Secretary*

Summarised from *IMDb Madam Secretary full cast list, available at* https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3501074/fullcredits?ref_=tt_cl_sm#cast, *retrieved May 2019*

It was common in the show's plot-line that Secretary McCord meets a particular foreign official about the primary issue of the episode, discusses, confronts or corporates with him or her, finally resolves the issue and moves on to the next sub-story. In each plot-line, it is common that the foreign official involved disagrees with Secretary McCord at first. It is not unusual in the show that foreign nations are shaped as the 'enemies' that the US has to negotiate, persuade and sometimes compromise to gain their support. However, what unusual is the extremely high exposure rate of Russia and China. It could easily be observed from the table above that China and Russia had significantly more appearances comparing to other countries. Chinese Foreign Minister Chen had a total 19 episodes of appearance throughout the seasons; Russian Foreign Minister Avdonin and Gorev had 18; while the next on the list, officials of Israel, Iran, and Saudi Arabia only had 4 episodes each. In other words, China and Russia had nearly five times of more exposure rate than the third in the line. However, the visual representation of Minister Chen and the Russian Minister differs significantly. In the following sections, I will closely examine visual appearance and filming styles of

Minister Chen along with the storyline of the chosen episodes. But before doing so, I would like to raise an example of the typical framing technique used to present conversations between Secretary McCord and other nation's officials in the series. Figure 1 and 3 shows how Secretary McCord and Minister Gorev were framed in Season 4 Episode 7. The two characters were framed equally between the midline of the particular scene, using an establish shot which closed up to a medium shot in which both of the characters remained their position.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

With the insight of the framing style of Minister Gorev, I will start to examine Minister Chen closely in the following sections.

3.1 Analysis of Face the Nation

The storyline of *Face the Nation* (Season 1 Episode 17) revolves around a three-sided bidding war between an American oil company, the Chinese government, and an environmental group over the Amazonian oil supplies. In the first few minutes of the episode, Secretary McCord meets with Mr. Harding from the oil company for information and to share thoughts. This is the first time in this episode that China has entered the conversation.

Mr. Harding*: I would love if the government would get out of our way. Or better yet, help us out for once.*

McCord*: What is it that you feel isn't being done for the oil industry, Mr. Harding?*

Harding*: The SEC and Justice are breathing down our neck about the Foreign Corrupt Practice Act.*

McCord*: Do take a dim view of bribing foreign officials, yes.*

Harding*: Come on, you know full well that that's the way business gets done in places like Ecuador. And let me tell you something. The Chinese aren't winging their hands about doing business.*

McCord: *Given that I cannot help you bribe anybody, what exactly would you like the State Department to do?*

Harding*: Offer them aid. Help in developing vital infrastructures.*

McCord*: We do give them aid—218 million dollars last year, to be exact. But it does come with anti-corruption safeguards built in. So, sorry if that's not helping you grease the wheels.*

In the conversation, even before China's Foreign Minister entered the storyline, the Chinese government had already been accused of 'playing dirty' in the Amazonian oil supply deal by Mr. Harding, and Secretary McCord simply bought the story without question. The scene indicated that Secretary McCord, before the accusation, was already aware of China's role in the negotiations. Furthermore, instead of trying to bribe the officials of Ecuador to get the business done as the Chinese were alleged to have done, the US's solution was to offer aid in developing vital infrastructures, which made the two countries' characteristics quite the opposite. On the one hand, there was the United States which provided 218 million US dollars to Ecuador and seemed to actually care about the Amazonian environment and its people. On the other hand was China, which, allegedly, bribed the Ecuadorian officials to get the deal. The storyline continued on till five minutes prior to Madam Secretary's meeting with the Ecuadorian Ambassador when the former talked to her staff. The conversation was as follows:

Staff*: International conservation groups have a plan that would pay Ecuador to turn the entire Selva Region into a protected preserve.*

McCord*: So essentially, they would bribe Ecuador not to despoil its own rainforest?*

Staff*: That's the idea, Madam, yes. And the Ecuadorians have actually been receptive to the plan.*

McCord*: Well, who doesn't like a bribe?*

Staff*: So far, no one's been inclined to kick in with the start-up costs, which are in the low billions.*

McCord*: Especially when the potential oil revenues could be a hundred times that.*

After the conversation with the staff, Secretary McCord met with the Ecuadorian ambassador and pitched to him the idea of turning the rainforest into a protected preserve. In the meeting, she tells the ambassador that she was working on getting the start-up money for the rainforest conservation from Congress and asks the Ecuadorian government to consider preserving the entirety of the Selva Region. The ambassador replies:

> *If you could match the Chinese offer, perhaps. But you can't , and certainly not within a plausible time frame. So, and with all due respect, Madam Secretary, we will stick with the Chinese.*
>
> McCord*: They are not your friends, you know?*
>
> Ecuador *Ambassador: But then, they don't pretend to be.*

With disappointment and frustration on her face, Secretary McCord does not give up. She reaches out to Congress and the environmental organisation RACTO (Rainforests of the Americas Conservation Treaty Organisation) in order to work out the solution to help the environment of the rainforest and, hence, 'save the world', as she states to Mr. Russel Jackson, the chief of staff of the president. At the 20-minute mark, aware of the US's intentions, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen finally makes his appearance in the episode in Secretary McCord's office.

> Chen*: Madam Secretary, this protest you've lodged with RACTO's clearly a stalling tactic. You want to help Ashmont Petroleum win a bid they couldn't win honestly or fairly.*
>
> McCord (stood up)*: You really want to accuse Ashmont Petroleum of being the only unscrupulous actor here?*
>
> Chen*: I would suggest you tread carefully, Madam Secretary.*
>
> McCord*: So you are saying that it is not common Chinese business practice to get at the resources of developing nations by bribing their elites?*
>
> Chen*: The West did just that for centuries, including to China.*
>
> McCord*: Just because it's your turn now doesn't make it right.*

Chen: *While fascinating, this philosophical discussion is hardly germane. I strongly urge you to retract your protest.*

McCord (shaking): *There are so many other fascinating subjects to discuss. Your currency devaluation, unfair export subsidies, intellectual property theft. I mean, not to mention, your labour and environmental… Can we even call them laws (sneer)? More like suggestions.*

Chen: *Madam Secretary, this inflammatory performance will not help your cause in Ecuador or in any other area. Perhaps we should talk at a later time.*

However, this conversation continues when Secretary McCord claims that the decision Foreign Minister Chen holds will cause environmental disasters such as global overheating in the future and has a sudden panic attack or psychological breakdown due to her previous PTSD. Before talking about the content of the conversation and the accusation Secretary McCord makes, we should note the camera language of the scene.

The scene starts with McCord and Chen sitting at the different ends of a sofa. Shortly after, in fact, only after the first sentence from Chen, McCord stands up, and the two characters' positions can be seen in Figure 4. While McCord is in front of the camera in the corner and positioned at 1/3 of the whole frame, Chen sits on the sofa at the far end of the shot. It could be observed from other episodes that Chen was nearly as tall as McCord when she was in high heel shoes. But in this scene, the positioning made Chen seems much smaller than her. This positioning was consistent throughout the scene until he stood up to her accusation with intent to leave the office (Figure 5). Those high-angle shots, with the camera tilted downwards, diminished Chen in the screen space and possibly implied that Chen was shorter than McCord and disempowered by McCord (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009) . In contrast, during her entire 'inflammatory performance,' the camera angles for McCord were either neutral or low angle. The camera was positioned mostly lower than McCord (Figure 6 and Figure 7) and tilted to look upwards at her, allowing her to dominate screen space and providing an impression of aggrandisement. In Chapter 4, I have discussed how camera angles are commonly used to influence the viewer's impression of a particular character. For instance, on the one hand, the character filmed with a low-angle shot is seemingly tall, strong, powerful, and proud; on the other hand, the character shot from a high angle appears weak, insignificant, vulnerable, and small. In this case, as two equal parties in a negotiating process, there was a significant difference between the importance level of the two characters in the frame and the camera language. Thus, the

camera angle difference is most likely to distinguish the one who is powerful and the one who is weak, the one who is fighting for a good cause and the one who is not.

Figure 4

Figure 6

Figure 5

Figure 7

Despite the fact that Chen's face is nearly in the dark, another detail in Figure 5 is his little finger. That was a common hand pose of ladies in Peking Opera. I have never observed any white male characters in television dramas post their hands and little fingers like that except for in portrayals of the Medieval French court, where French nobles made such gestures to suggest they had sexual diseases. Not only is Chen talking in the far end of the frame, but during the entire meeting, the light source is positioned behind his face. Figure 8 shows the brightest moment of Chen's face in the whole scene, but the light source is still positioned at his side, which makes half of his face remain in the dark. In a film, such a lighting technique is normally used to suggest that a particular character is the enemy in the story, as I have also discussed in Chapter 4. On the contrary, it is easy to observe from Figure 6 and Figure 7 that while Secretary McCord is talking, she enjoys a much brighter light directly to her face. In Chapter 4, I have stated that full-face lighting was commonly used to suggest the openness and honesty of a character, while shadow on the face was normally a suggestion that the character could not be trusted. There was also no significant body language or facial expression from Chen in this scene. But look at the enthusiasm from her body language and facial expression in front of the Stars and Stripes – as a matter of fact, she was speaking in front of the US

national flag for nearly the entire scene, which sent quite the message to the majority audience in the United States that this woman in the show was one of 'us' and was fighting for 'us'. This stage setting could easily give the viewers an impression that Chen, who was on the opposite side of the Stars and Stripes, was the enemy of the nation. Also, the significant contrast between the two characters strongly suggested their differences regarding openness and honesty level. Furthermore, when the two characters wrapped up their conversation and stood up, the camera and light source were facing McCord the whole time and left Chen in the dark. Figure 9 is the screenshot when Secretary McCord sneered and said, 'Can we even call them laws?' Under the scope of Facial Action Coding System (FACS, Ekman and Friesen, 1978), which is one of the most widely used tools for measuring facial expressions, there was evident sarcasm and contempt identifiers on her face. Specifically, the corners of her lips were tightened, and only one of her eyebrows was raised. Additionally, Chan was nearly out of the frame in the shot and only left his right shoulder in a dark corner.

Figure 8

Figure 9

The story went on when Secretary McCord was hospitalised for her PTSD breakdown. Foreign Minister Chan had a sit-down with McCord's chief of staff, Nadine Tolliver (Bebe Neuwirth). During this brief meeting, he sent his regards by saying, '*I'm so relieved the Secretary is feeling more like herself,'* which indicates that their last conversation did not end well because of her 'not feeling like herself.' He further pursued the issue.

> Chen*: But if the Secretary continues to push forward with her attempt to stymie our rightful and lawful investment in Ecuador, that China might not be so quick to forgive.*
> Tolliver*: Well, I would not presume to speak for the Secretary on such a serious issue, but I will certainly convey your concern.*

96

> Chen*: See that you do. Because if the Secretary's words were not just a moment of unreason but rather indicative of an official attitude towards China, then China, in turn, might begin to feel that the United States' debt is the less than reliable investment for our surplus.*

Rather than pausing the negotiating process, Chen chose to pursue and put the pressure on the United States by threatening to reconsider the Treasury bonds China owns. Again, he referred to their last unpleasant conversation as Secretary McCord's 'moment of unreason.' Though there might be some truth in his claim, it is certainly not a nice thing to say, especially to a female. Combining the fact that Chen was putting the pressure on someone who was hospitalised, this scene may very possibly give the impression to the viewers that the Chinese Foreign Minister was an inhumane person who lacked sympathy and had little respect for females. Also noteworthy in this scene was that the light on Chen was much brighter, he had more space in the frame, and he expressed much more through a facial expressions (see in Figure 10) in front of Nadine Tolliver, who was clearly outranked by him. It even seems like he is bullying her. While confronting Secretary McCord, Chan speaks in a much softer manner. When watching the two scenes together, the viewers may perceive that Chen is a bully, hence affecting their attitude towards this character or even the majority of the Chinese. It doesn't matter if Chen's nature is accurate or not; the effects on the audience's attitude are real. In other words, the scene further puts Chen into the enemy position.

Figure 10

In the end, by getting another powerful charity foundation that is against Mr. Harding and Ashmont Petroleum on board, Secretary McCord successfully saves the Amazonian rainforest, as she always does in every episode. The world is saved, again, by the United States at the end of the day. Interestingly, despite being the third party of the negotiation process, Foreign Minister Chen does not appear again after his last confrontation with Ms. Tolliver, and he does not attend the party and celebration after the deal is closed, which is not a good gesture. This episode offers the viewers the idea about Chen in the enemy position. I will move on to another episode on a more controversial matter: South China Sea from Season 3.

3.2 Analysis of 'South China Sea'

Aired on March 2017, the third episode of the third season of *Madam Secretary*, 'South China Sea,' was one of the most controversial episodes involving China in the series. The particular episode received a score of 7.6 out of 10 from IMDb sites, which is approximately one point higher than the series' overall average score. In this section, I will further unwrap the story in this specific episode and examine Chen and China's role in this plot line.

The story started with the scene of a group of youngsters on a motorboat landing on an island in the dark. One of the girls in the group made the following statement in a short video clip:

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Mason: *My name is Becca Mason. My friends and I are with the environmental group Ocean Relief Foundation, have managed to sneak ashore here on Shipwreck Reef. Until recently, it was an uninhabited atoll, home to an incredibly biodiverse coral reef. Like many such atolls, this reef is being developed by the Chinese military. And by 'developed'? I mean demolished. You can see the construction going on over there. To build airstrips and radar stations, they pulverise the coral and pave over it with concrete, destroying it forever. Maybe you are thinking, so what? who cares about a little speck in the little of a faraway sea? Then, consider this;*

98

these reefs provide one-tenth of all the seafood on Earth, providing food for millions of people. What will happen when that food is gone?

The video clip was presented in a 'documentary fashion', similar to *Law and Order*. With the time and location tagged at the bottom (Figure 11) and a visible aperture ring (Figure 12) and twinkling red REC dot (Figure 13 and Figure 14), the clip seemed pretty authentic to viewers. This documentary aesthetic is normally used to create a 'fictional reality' so that the audience may think the situation in the drama was really happening somewhere in the world. The South China Sea is not a very common table topic, and with little knowledge of this complex and controversial issue, such a video clip will very possibly result in a poor first impression of China's standing on the issue.

Figure 15

Figure 17

Figure 16

Additionally, after young people were spotted by the Chinese soldiers, the portrayal on both sides changed significantly. On one side was a group of youngsters in their T-shirts and shorts, trying to upload their video as fast as they could with shaky hands (Figure 15). On the other side of the scene were the fully armed Chinese soldiers in uniforms and with tactical flashlights and guns in their hands (Figure 16). Such a distinct difference in power between the two sides suddenly made the right and wrong question less relevant. The territory of the South China Sea is undergoing ongoing negotiations between several countries and nations. Multiple countries, including China, have claimed the area as their territory. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore which countries'

territory the island is due to the controversial nature of the reality of the issue and the fictional nature of the television drama. One thing the audience could logically imagine was that the island did not belong to the United States. However, with the insight that the young group was trespassing, American audiences would most likely prefer to take the side of the young people of their own kind, who were so concerned about the marine environment that they would choose to trespass on controversial soil to uncover the Chinese military facilities built on the particular island.

To make the scene stronger, there are many long close-up shots of Mason's face both in the recorded statement (e.g., see Figure 12 and Figure 13) and at the end of this narrative plot. At the end of the scene, there is an approximately 5-second face close-up of Mason (Figure 17) before the location jumps to Washington D.C. The shot is taken after the Chinese military threatens to fire their arms and the young Americans reluctantly choose to surrender. Though posing in a helpless surrender gesture, the expression on her face tells another story. Her lowered eyebrows, her glaring eyes, the tightening and narrowing of her lips, and her stretched lip corners are all identifiers of anger based on the Facial Action Coding System. The close-up of her facial expression with a shallow focus to blur the background lasts for more than 5 seconds, which, in my opinion, is a textbook scene of empathy, which is defined as 'a facial expression close-up of a particular character being presented on screen for some length, especially at an emotionally high point in the narrative for example, the ending of a scene' (Plantinga, 2009:12). From infancy, people are able to recognise human faces and the basic emotions that the faces express such as joy, surprise, distress, rage, fear, etc. (Ekman, 2003). A remarkable amount of the information viewers derive about film characters is communicated visually, via facial expression (Carroli, 2010). A close-up shot of a person directs the audience's attention to the particular facial expression in the frame. It is often used to connote intimacy or intimidation, enhancing emotion, identification, or impact (Stadler and McWilliam, 2009). Kydd (2011) explained that the expression on a character's face tells the audience what they are thinking and feeling so that the audience can empathise with the character. Under the Emotional Contagion Theory (Hatfield, et al., 1992), the empathy and the mimicry between the audience and the character occur beneath the level of consciousness as a kind of automatic response. The important thing to note is that such a response is automatic, which means forcing the audience to pay attention to the character's facial expression, and feeding them with the character's feelings and emotions is very likely to activate the emotional contagion process automatically. This process will occur whether the audience agrees with those feelings or not. In this case, after the significant power difference between Chinese soldiers and American youth blurs the line between right and wrong, the five-second close-up shot before the scene ends further bypasses viewers' consciousness and spreads an-

ger regardless of their approval. The whole scene uses visual techniques that attempt to communicate with the viewers' subconscious and affect their cognitive process. These visual techniques set a tone that the Chinese in this episode are enemies to the audience at the very beginning.

After the 'scene of empathy', the location jumps back to Washington DC, and the plot line moves on. The incident is brought to Secretary McCord's and her office's attention.

Tolliver: *The South China Sea is one of the most dangerous flash points on this planet. What the hell were those kids doing out there?*

Matt Mahoney (Geoffrey Arend, speechwriter): *Protesting its destruction, apparently, which they are not wrong about.*

Daisy Grant (Patina Miller, press coordinator): *Okay, so, for the briefing, China's building these bases to assert its claim that it owns the whole sea because, why?*

Jay Whitman (Sebastian Arcelus, senior policy advisor): *Oil and gas. Shipping lanes.*

Grant: *Fishing is pretty good too.*

Whitman: *You guys, 11 billion proven barrels of oil underneath the South China Sea. That's what China wants. What are we even talking about? Maybe they want to control the 5 trillion US dollars worth of cargo that passes through it each year. 1.2 trillion of which touches US ports, because, you know, we buy everything from China now.*

Tolliver: *Okay, you want to play fun with numbers? Here. A population of 1.3 billion with one of the world's largest fisheries in its backyard. All I'm saying.*

Whitman: *Oh, and don't forget to note that tensions have been rising dangerously not just with the US but with all of China's neighbours on the sea.*

Five minutes after the episode starts, nearly everyone on Secretary McCord's team expresses their opinions on the matter. Their conversation sets the tone of this episode very clearly by indicating that the situation happened because a group of 'kids' were trying to do the right thing. This statement makes China the only bad guy in the case. In the conversation, they claim that China's interest in the islands is solely because of oil, gas, and shipping lanes, which have nothing to do with any honourable causes such as environmental protection. Whitman even indicated that China might want their hands on the 5 trillion US dollars worth of cargo that passes the particular location that did not belong to China. Tolliver further highlighted the threatening population of China, which is, from my point of view, quite irrelevant to the issue itself. Again, the power difference between the

two sides seemed significant to the viewers, because their words indicated that it was not a political situation between two nations but a group of 'kids' on their own against a nation of 1.3 billion population. Earlier, I mentioned that when audiences do not have a direct encounter with the issue, they are more likely to think the situations in television dramas reflect reality, even with awareness of the fictional nature of the drama. In this episode, five minutes after it started, before China even had a chance to tell their side of the story, the line between 'us,' 'our kids,' and the enemy was been already clearly set out for the audience. After the discussion in the office, Secretary McCord set a video conference with Chinese Foreign Minister Chen. Their conversation follows:

McCord: *I want to reach out to you about this situation with the activists because I think it's in both our interests to resolve this misunderstanding quickly.*

Chen: *I agree.*

McCord: *Good. So, where do we start?*

Chen: *Simply acknowledge that they were trespassing on Chinese territory, and we can go from there.*

McCord: *Well, obviously, I'm not gonna do that. Not one country in the world, mine included, recognises the territorial claims China is making in the South China Sea.*

Chen: *Then the Western spies we apprehended will be tried for trespassing on our island.*

McCord: *Not only it is not your island, it's not even an island. It's a coral atoll you illegally annexed and paved over. And furthermore, spies? Really? Come on, Ming. We've worked closely together on a range of incredibly complex issues that I think we can handle some hippies on a raft.*

Chen: *I believe I've made China's position clear. You would be wise not to meddle further in our internal affairs.*

McCord: *Then let me be equally clear: Those activists were taken on disputed territory, and, therefore, illegally. We want them released immediately.*

Chen: *It seems we have nothing further to discuss. Good day, Madam Secretary.*

After an insincere exchange, Chen leaves, leaving the matter unsolved. During the whole conversation, Secretary McCord seems to be the only one who is motivated and enthusiastic to see through the situation. While the close-up shots to McCord's face contain various emotional markers that identify her anger, passion, and worry, Chen remains remarkably calm, as shown by his poker face. Again, the true or false nature of the territorial claim is not in question here. It is

Figure 18

Figure 19

normal for two countries to have their disagreements about political or territorial issues. The noteworthy thing here is the significantly different framing and facial expressions of the two characters. On one side is the passionate blonde secretary who is defending her 'kids'; on the other side is the bald, poker-faced Chen, who is seemingly cold-hearted and is not touched by the secretary's words at all, even when she says, 'we've worked closely together.' As shown in Figure 18 and Figure 19, it can be observed that while Chen was filmed at a neutral-angle medium shot, McCord was filmed with a slightly low-angle shallow-focus close-up, which makes her seem to be more intimate with the audience. As stated before, the facial expressions in close-ups will very likely bypass the consciousness of the viewers and automatically activate the emotional mimicry process. It is fairly clear to assume whose side the audience should choose to defend, not to mention that the final move of suddenly cutting a line from Chen seems pretty rude and immature. Later on, McCord defined China's intentions in this matter:

McCord: *They are using this random event with these activists showing up on Shipwreck Reef as protest to go big in the South China Sea.*

Russel: *To what, into accepting their territorial claims?*

McCord: *Well, why else would they be so intransigent when there's so much at stake? I mean, maybe they've decided this is their moment.*

As with the conversation between staff in the office, the story was one-sided. After the tied situation they met, both McCord and Chen started to seek help from Vietnam. They met in Vietnam:

McCord*: Minister Chen, what a pleasant surprise.*

Chen: *Is it? Did you honestly think we would let these outrageous provocations go unanswered?*

103

McCord: *Did you honestly think we would?*

Chen*: The primary purpose of my visit is to remind Vietnam we have many levers to pull if they choose to take our friendship for granted.*

McCord*: That's what you call your history with Vietnam? A friendship based on mutual respect?*

Chen*: That you would presume to lecture me on friendship with Vietnam, when your country killed millions of Vietnamese, would be laughable if it were not so sickening.*

McCord*: Those activists were innocent, and their families are terrified. Give them back, Ming, before this goes any further.*

Chen*: To the contrary, the Ministry of Justice has moved up their triale, espionage being such a serious crime. I warned you not to meddle in our affairs. Now there will be consequences.*

At the beginning of the meeting, both parties are shown displaying their attitudes quite strongly on the matter in question in literal language. After that, they sit on the sofa, and McCord softens her speech by mentioning the terrified family and by calling Minister Chen by his first name. But the camera and body language tell a different story. For one, the camera angle and the positioning of the two characters' are both portrayed in the same manner as in Episode 17 Season 1 (see Figure 20, 21 & 24) in both standing and sitting positions. Moreover, McCord seems more confident about herself and her standpoint with her hands in her pockets and shoulders open and leaned back compared to Chen's tense upper body that is leaning slightly forward. The body language that is presented when they are standing suggests that McCord is in charge of the situation. Additionally, after sitting down, McCord also performs in a much more relaxed manner while leaning on the back of the sofa while Chen presents a tight and anxious gesture (see Figure 22). Furthermore, during the sofa talk, Chen talked quite strongly and confidently about one small detail, but he fidgeted with his fingers while he did it (see Figure 21 & 23) and made continuous, unnecessary tiny movements, which can be interpreted as a sign of feeling insecure or anxious (see Glass, 2012). Again, in this conversation, Chen did not seem to be moved by McCord's words about the families of the activists, drawing a line between humane and inhumane, 'us' and 'them'.

After the meeting took place in Vietnam, Secretary McCord heard updates from her chief of staff, Ms Tolliver:

Tolliver*: China appears to be acting on its threats.*

McCord*: What's going on?*

Figure 20

Figure 23

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 24

Tolliver: *Well, as you know, the USS Wayne Morris Carrier Strike Group has moved into South China Sea. Now Chinese fighters are flying dangerously close to our ships.*

McCord: *Boy, I wish I knew what they were playing at.*

Tolliver: *Yeah. And, one other thing. It seems China plans to recall their pandas from the Smithsonian's National Zoo.*

McCord: *Their pandas?*

Tolliver: *From the National Zoo. Yes, madam.*

McCord: *I thought they were a gift.*

Tolliver: *They were on loan, and, apparently, China can take them back whenever they wish.*

McCord: *Holding our citizens, buzzing our ships, taking our pandas. Can't say they'er not covering their bases.*

In these lines, Secretary McCord had used the word 'our' multiple times even when she was refer-ring to the pandas, which were obviously not America's. Commonly, the use of 'we' and 'ours' is used to distance and exclude the 'others.' It is a way to defend one's identity, and thus define the ter-ritory and who is or is not within (Nelson, 2009). By establishing a sense of 'we,' the plot-line fur-ther pushed China to the role of the 'Other,' or, in other words, the enemy side for viewers. The threats China made to recall the pandas made a huge impact in the office as well as in the White House. The storyline ramped up after Secretary McCord found what really mattered on the retrieved video clip: a mobile launch pad in the background of the video about which China wanted to '*keep the world in the dark until the missiles could be deployed.'* The facility was described as '*a TAS5450 8x8 special heavy-duty truck designed to deploy Dong-Feng 15 tactical-theatre ballistic missiles,'* in a position from which '*China can strike major population centres all over Southeast Asia within minutes,'* and '*effectively demand control over the entire South China Sea.'* After China's secret weapon deployment agenda is reviewed, McCord and Chen have another video conference.

Chen*: Madam Secretary, I don't know where you are getting this information.*

McCord*: From the server you tried to destroy. But we will come back to the cyber warfare another time. You've got bigger problems.*

Chen*: Do I? Because I have no idea what you are talking about.*

McCord*: You know it's a good thing you don't. It was a mistake that your military didn't loop you in. Because, with your close personal ties to the American government, I am sure you could have told them with certainty that we will never permit those missiles to be deployed.*

Chen*: It is not for the United States to tell us what is permitted.*

McCord*: — On your own territory. But let's put a pin in the sovereignty stuff for now. Be-cause if your neighbours find out that you secretly planned to settle this issue at gunpoint, I think they would be more than supportive of the U.S.'s response.*

Chen*: And what sort of response might that be?*

McCord*: China's deployment of the missile launcher violently upsets the status quo. And our response, therefore, will be equally violent and upsetting.*

Chen*: Indeed, I am shocked that I was not made privy to such a drastic step on my govern-ment's part.*

McCord*: I knew that you would be troubled.*

Chen*: If I were to offer some suggestions to my president as to how we might de-escalate, what might they be?*

McCord*: Well, for starters, we've looked into it, and we are not giving the pandas back.*

Figure 25

Figure 26

During this conversation, Chen's character, as well as his position in the Chinese government, is diminished by establishing the fact that his government does not keep him in the loop about a major military tactical movement. His facial expressions when responding to the uncovered fact of the missile launchers is extremely dramatic compared to his former poker faces (Figure 25 and Figure 26), which indicates his shock, surprise, and, to some extent, insincerity. In some cases, dramatic facial expressions are considered as a sign of 'insincerity' because they are more like an act or performance instead of a natural expression of one's deep feelings. Thus, Chen's position in the situation is still questionable, but either way, the indications are not favourable to him. If he is aware of his government's movement, then he is lying to Secretary McCord's face and to all of the viewers. However, if he is not lying, then his power as a high-ranking official has been severely compromised. That is, he is neither a powerless figure who is kept in the dark by his own government nor an unfaithful liar to the audience, and his authority is further questioned by his seeking suggestions from the component side to make to his president. To summarise, either way, Chen's power or personality is questioned in this scene. His portrayal is negative regardless of whether he knows about the military tactic or not. In addition to Chen's portrayal, in the last few minutes of the episode, Secretary McCord reassures the viewers of the US's attitudes on the incident by justifying their decision of sending military ships to the South China Sea is not to meddle China's internal affairs but to put pressure to 'get them to back down in the South China Sea which is a huge win for global stability'. In her opinion, and maybe the US audience's opinion, America acted to maintain global stability. As in every other episode, the US government succeeded in solving the issue, and

as in the last episode that I analysed, neither Chen nor China reappears in the happy-ending group picture.

4 REPRESENTATION OF MINISTER CHEN, AND THE ENDURING 'OTHERS'

In 2016, *New York Times* editor Michael Luo wrote an open letter to the public. In it, he wrote:

> After I walked away and you screamed, 'Go back to your fucking country...' 'I was born in this country!' I yelled back. It felt silly. But how else to prove I belonged? This was not my first encounter, of course, with racist insults. Ask any Asian-American, and they'll readily summon memories of schoolyard taunts, or disturbing encounters on the street or at the grocery store...Maybe you don't know this, but the insults you hurled at my family get to the heart of the Asian American experience. It's the persistent sense of otherness that a lot of us struggle with every day. That no matter what we do, how successful we are, what friends we make, we don't belong. We're foreign. We're not American (Luo, 2016, *New York Times*).

In the article, Luo describes his encounter with a stranger who yelled at him on the streets of New York and demanded that he and his American-born family go back to China. The initial shock and anger that Luo experienced from this encounter with racial insults in Manhattan later transformed into sadness. He described the experience of being 'othered' and being treated as a foreigner. In a matter of fact, in real life as in television, treatment of Chinese and Chinese-Americans as the 'ultimate Others' had never stopped.

In the last decade, with rising concerns over racist representations in media, racial portrayals on television have changed enormously. Compared to earlier eras (before the 1990s), ethnic minority groups have more exposure and screen time, as well as more positive roles. Earlier in this chapter, I revealed that in L&O, one of the longest-lasting television crime series, the percentage of African and Hispanic American criminals was much lower than it is in the real world. But contrary to the hope that television was now shaping a post-racist society, the image of the Yellow Peril has not faded away into the depths of history. It persisted throughout the late 20th century and continues in the 21st century. As a long-standing stereotypical representation, it is so entrenched within the cultural fabric of the United States that the Chinese and Chinese Americans today are still regularly represented as the Yellow Peril albeit in a more subtle way.

In Chapter 3, I quoted Lippmann's (1922) well-known statement regarding stereotyping as a defence of one's position and othering the others to define the territory and thus who is in and who is not (Nelson, 2009). In addition to this, Van Dijk (2001) further explains that others are predominantly represented in terms of a) socio-cultural differences; b) deviation from dominant norms and values; and c) violence and threat. These featured representations are repeatedly portrayed in modern media and popular culture. On the one hand, in the episodes I examined earlier in the Chapter, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen and China were obviously positioned as the 'others against the US, constituting a military, economic, and political threat. Additionally, claims made by Madam Secretary regarding China's labour and human rights issues have put China in the opposite side of universal values. On the other hand, portraying a high-ranking diplomatic official, Chen's character was more developed than other Chinese 'others in television shows. For example, the language barrier is never an issue in the show, but there are plenty of examples in other shows.

The lack of English language skills and strong foreign accents have been recurring themes in the representation of Asian, particularly Chinese, characters. Qing Lu (Alice Lo) in *Grey's Anatomy* Season 1 cannot speak English at all; Xiao Mei (Gwendoline Yeo) and Yao Lin (Lucille Soong) in *Desperate Housewives* speak English poorly with very heavy accents. These characters' lack of English skills may be due to their immigration status (illegal immigrants), but in *Bones*, Mei Zhang, a third-generation Chinese American who exclusively speaks Mandarin Chinese, could be one of the examples of using that language barrier as a way to tell the s'others' apart. According to Cargile and Giles (1998), a foreign accent is not only a marker of non-standard language but also a highly salient marker of national and cultural group membership, as well. As Lippi-Green and her colleagues (1997) pointed out, within the United States, it is usually an accent liked to skin that isn't white, or which signals a third-world homeland that is stigmatised. Lucy Liu has expressed her pleasant feelings about acting a character who speaks fluent English with no accent in the television show *Elementary*. Since Minister Chen's character did not suffer from a language barrier, I will discuss more about language and language barriers in a later chapter related to Lucy Liu.

A few keywords about Chinese Foreign Minister Chen could be summarised from the earlier readings regarding the television context. The key words from my reading and interpretation of the show are coldhearted and inhumane (as with the way he responded to the US accusation of China's multiple human rights' issues in S1E17 and Madam Secretary's words about the terrified family

members of the activists in S3E3); insincere (as Chen chose to put pressure on the hospitalised Secretary McCord in S1E17 and use a dramatic facial expression in S3E3); bullying (as he performed in significantly different ways when facing people equal to his level versus those outranked by him); sneaky (as, instead of a direct confrontation, he threatened to recall pandas which was clearly not a mature diplomacy move); and overpowered by Madam Secretary (as the camera and body language said so). When we compare these characteristics to the keywords highlighted in the Yellow Peril (enemy) stereotype, there are not many differences. Below, I will analyse Chen's representation and the stereotypical 'others' with reference to other characters in contemporary television. I will then unwrap the inner motivations and mechanisms of stereotyping 'others' according to the insights of Lippmann's (1922) classic stereotype theory.

In the middle ages, the distinction between 'us' and 'them' was primarily expressed in terms of religion (Jahoda, 1999: 223). At the end of the sixteenth century Thomist Bartolomé de las Casas argued that the desire for the supernatural was rooted in human nature. Idolatrous traditions were a feature of humanity—a humanity which was defective and inferior. The representations conveyed by the media of the Other go back to the narratives of European soldiers, philosophers, historians, travellers, explorers and merchants, among other forms of elite discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). Two major discourses generated broadly shared social representations at that time: exotic difference, on the one hand, and supremacist derogation stressing the Others' intellectual, moral and biological inferiority (Van Dijk, 2001), on the other hand. It is the continuity of this socio-cultural tradition of negative images of the Other that also explains the persistence of dominant patterns of representation in contemporary discourse, media, and film (Shohat & Siam, 1994 in Van Dijk, 2001).

In *Madam Secretary*, the moral distinctions and differences are presented mainly through Secretary McCord's claims and her staff members' conversations. In Season 1, Episode 17, McCord first indicates that China did not hesitate to pursue the deal through bribing foreign officials; this is followed by her accusations over China's 'currency devaluation, unfair export subsidies, intellectual property theft and labour and environmental regulations'. In Season 3, Episode 3, Becca Mason further accuses China's military movement on the coral speck of having destroyed the environment in the South China Sea, and Secretary McCord's staff indicates that China intends to lay its hands on oil, gas, and shipping lanes that do not belong to it. All of the indications and accusations put China in the position of a greedy and unlawful enemy against the dominant moral and international order.

Madam Secretary is not the only case in television shows in which the Chinese are morally questioned and distanced. Besides Wujing (*The Blacklist*) and Bill Kim (*Prison Break*), whom I mentioned earlier in this chapter, Whiterose (B. D. Wong) in *Mr Robot* is also a good example of an unlawful Chinese hacker who is willing to do 'pretty dark' missions. The other examples of the immoral and inhumane representation of the Chinese include the Minghun ceremony, which is brought up in several contemporary television shows. The Minghun ceremony is described as an ancient Chinese belief that could be translated into 'ghost marriage'. An episode of *Bones* called 'Bride in the River' further explains the tradition: If a young, unmarried male dies, his family should rebury his bones with the bones of a woman, and in the episode, the agents and detectives suspect that a woman was murdered to carry out the ceremony. Such a ceremony is primarily depicted as a barbaric and primitive tradition that distinguishes the Chinese from the rest of the civilised society. In the show, investigators suggest that only someone not 'human' could carry out such an act. In Devotion, Episode 22 of the final season of Without a Trace, a young woman is kidnapped and set to be poisoned and 'married' by the traditional Chinese parents of her late ex-fiancé. In Season 5, Episode 13 of the television series Numbers, Trouble in Chinatown, Chinese women are being murdered and their bodies buried atop the coffins of unmarried Chinese males. Also, Minghun is the central theme in Episode 20 of the second season of *The Blacklist*, in which a blacklister smuggles deceased female bodies and prepares them for the afterlife with a marriage ceremony for the sons of grieving Chinese clients. Even though some of cases are proven to be false accusations, the narratives feed the audience with the brutal and inhumane Chinese tradition but fail to say that not only is Minghun an extremely rare and long-gone tradition but also that the original tradition definitely did not include a murder. In other words, the shows vividly present the tradition and its alleged process while solving murder cases but fail to present how the long-gone tradition itself actually has nothing to do with murder. The lack of thorough explanation might mislead the audience into thinking that the barbaric tradition is murder-related and very much alive in China and Chinese societies in the world today.

The notion of primitiveness is very much a product of modernity and modem imperialism. Western societies, when classifying themselves as modern and civilised, relied heavily on the contrast between their own sense of advancement and the idea of morally backward and inferior societies. In *Bones*, the family of the dead young man is portrayed as morally inferior, not only for having a girl killed, boiled, and her bones removed (as they are falsely accused of), but as intellectually, cultur-

ally and spiritually inferior since they are doing this to comply with an ancient tradition that is incompatible with Western beliefs.

Stereotypes are the projection upon the world of one's own sense of value, position, and rights (Lippmann, 1922). It is society's denial of its own negative tendencies by assigning them to the other. Stereotypes reveal nothing about the stereotyped and everything about the stereotyper. Therefore, through the stereotypes, the audience becomes aware of their own society's continuing deviation and the violation of norms and values that have long characterised US society. Earlier in this chapter, I explained that, in the context of history, stereotypes of the Chinese were once used to control the ambivalent and create boundaries from the late 19th century. However, it was not always that way. The function of stereotyping the Chinese has shifted depending on the state of Sino-US relationships. Because the Chinese were allies of the United States during World War II, various efforts were made to distinguish them from the Japanese. To help this process, the December 22, 1941 Times Magazine printed the following explanation accompanied by pictures of a smiling, friendly Chinese person and a stern, unfriendly Japanese person:

> HOW TO TELL YOUR FRIENDS FROM THE JAPS: Virtually all Japanese are short. Japanese are likely to be stockier and broader-hipped than short Chinese. Japanese are seldom fat; they often dry up and grow lean as they age. Although both have the typical epicanthic fold of the upper eyelid, Japanese eyes are usually set closer together. The Chinese expression is likely to be placid, kindly, open; the Japanese more positive, dogmatic, arrogant. Japanese are hesitant, nervous in conversation, laugh loudly at the wrong time. Japanese walk stiffly erect, hard heeled. Chinese, more relaxed, have an easy gait, sometimes shuffle. (Takaki, 1994:151).

However, this bifurcation did not last long. In 1949, Mao Zedong's army prevailed in the civil war in China, and the Chinese became part of the 'red menace'. The Chinese intervention in the Korean War fuelled the anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States, and the Chinese were no longer a favoured minority.

The new peril was seen as yellow in race and red in ideology. In the late 1950s, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, which provided for the internment of Communists during a nation-

al emergency, authorising the attorney general to detain all persons for whom there was 'reasonable ground' for believing they would 'probably' engage in espionage or sabotage (Takali, 1994:159).

The belief that the Chinese were engaging in espionage and sabotage continued and was reproduced in contemporary television as well as in the real world. In 1999, Los Alamos nuclear scientist Dr Wen Ho Lee was accused of being spy. As a nuclear scientist, he was alleged to have given key nuclear information to China. Despite having lived in the United States for thirty-five years, having been naturalised for twenty-five years, and having been a Los Alamos scientist whose work strengthened US national defence and security, Dr Lee was accused of handing over top-secret information to China. News media in the United States have described Dr Lee as 'sly', 'quiet', 'uncooperative', 'mysterious', and 'deceptive' (Ono and Pham, 2009:40). According to Ono and Pham (2009), news media rhetoric invoked Yellow Peril themes and fears to construct Dr Lee as a deceptive and sneaky threat, infiltrating the US from within, stealing nuclear secrets, and compromising US national safety. Though investigated for a long period of time, the accusations levelled at Dr Lee have never been proven. He was awarded a 1.6 million US dollar settlement from the US federal government and formal apologies from news organisations. In 2003, Dr Lee wrote a memoir in which he described his love for literature, poetry, and fishing in the mountains of New Mexico, and claimed that his Chinese ethnicity was the primary factor behind the wrongful accusation and prosecution against him (Lee, 2003).

Similar portrayals can be found in television dramas. *The BlackList*, *Prison Break*, and *24* all depict the Chinese in a similar manner: targeting US national security, stealing government classified information, or working with terrorist in nuclear field—except the Chinese characters in television shows are all proven guilty. Although in other television shows, not all Chinese are treated as the enemy, just as the political commentator Sally Kohn's viral tweet: 'Muslim shooters = entire religion guilty; Black shooter = entire race guilty; White shooter = mentally troubled lonely wolf' (Kohn, 2014), stereotypes that portray Chinese as evil and inhuman affect perceptions of all who are identified as Chinese.

For example, the Chinese American community knows well that in the case of Kansas v. Simons in 1982, the image of a Chinese male as a dangerous foreigner influenced jurors' views of 'reasonableness' in a self-defence context. In the Kansas v. Simon case (646 P.2d 1119, 1121) in 1982, an elderly homeowner, Anthony Simon, was acquitted of aggravated assault when he shot his Chinese

neighbour, Steffen Wong, who was entering his own home. During the trial, a clinical psychologist testified that Simon suffered from an anxiety neurosis. However, Simon insisted that because Wong was Chinese, he was violent and an expert in martial arts. The jury accepted Simon's testimony and concluded that Simon had reasons to believe that Wong posed an imminent threat to him. The case illustrates the impact of the Yellow Peril stereotype on jurors in deciding what is reasonable in self-defence contexts. As long as Chinese and Chinese Americans are perceived as threatening foreigners, jurors can acquit defendants for acts that would not be considered self-defence if the victims were not Chinese.

The Kansas v. Simon case is an extreme example of discrimination against Chinese and Chinese Americans as dangerous and threatening foreigners. In a way, the case suggests the stereotype's strong impact on people's cognitive processes.

According to Campion, the contemporary Yellow Peril could be defined this way:

> A comprehensive discursive system with specific characteristics: the belief in the moral and spiritual degeneracy of Chinese people; the fear of blending a superior race with an inferior race; the effect of Chinese economic competition; and the threat of military invasions (Campion, 2016:42).

The images of Chinese people and Chinese Americans in *Madam Secretary*, *Bones*, *Mr Robot*, *The Blacklist*, and many other shows reinforced the idea that the Chinese could be defined as 'Others' by characteristics uniquely different from those of mainstream Americans and that are potentially threatening to the U.S. and its dominant value norms. The foreignness and otherness components of the Yellow Peril stereotype are particularly enduring, as are its impact offscreen.

However, besides the threats from political, economic, and military perspectives and ideological conflicts, the threat of cheap Chinese labour taking over American jobs from the original Yellow Peril's historical context has also shifted in contemporary television. Instead of invading the U.S.'s cheap labour market, other concerns have been raised that are associated with another typical Chinese stereotypical representation, the Model Minority, which has a history nearly as long as the Yellow Peril. While today's Yellow Peril is shaped as military, cultural, or national security enemies, the Model Minority could also be considered as unfair competitors in the economy, higher educa-

tion, and high-end job market. The portrayal of Chinese and Chinese Americans as foreign, whether model minority or yellow peril, not only fosters anti-China hostility and resentment, but also allows racial and economic tensions vented upon them without changes being made to the underlying social structure. Though appeared to be more positive in representation, the yellow peril and the model minority 'are not poles, demoting opposite representations along a single line, but in fact form a circular relationship that moves in either direction' (Okihiro, 1994:141). In the next chapter, I will unwrap the model minority stereotype with references from popular medical dramas such as *ER* (1994 - 2009)*, Grey's Anatomy, and The Night Shift.*

CHAPTER 6 MODEL MINORITY

1 INTRODUCTION

First aired in 1951, *City Hospital* (1951-1953) started the long history of the medical genre in prime time television. It was followed in 1963 by *General Hospital* (1963), premiering on American television. In 2014, the 13,000th episode of General Hospital aired in the United States, making it the most long-running television programme in American history. Its success has made medical dramas one of the most popular genres. There were many well-known and widely beloved medical television dramas in the past decades, such as *ER*, *House M.D.* (2004-2012), *Private Practice* (2007-2013), and others still running, including *Grey's Anatomy*, *Night Shif*, *Chicago Med* (2015-today), and *Code Black* (2015-). These shows have been phenomenally successful regarding their longevity and popularity with audiences, and they have launched the careers of many famous actors, such as Hugh Laurie, Patrick Dempsey, and Katherine Heigl. In the past fifty years, since the launch of *City Hospital*, these shows have covered many important social issues in America, including gender equality, civil rights, medical ethics, and the politics of health itself.

Notable in this programming has been the relative absence of Chinese-American characters until recently. Until *ER*, decades after the genre had remained popular, there were very few Chinese-American representations of doctors in these shows. When Chinese Americans appear in the medical shows, they are mostly assigned to roles in a narrow range of possibilities, most notably criminals, illegal immigrants, and, at best, nurses and medical students, as Wu's (1996) study suggested. Asians or Asian-Americans are often left out in the picture and seem 'invisible' most of the time. As Hamamoto (1994:206) wrote, when Asians or Asian-Americans were represented, they existed primarily for the convenience and benefit of the Euro-American lead players'. The Asian American characters are not being examined on their own merits, nor their lives are being considered to be interesting to the audience. In other words, the Asian American characters were presented as the sidekick of the white leading characters or simply background of the storyline.

However, this lack of representation phenomenon has begun to change. Recently, Chinese American characters are more familiar with medical dramas, and their characters are developed in more complex ways, making them more important to the overall plot and narrative arcs of these programmes.

And yet, compared to white and especially white male characters, Chinese Americans remain marginal even when assigned leading roles such as Doctor Topher Zia (Ken Luang) in *The Night Shift*. While white characters are given a full range of possible life experiences and backgrounds, Chinese Americans are largely presented to audiences as model minorities. That is, these are characters that have advanced their lives and careers by dint of hard work and disciplined individualism. They are produced as ideal minorities who ask for little and offer their dedication and service for the wider social good. However, as model minorities, Chinese Americans remain both admired and subject to suspicion. They form part of the American social fabric but in limited ways that restrict their life opportunities and the ability of audiences to relate to them in unambiguously positive ways.

In this chapter, I am going to investigate Chinese representation in medical shows. First, I briefly summarise the model minority stereotype, which was introduced in Chapter 2. This section will further introduce the contemporary concept of male model minority as 'sexless'. In this section, I will also look into Ming-Na Wen's character Deb Chen in *ER* since she is generally the first Chinese doctor in medical dramas and started the trend of portraying Chinese doctors. Second, I focus on Dr Zia in *The Night Shift*. I will uncover the key characteristics of Zia as a model minority in medical dramas and consider him in terms of both development and, as importantly, underdevelopment of the character. Thirdly, I analyse the influence of perceiving model minority stereotypes from both in-group and out-of-group perspectives.

2 Medical Robot: The First and Long-Lasting Trend of Model Minority

Since the 1990s, there has been surprisingly many Asian doctors in American television series, ranging from Ravi Kapoor, a famed forensic entomologist on the television show Crossing Jordan; surgeon Neela Rasgotra (Parminder Nagra) in *ER*; Cristina Yang (Sandra Oh) in *Grey's Anatomy*; Dr Susie Chang (Tina Huang), forensic criminalist in *Rizzoli and Isles*; to Ken Jeong as Dr Kuni in *Knocked Up* (2007). According to a study about prime-time television representations of Asian Americans, of the eight Asian American characters with a known occupation, five of them hold advanced degrees, often in the medical sciences (Ono and Pham 2005). The reason for the phenomenon could be more or less reviewed by a sub-story in *ER*, the episode entitled *House of Cards*: because the Asians care more about science.

Dr Deb Chen first appeared halfway through the first season as a medical student. The story is about two medical students, Chen and John Carter (Noah Wyle), with Carter being the primary character around whom the story is narrated. In the episode, when Chen finds out that Carter has finished more procedures than herself, she becomes envious and anxious and worries that she will be left behind her colleague. Without asking permission from her supervisor, she bribes a nurse to perform a procedure on a patient. Chen's action puts the patient in a critical condition. Luckily, other doctors help to remedy her mistake. Later, she tells Carter that she wants to quit because, she says, *'I didn't care about the patient; I just wanted the procedure*' and '*I like the science of it, but the patient, the sickness, sometimes it almost scares me.*' Porter (1998) reviewed the episode and summarised the Chinese-American doctors (medical students) in television as seemingly more concerned with the science of medicine than the well-being of the patient. In this episode, Chen is portrayed as a model minority in the highly professional work field. She is rich, professional, and competitive, but also, cold and could not care less about her patient than her white peer. This narrative constructs Chen in a stereotypical fashion as the Chinese-American model minority, but with the additional characterisation of her being more interested in science than people. It is implied that Chen's characteristics predestine that she is not capable of becoming a qualified doctor who should 'prescribe regimens for the good of the patients and never do harm to anyone' or care about the patients in the way that Carter can and does.

Similar characters can be found in *Grey's Anatomy*. Just as Chen, Dr Christina Yang (Sandra Oh) is described as being professional, competitive, and ambitious, but unsympathetic. Graduating first in her class from Stanford University, she has top-class surgical skills as a medical doctor; however, she is purely interested in logic and practical thinking rather than emotional interactions with others. Thus, she was referred to as a 'medical robot' by her colleagues in early seasons. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) characterised Yang as 'competitive', 'ambitious', and 'intelligent', while also noting her weaknesses: 'bossy', 'aggressive', and 'tactless' (2012).

It is interesting to compare how the high-educated model minority stereotype is applied and how those characters are shaped and portrayed. Medical science is a highly professional field and is respected by society. However, the meaning has experienced slight changes when applied to the Asian American model minority stereotype. According to McGowan and Lindgren (2006), the prevalent Asian American doctor representation may enforce the discourse of Yellow Peril. When representing Asian Americans as doctors, the media has provoked a potential worry that Asian Americans

pose a competitive threat to the whites in the job market because Asian doctors are more logical and skilled. With the threat of Asians stealing professional jobs, writers and producers created those highly skilled medical doctors, but referred to them as 'surgical robots'. In short, they are not good doctors, after all. However, compared to Chen, Dr Yang, and other Asian doctors in television today, Dr Topher Zia is a different story which I will explain later. For now, let's look at the Asian M.D. phenomenon more closely.

On the one hand, this phenomenon is more or less a progress compared to earlier research results that the Chinese are mostly portrayed as blue-collar workers or persons involved in illegal activities (Wu, 1996). In Wu's study of U.S. prime-time television in the 1970s and mid 1980s, most Chinese characters in health and service are waiters in restaurants or other services instead of medical doctors or corporate managers. The most shocking outcome derived from the occupational breakdowns is that 36 percent of Chinese characters are involved with illegal activities. None of the Chinese characters fall in the field of 'entertainment, art, sports, or mass media,' and very few fall into the category of 'government, courts, law, and official authority.' Compared to Wu's results, the Asian MD phenomenon is a progress reflecting the Chinese group's social status change in the U.S. television world.

But, if we look at the phenomenon more closely, it is not very difficult to discover that while expressing how good they are as doctors, there is always something else encoded between the lines, which is how inhumane they are as humans. As a human being, Dr Christina Yang is hardly a success while she is well known as 'surgical robot.' In thousands of audience comments from various BBSs (IMDb comments board, *Grey's Anatomy* official website comments board, etc.), many people said, 'she is admirable, but I don't want to be her' (IMDb comments). The viewers see Dr Yang as 'strong, intelligent, career-oriented, ambitious and controlling' but also note a 'lack of compassion and sympathy'. She is also considered as lacking the ability to balance career and family and lacking maternal love. While shaping a successful doctor, the television series is also shaping an unsuccessful woman who ran away from her wedding and had an abortion without discussing it with her husband. It would be more fruitful to see this character through Fiske's Stereotype Content Model (SCM), which I mentioned in Chapter 3 (Figure C).

The SCM (Fiske et al., 2002) emphasises a different set of attributes consistently ascribed to certain social groups. Specifically, the SCM is intended to unravel the complexity of stereotypes on the

basis of intergroup relationships. The SCM proposes that the central dimensions of the stereotype are competence and warmth and are predominately used to describe the traits of people and social groups. Competence demonstrates the target group's perceived intelligence and capability to succeed, while warmth focuses on the group's socio-emotional orientation when interacting with others (Eckes, 2002). From the SCM's point of view, competence and warmth are inextricably intertwined to produce mixed stereotypes that endorse high levels of one attribute and low levels of the other attribute simultaneously. Based on the hypothesis of the SCM, the media portrayal of Asian medical doctors as intelligent and career oriented overshadows the representation of their warmth and sociability. Therefore, the model minority images reinforce stereotypes of Asian Americans as highly competent yet cold, selfish, and lacking interpersonal skills, leading to the envious stereotype. It functions to justify the system that the desirability of competence comes at the expense of rejection on other grounds, such as a low level of sociability (Glick and Fiske, 2001; Jost, Burgess, and Mosso, 2001). They are admired for their competency because they are perceived as being in control of their career and lives. However, this control can also be viewed as intimidating, as depriving individuals from other social groups of the same level of control. Envy and discomfort are likely to be generated from the admiration of these characters' competence. When the perceived competence and competitiveness of the characters have reached a point of jeopardising the benefits and status of the audience, negative attributes, such as being cold and unsociable arise. Although Asian doctor characters in the show are well-educated, highly competitive, and brilliant as doctors, they exhibit negative characteristics, such as being socially awkward, unsympathetic, and lacking humanity. On the one hand, medical dramas, such as *ER* and *Grey's Anatomy* have increased the visibility and social status of Chinese/Asian characters, the shows have also estranged and distanced those characters from the audience by highlighting their lack of social skills and compassion. However, compared to these characters, Dr Topher Zia, in *The Night Shift,* is a different story since he is both a successful doctor and a compassionate man. In the later section, I will focus on Dr Zia's character and unwrap how it challenges and maintains the model minority stereotype.

3 DR ZIA AND *THE NIGHT SHIFT*

The Night Shift is an American medical drama series created by Gabe Sachs and Jeff Judah that first premiered on May 27, 2014, on NBC. It follows the lives of the medical staff who work the night shift in the emergency room at San Antonio Memorial Hospital. Dr Christopher Zia, known as 'Topher', cast by Ken Leung as a leading character in all three seasons, is an emergency room doctor

and a surgeon who has served time in Afghanistan as an Army Ranger. He works with the show's main actor and the actress Dr TC Callahan (Eoin Macken), and Dr Jordan Alexander (Jill Flint), along with other important characters such as Dr Drew Alister (Brendan Fehr), Dr Scott Clemmens (Scott Wolf), and nurse Kenny Fournette (JR Lemon). Compared to the heartless envious stereotype doctors, I was introduced earlier in this section. Dr Zia stands out because he is portrayed as a brilliant doctor and a caring man as well.

In Season 2 Episode 6, while his colleagues thought there was nothing wrong with a patient, Dr Zia listened to the patient's neck through the stethoscope and insisted on intubating.

> Dr Zia: *How's the patient doing?*
> Dr Alistar: *Hypothermia, but he's warming up.*
> Nurse: *Yes, his core temp is about 97. He's looking good.*
> Dr Zia: *This kid is drowning. Intubate!*
> Dr Alistar: *Wait a minute, sats are fine.*
> Dr Zia: *Right Now! Let's go. We don't have much time. Just do it.*

After listening to the patient's breath, Dr Zia discovered that the patient's vocal cords were seizing up from being underwater and had a critical condition called dry drowning while his colleagues had all missed the symptoms. With exceptionally quick responses, Dr Zia's diagnosis saves the patient's life. There are many more cases in the series when Dr Zia diagnoses a disease quicker or more accurately than the others, or he figures an uncommon treatment despite the time limit or critical condition. All the evidence points out that he is an excellent doctor, even compared to his colleagues.

In Season 1 Episode 3, Dr Zia helps a little girl named Kylie, who goes to the hospital seeking help. In the first scene of the episode, the little girl wanders around alone in the emergency room. Dr Zia starts the conversation very warmly:

> Dr Zia: *You work here?*
> Kylie: I'm 9 years old.
> Dr Zia: *You're right. Silly question.*

Kylie then tells Zia that she is not feeling well; her head hurts. Zia then asks about her parents' whereabouts and finds out her mother is dead and her father is working.

Dr Zia: *Then how did you get here?*

Kylie: *I took the bus. The 93 express to the transit centre, then the 100.*

Dr Zia: *That's pretty impressive.*

After encouraging Kylie by praising her clever behaviour of finding the bus routes online and finding her way to the hospital by herself, Zia and Kylie shake hands, and the episode's storyline starts.As one very early episode, the audience could perceive the overall characteristic of Zia's character through the very short clip. How he treated Kylie showed a good level of patience and warmth towards his patients, as well as his social skills to open a conversation with a small girl. The patience and warmth were confirmed when he explained MRI to Kylie.

Dr Zia: *So this giant tube is gonna take a picture of your head. It doesn't hurt, but it is noisy.*

He did a small magic trick, which 'discovered' a pair of earbuds in Kylie's hair and he continuously tried to comfort Kylie before her very first MRI.

Dr Zia: *These should help with that. I will now strap you in. Now, I like to pretend I'm in a rocket ship, going out into outer space. I will be right in the next room, and we can talk through the intercom. Just relax, and breath easily.*

At half of the treatment, Kylie could not stand it and admitted she was lying and faking the symptoms from the very beginning. Her main purpose was to bring her father, Steve, to the hospital because she thought there is something wrong with him, and he needs medical help. While Kylie's father was very angry about it, Zia believed her and tried to persuade Steve to take a quick examination.

Dr Zia: *'You don't look great, Steve. You've been having headaches. Look, I have a daughter, I know they can be absolutely annoying, but they mean well. We could do a quick workup. What if it's not the flu? Better safe than sorry?'*

Steve insisted on leaving, or he would lose his job, but in a moment, he passed out in the parking lot. Kylie hit Dr Zia for not believing her. In the end, the doctors found that Steve was chemically poisoned from his job; they worked out a treatment plan and saved his life.

Dr Zia: *'Your dad will be fine all because of what you did.'*

Kylie: *'I'm sorry I hit you. I was so scared.'*

Dr Zia: *'I was, toot, but I had a promise to keep (help Kylie's father), right? Well, you hit like a girl.'*

Kylie: *'Good. Girls rule.'*

After walking Kylie to her father in the ICU, Zia called his daughter at home.

Dr Zia: *'I know it's early, honey, but I just wanted to hear your voice.'*

As one of the beginning episodes of *The Night Shift*, the storyline in S1E3 gives the audience a first glimpse at Dr Zia's character. His interaction with Kylie and his belief in her, as well as trying to persuade Steve to be tested, all show a high level of warmth that the other Chinese doctor characters I introduced earlier do not have. In this case, he shows extraordinary patience and caring gestures towards Kylie and her father, as well as good social skills. Hence, he challenges the long-lasting trend of heartless and socially awkward medical robot portrayal. Combining with his exceptional medical skills, the evidence in the storyline positions Zia in the admiration category in the SCM matrix due to his excellence as a doctor and his caring personality. Returning to the model minority stereotype, in this episode, while talking to Kylie, Dr Zia repeatedly brings up his daughter, which could indicate that family plays an important part in his life and confirms the family value characteristic of the stereotype. I will explore his family life further next.

3.1 Dr Zia and his Family Value

Family values are always a core argument of the model minority thesis. Viviano (1989) observes several features characterising the Asian American model minority families, which are: the high expectation of parents for children, parents' selfless devotion and sacrifice for the children and the children's obedience, obligations and responsibilities to their parents and families in return. There are studies (Oxnam, 1986) targeting Chinese American families in particular. He suggested that the

Chinese American family were strongly associated with their traditional culture: a strong Confucian respect for education and a strong sense of family values. All these features could be confirmed from Dr Zia's sub-story regarding his family life.

In the last episode I introduced, there is probable cause to assume that Dr Zia valued his family a lot. Though there are not many extensions about the character's personal life after the shift, the family value in Zia's characteristic was shaped vividly along with his medical skills. There is fruitful evidence throughout the three seasons to confirm this idea.

In Season 2 Episode 8, Dr Zia's small talk between work to his colleague is all about his teenage daughter (straight As, geek, who quite fits the stereotype as well).

> Dr Zia: *I love this phone, takes amazing pictures. I got my daughter the same one as a reward for getting straight A's last semester.*
>
> Dr Zia: *It's uh, when my daughter and I got our new phones, we somehow got stuck sharing the same cloud, so now I'm getting her texts every five seconds. I've just got to ask them to disconnect it.*
>
> Dr Clemmens: *Wait a second. Sharing that cloud gives you complete insight into her world.*
>
> Dr Zia: *I'm sure she's not doing anything…*

Though he says this, Dr Zia checks his cell phone every now and then between patients and cases. At the end of the episode, he finds out that his oldest daughter, Lynn, is going to host a party at home, and he becomes angry.

> Dr Zia: *She organised a party tonight while I'm working and Janet's at her mom's with the twins. It's time, you know. Sometimes you got to fire a shot across the bow showing dad is not a pushover. (Calling his daughter) Lynn, it's Dad. Do not even speak. You are grounded until you are 30. Why? Because I know about the party.*

After talking to both his daughter and his wife, Janet, Dr Zia finds out that it was his daughter's trick to see if her dad was spying on her.

> Dr Zia: *Apparently, my daughter knew that I was spying the whole time.*

Dr Clemmens: *What? How?*

Dr Zia: *She's a nerd like I said. She could tell when I opened her texts, and she told this to Janet. They are teaching dad a lesson in trust. It was a fake account. Now, my daughter and my wife are unhappy with me.*

Additional evidence showing Zia as family oriented occurs in Season 3 Episode 3 when Callahan helped Zia to entertain his demanding mother in a casino. This episode gives us a very narrow window to explore Dr Zia's family relationship and his personal life beyond the hospital.

Mrs Zia (In Chinese)*: Doufuzai, hurry hurry.*

Topher (In Chinese): *Sure. You are the most important one.*

Dr Zia (To TC)*: Thanks for being here and blowing off your date. My point is thanks for being my buffer. Just gotta show her a good time, and then she leaves bright and early in the morning.*

TC: *No problem. I love your mom.*

Dr Zia: *You wouldn't say that if she came to stay with you for a month. It's almost over. I get my life back.*

After entering the casino and saw a bunch of elderly people in there, Mrs Zia said,

This place is a dump. Why do you bring me here, Christoper?

While Mrs Zia and TC have a good time playing Bingo, when Dr Zia comes back from answering a phone call, Mrs Zia says:

Bingo is boring. Why would you bring me to a casino to play Bingo?

From this clip, it is easy to review Topher's relationship with his mother and the fact that she thinks he is not good enough. In the casino, Topher and TC save a patient together, but in the end, TC gets all the credit from Topher's mother. As Topher gets an extraordinary idea, and they save the patient together, Mrs Zia says:

Amazing! TC saved him. That was amazing.

TC*: It was all Topher's idea, Mrs Zia. I was just the busboy.*

Mrs Zia: You are too modest, Dr Callahan.

Finally, after sending the patient to the hospital, the mother and son sit together:

Dr Zia: *So, Ma, you have everything you need for your trip tomorrow?*

Mrs Zia: *Is that all you are thinking about? Getting rid of me?*

Dr Zia: *No. Just Lynn and the twins (Topher's daughters) really loved having you here.*

Mrs Zia: *That is because kids respond to discipline, not that Janet (Topher's wife) would know.*

Dr Zia: *Stop! Stop! Why do you have to be so critical about my wife? About my kids? About me? I'm the one who saved the old man. I'm the hero.*

Mrs Zia: *Stop yelling. It makes your face turn red.*

Dr Zia: *There you go again. Why are you like that?*

Mrs Zia: *You are so content to just be. You are my son. You are supposed to be better.*

Dr Zia: *Better? I'm a doctor. No, I'm the chief of the ER at a major trauma centre. I was an Army Ranger. I have not one, but three beautiful, intelligent daughters and an incredible wife, who I'm going to tell you, finds you as aggravating as I do.*

Mrs Zia*: How can you say that to your mother? I raised you.*

Dr Zia: *You terrorised med, and you are still doing it. Nothing is ever good enough for you. I can't win. I'm not going to take it anymore. I mean, seriously, what'd you ever do with your life?*

Mrs Zia: *I wasn't always nothing, you know.*

Dr Zia: *I know. You worked your ass off at those restaurants. I should be more grateful.*

Mrs Zia: *I was an engineer.'*

Dr Zia: *What?*

Mrs Zia: *Yes. I went to school in Hong Kong before you were born to be an engineer.*

Dr Zia*: Are you serious?*

Mrs Zia: *Yes. We moved to the United Statesd and it was harde, the languaged, and then your father diedd, and I had to give it all up to work at that crappy Dragon Palace just to keep you and your sister alive. Do you think I liked that? Who knows what I could've done?*

Dr Zia*: Why didn't you tell me that before, Mom?*

> Mrs Zia: *Because it was my job to make sure you were given every opportunity to do great*
> *things, the things that I couldn't do. And, you did themd and I am proud of you.*
> Dr Zia: *Can I hug you, Mom? I know it's weird and we don't really do that.*

During the next shift, Zia told Callahan that he had a conversation with his mum. Even though he is still happy about her leaving, this conversation opens a new page in their relationship. At the end of the episode, Mrs Zia raised that she is going to stay with Topher and his family permanently in Dr Alister's welcome-back party in front of everyone so that Topher would have no chance to refuse her. Dr Zia's personal life is not mentioned much before this point in the show, and after this episode, it is mentioned even less. While others are dating or enjoying drinks after a tiresome shift, he has to go home to face his family's fury (Season 2 Episode 8) or goes to watch his daughter's violin recital even if he does not really enjoy it (Season 2 Episode 14). In Season 3 Episode 1, after his mother arrives in town, Dr Zia chooses to work an extra shift to avoid her.

> Dr Clemmens: *Topher, what are you even doing here tonight? I thought you had the night off.*
> Dr Zia: *Yeah, I did. I volunteered so we didn't have to use another day shifter to cover Drew*
> *while he's in Afghanistan.*
> Dr Callahan: *Oh, you are so full of it. You only volunteered so you wouldn't have to spend an*
> *extra night with your mother.*
> Dr Zia: *Okay. She's been here almost a month. I'm gonna take every shift I can to get a break.*

Dr Zia and Mrs Zia's relationship is maintained as a stereotypical model minority parental relationship in the show. The model minority myth is inclined to put a very high value on the cultural basis of ethnic Chinese family norms, which are characterised by loyalty, stability, a low divorce rate, and the concept of family comes first (Han, 2016). Although she is a labourer in a restaurant, Mrs Zia has studied in Hong Kong to become an engineer. It is a challenge to the long-running Chinese labour representation in television, but still, this side of her is only shown to the audience in a very short conversation; she is a demanding woman who dedicates her life to her children. The episode above shows she gave up her dream and works hard in the US to offer her son 'every opportunity to do great things'. This vividly represents the traditional Chinese parental value of children coming first. However, the conversation and the storyline also indicate that while offering her child an economic foundation to achieve his goals, Mrs Zia somehow fails to offer him emotional support. Even though she is always proud of her son, she never tells him so. As Topher complains, he never seems

to be good enough. Also, when Topher asks for a hug, Mrs Zia simply goes away. It is not uncommon for Chinese parents to be portrayed as emotionally distanced from their children and rarely expressing their feelings by hugging or telling the children how good they are. In various films and television shows, they are observed to believe in the concept, 'spare the rod, spoil the child' (there is one quote by Confucius that has a similar meaning). This kind of Chinese parents could be found in a lot of shows. Examples are Ming Huang's parents (*Awkward*) and Mike Cheng's father (*Glee*).

How important family values are to Dr Zia may also be reviewed from the fact that the family of the other staff was rarely brought up in the show. None of the other staff talked about their parents or parental relationships in three seasons. Dr Clemmens' daughter only appeared on her Quinceañera (a celebration of a girl's fifteenth birthday), which is important in Latin American culture. Apart from this, the other family member of staff who played a rather important role in the show is Dr Callahan's brother's widow, Annie, who was a drug addict. Unlike Dr Zia, who seems to be soft on his family, Dr Callahan plays the role of the saviour in his case. Dr Zia commented about it in the show and I quote, 'He (Dr Callahan) is a pitbull when it comes to family.' In fact, aside from their role in the family, there are a lot of differences between the portrayal of Dr Zia and his white male peers, which I would investigate in the next section.

3.2 Dr Zia's Sexlessness and Unattractiveness

As mentioned in the earlier section, Zia's character is both passionate and compassionate; he cares about his patients more than anything in the world, which makes him fit the admirable stereotype in the SCM matrix, which challenges the skilled yet cold Chinese doctor portrayals proposed by *ER*. Still, with all the positive characteristics, there is something between the lines. I would like to start with his appearance (see Figure 27, screenshot taken from *The Night Shift*, Season 3 Episode 9, also in Appendix A). At first glance, there is nothing wrong with his appearance. Zia is portrayed as a short-haired man in blue scrubs, not very handsome but also not too bad. He stands in the middle of the screen, highlighted by a medium shot, a neutral angle camera position, and bright lighting on his face compared to the background. This whole scene fits well Topher's role: one of the leading actors and the chief surgeon of the ER. Keeping this insight in mind, let's have a look at this series' posters (see Figure 28, 29 and 30).

There is something noteworthy hidden in the posters. Especially in Figure 28 and 29, he is nearly invisible. As a leading actor (and also the ER chief), Zia is listed Number Three on the cast chart, only behind the main actor Dr TC Callahan (Eoin Macken) and the main actress, Dr Jordan Alexander (Jill Flint). However, in the first poster, Zia is posted in the far corner, while in the second poster, he is hidden behind the others. In most television drama posters, the main actors and actresses are posted in the centre of stage, or at least, no leading characters are significantly posted as 'invisible' behind someone else.

Figure 27

Figure 29

Figure 28

Figure 30

In most of the scenes of a medical drama, the characters are wearing their scrubs or uniforms, which makes the costume seem irrelevant, since they are wearing the same thing most of the time . But there are still different details that audience may notice in the show.

A good example would be the opening scene of Season 2 Episode 10, which begins with Dr Callahan entering the parking lot riding on a giant motorcycle (see Figure 31). Wearing a helmet and pilot sunglasses, his appearance seems quite attractive. The scene starts with a neutral angle zoom-in and ends with a low-angle camera close-up shot position, which makes Callahan appear to be taller in the frame. Later on, they talked in the parking lot while Callahan was still on the bike, and Topher was in the car. The camera angle was neutral during this brief conversation, but because of the height difference between the car and the motorcycle, as well as the physical difference

Figure 31

Figure 32

between the two characters, in this shot, Callahan appears to be much taller than Zia. A second after they had parked, the two doctors walked toward the hospital together. In this scene, Zia wears a hoodie and his scrubs, oddly holding a small metal teapot in his hand. It is not very easy to observe from the show that Zia is shorter than most of his colleagues, even compared to his female peers, which could be seen later in Figure 32. As a matter of fact, the contemporary media products also achieve the feminisation of Chinese males by often juxtaposing a large white male body with a small Asian male

body; thus, using the smaller Asian man to highlight the masculinity of the white male (Irvin, 2016).

Other evidence could be found throughout the show. For example, in the opening of Season 2 Episode 8 (See Figure 33, 34, and 35) shows several doctors in the hospital gym room. While Dr Callahan was half-naked exercising on the running machine and nurse Fournette was lifting weights, Dr Alister and Dr Clemmens were practicing boxing. Dr Zia is not in the opening scene. A few moments later, the doctors whose shift has not started yet pulls a prank on Fournette by taking off his clothes, and the crowd starts gathering to see his muscles. Dr Zia's first appearance in this episode has him standing between the female staff and taking photos of the guys (Figure 35). The

Figure 33

Figure 34

Figure 35

scene seems to draw a line between the two groups of people: the male staff in the room expressing their manhood by physical exercise and showing off their muscles and the female staff lining at the door taking pictures of the males. Yet, as a male, Topher belongs to the latter group. The positioning is interesting because while creating a scene with males and females on each side, Topher is positioned between the female characters. Even with the females, he does not seem to be taller or stronger than the others. It could be seen as a potential denial of his manhood and masculinity.

It is not only that Dr Zia does not show any masculinity, while the others do. In fact, he is particularly shaped to be not physically strong enough compared to the other characters. At first, a few episodes of Season 3, Dr Zia started to work out with nurse Fournette. In Episode 7, he told Dr Callahan that nurse Fournette is crushing him with the training, but it's worth it because there is 'no more panting upstairs or back pain picking up the twins'.

Several studies examined the male media characters' attractiveness and physical appearance. These studies showed that being muscular and physically strong is the main formula of an attractive male character (Lin and Salmon, 1998; Leit, Pope, and Gray, 2000; Hatoum and Belle, 2004; Frederick, Fessler, and Haselton, 2005). In contemporary, television and magazine advertising, terms such as 'strong', 'powerful', 'muscular', and 'tall' are still encoded in the male images to attract a female audience (McKay, Mikosza, and Hutchins, 2005). Morrison and Halton (2009) found that muscular male characters in film and television were more likely than their less muscular peers to interact with others both romantically and sexually and were also more likely to be found attractive and desirable by the audience. Thus, it seems that the physical weakness described above in the clip severely compromised Topher's attractiveness.

The unattractiveness could also be found in the romantic storyline of the characters. In the show, Dr Callahan dated multiple girls including the main actress Dr Alexander. Despite being Callahan's ex-girlfriend, she had a baby with him, but had an unfortunate miscarriage. Alexander also dated Dr Clemmens in Season 1. The other leading actor, the former army medic, Dr Alister, came out of the closet with his civil partner, and in the later episodes, they adopted a girl together. These personal life sub-stories are carried out through all three seasons and are mentioned here and there. As a drama that was stated as a 'romance' in its main genres, there is also romantic involvement with the supporting characters. For example, Dr Callahan's sister-in-law, Annie, dated Dr Scott in Season 3. Comparing these well-organised love stories of the other characters, Dr Zia's love life has not much

to tell. Most of his personalities, besides being a good doctor and a family man, are missing in the show. In the show, it is hard to tell what his political stand is or what he likes or resembles. He is shaped as a struggling man with an intense relationship between his wife, his mother, and his three daughters. While the others have romantic relationships, he is struggling with his family life, which makes him even less attractive if his looks did not compromise his attractiveness as being male enough.

The opening scene of Season 3 Episode 6 (see Figure 36, 37 and 38) illustrates the love life of the characters: Dr Callahan and a blonde medicine rep, nurse Fournette and a first-aid personnel, Dr Scott and Annie, Dr Alexander and her boyfriend at the time.

Figure 36
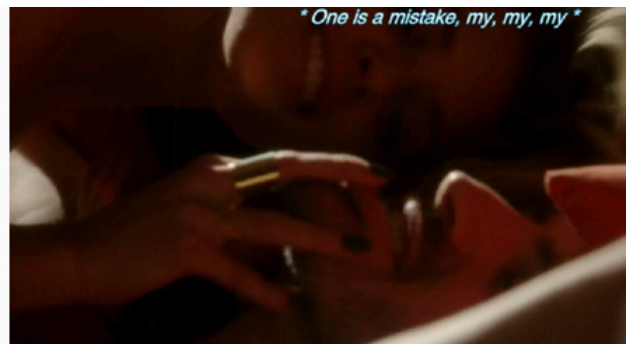
Figure 37

Figure 38

After the video clips and the opening music, the shift starts, and the doctors start gathering at the hospital reception. After seeing Dr Scott entering the hospital whistling, they have the following conversation.

Dr Alister: *Looks like someone's getting a little something something in the bedroom.*
Dr Callahan: *That obvious?*

Dr Alister: *Talking about Scott, but thanks for the update. Now we know what you've been up to.*

Dr Zia: *And apparently it was all day, cause you look like hell. (Is it) Jessica?*

Dr Callahan: *Wouldn't you like to know, huh?*

Dr Zia: *Hey, you are not the only one getting action. Ever since I started working out, I can't keep my hands off Janet. It's like this morning, we got busy for… like… 10 minutes.*

Dr Alister: *You wanna hear about my sex life with Rick?*

This might be the only conversation throughout the seasons in which Dr Zia's love life was ever brought up. Studies have shown that people who are involved in a romance bring with them a comparable degree of attractiveness (Peterson, 2006). However, Chinese male film and television characters are rarely involved romantically, especially with females of other ethnicities. Even Bruce Lee, the most iconic of the Chinese male martial arts stars, is never shown to develop a romantic relationship in any of his films (Irvin, 2016). Some may argue that his lack of romantic evolvement indicates that he is a stable and faithful family man, which may make him attractive to some audiences. However, having a stable marital status is not the 'usual' formula of attractiveness. As Han (2015) suggested, when Chinese males are described as desirable, they are described by using feminine characteristics (such as family values), which makes them different from men who are considered to be sexually desirable, in the Western context. Thus, while Chinese characters have managed to stop being domestic workers or labourers in the Western imagination, they nonetheless remain 'sexless' and devoid of normal masculine sexual inclinations.

Another main difference, with regard to their appearance and attractiveness, would be that, although they all served together, Dr Callahan and Dr Alister sometimes appear in army uniforms, either in flashbacks, or attending military events, in the present timeline. However, there are not so many scenes of Dr Zia in an army uniform. Compared to the other good-looking leading characters in the show, Zia seems short, old, and most importantly, less muscular, although his military background provided in the storyline tells the audience otherwise, which I will explore more in the following section.

3.2.1 Militarism, Masculinity, and the Missing Part of Zia's Past

According to Lin and Salmon (1998), becoming a soldier gives the initial illusion of gaining in masculinity. Historically, there has been a reciprocal relationship between militarism and masculinity (Kimmel, Hearn and Connell, 2005). On the one hand, politicians have utilised ideologies of idealised masculinity that valorise the notion of strong, active males collectively risking their personal safety for the greater good of the wider community (Barnett, 1982; Platt, 1992; Segal, 1990). On the other hand, militarism feeds into ideologies of masculinity through the eroticisation of stoicism, risk-taking, and even lethal violence (Goldstein, 2001). In contemporary television, there is a trend to connect the astuteness, strength, self-reliance, and sexual attractiveness of the central male characters to their military background (Higate and Hopton, 2005).

Dr Zia, Dr Callahan, and Dr Drew Alister share a history as army doctors, and in the storyline, their friendship dates back to their tours in Afghanistan. But unlike Callahan and Alister, whose experiences on the battlefield are brought alive now and then in flashbacks of their past as army medics, Zia's past is never shown to the audience. There is only a picture of him dressed in army uniform in the opening music video.

In order to compare the characters, I would like to introduce a few details of the storyline of Dr Callahan and Dr Alister. Throughout Season 1, Dr Callahan struggles with PTSD. At the end of the season, he decides to attend group therapy and finally overcomes it. In Season 2 Episode 1, Dr Callahan saves a young boy while hanging on a climbing rope, and the experience reminds him of his time in Afghanistan, which is vividly shown to the audience in a short flashback. Later in the season, in Episode 8, he explains to Dr Alister how and why he joined the army.

> Dr Callahan: *That's a long story. My brother and I used to go down to Camden Yards and 'borrow' cars during games. We got about five blocks before we got busted. Morning of the hearing, we are on our way to the courthouse, and the energy felt wrong. So we looked around, and everyone's eyes are on the TV.*
> Dr Alister: *What was going on? What was on it?*
> Dr Callahan: *Well, we got there just in time to see the second plane crash into the World Trade Centre. So we just sat there, and we watched, stunned. And then, you know, it just made all the crap we were doing just seem so childish. So we went to the judge and said to him like, 'Hey, if you just let us off, we will go straight down to the recruiting office, sign up for the army, go kick some serious ass for the USA.'*

As 9/11 is a painful memory for many in the US and abroad, the patriotism shown in Callahan's storyline of joining the army may have a positive impact on the audience and create a sense of 'intimacy from a distance' (Horton and Hohl, 1956) because of the shared emotions., Dr Alister's connection with the military is even stronger.

In Season 2 Episode 9, Dr Alister brings one of his colleagues to a soldier's promotion ceremony.

> Dr Alister: *Army promotions are a lot tamer at home. If we were on deployment, he would be running into the mud, getting punched in the chest by every NCO in his battalion.*

In the last episodes of Season 2 and the first two episodes of Season 3, Dr Alister returns to the battlefield to help. While Dr Callahan is out on the field to save patients out of mountain fire or gas explosion, Dr Zia is left behind in the nurses station, sorting paperwork. If we return to the SCM matrix in section 3, though it is evident that Topher should be falling in the admiration category for his excellence as a doctor and his warm and caring personality, it seems like his competence level is somehow weakened and even left out from the story. When other male characters are busy expressing their masculinity and saving people from fires, earthquakes, or car crashes, Zia is a middle-aged man always complaining about endless paperwork and endless fights between his mother and wife at home. Sometimes, this portrayal makes the audience forget about his past as an army ranger.

Thus, the evidence here is what is not in the show, which should probably be according to the storyline. Despite the common military history with the others, Zia's history as an army medic is left out from the series. Also, as for the complexity of the characterisation, comparing to the other leading characters, Zia's character is much simpler comparing to his white peers. The leading actor Dr Callahan's army life was developed in a full range started with a cause which I reviewed in the last section and a result (PTSD), which he struggled since Season 1. The storyline of his suffering and recovering process is thorough and vivid in the show. Other than that, his experience in the army was unwrapped to the audience through flashbacks throughout the seasons. Instead of a character, he is a human with bright points as well as flaws. The audience can see Dr Callahan's character from various angles. It is quite hard to label him because there will be too many: a soldier, a doctor, a PTSD patient, a playboy, a loving boyfriend, etc. The other main male character, Dr Alister, also experienced a long emotional struggle on the show about being a gay and a soldier at the same time.

In the end, he challenged the homosexual male stereotype and shaped a muscular but also soft-hearted doctor on the screen. Both of their personalities have significantly different layers comparing to Topher. Their characteristics are filled with norms from the formula of masculinity. For example, their appearances are both tall and physically strong. Their military experiences were highlighted in flashbacks throughout three seasons. They were both romantically evolved multiple times, which indicate they are popular and desirable in the show. More or less, they both have shown a certain extent of violent behaviour, such as getting involved in bar fights, etc, which is also a sign of masculinity according to Connell (2005). However, Dr Zia, on the other hand, other than being a good doctor, has a personal life mostly shaped by his family value, which was one of the core concepts of Chinese model minority portrayal. There are hardly any signs of his military background in the show. His dedication to his family and domestic affairs, as well as his lack of romantically involved in the romance drama, compromises his manhood and masculinity in the show.

4 THE INFLUENCE OF MODEL MINORITY STEREOTYPE

I have mentioned one possible influence after perceiving the model minority stereotype from the media earlier in this chapter, which is that the characterisation of heartless doctors may make the audience feel threatened by them. The model minority family man makes the audience feel less attracted and lack of desire towards the whole group. In this section, I would like to talk more about the effect in a wider context.

Stereotypes can be both positive and negative, correct and incorrect, or simple and complicated (Kanahara, 2006). Due to the ambivalent nature of stereotypes, seemingly, positive stereotypes generate mixed feelings of simultaneous respect and resentment. Endorsement of the positive stereotype of Asian Americans elicits both positive and negative attitudes and emotions towards them (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Ho and Jackson, 2001; Lin et al., 2005; Fiske and Glick, 1996, 2001). People who identify as Asian Americans with the model minority stereotype (intelligent, ambitious, obedient) expressed respect and admiration towards Asian Americans but also reported feeling hostile and jealous (Ho and Jackson, 2001).

4.1 In-Group Influences

The social identity theory explains the effects of media on viewers' self-perception (Mastro and Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Scholars of social identity theories pointed out that identity is not a defining, personal characteristic as it might be traditionally reviewed, but rather something that is shaped by social surroundings and through experience (Erikson, 1968; Hall, 1996; Gee, 2000). As Erikson stated:

> Identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant of them, while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him (1968:22).

Therefore, identity is understood as something that is formed through negotiated meaning and interaction, rather than something that comes purely from the self. With the insights of the social identity theory, it could be assumed that the model's minority media stereotype might contribute to having both a desirable and undesirable impact on the self-perception and self-identity of Chinese Americans. The influence on the Chinese American group can be both positive and negative. Some individuals, who feel comfortable about the label, will gain a sense of 'belonging' to their group. Some may even feel proud of being labelled as a 'model' group (Lee, 1994).

The impact of television on the self-perception and development of the youth is tremendous (McGovern, 2002). For children, inclusion in a television show is a 'major sign of acceptance, respect and recognition' (McGovern, 2002:241). Consequently, the negative representation of minorities on television influences a child's ability to realise his/her personal and academic potential in society. The model's minority portrayal of Chinese Americans in television series helps the younger audience from the same group to gain self-respect.

Increasing the number of Chinese American role-models in the entertainment industry potentially gives Chinese American children a chance to identify with someone famous, who is like themselves. One important part of having a good self-image is having a goal in life, and for many children, their goal is to be like their role models on television (McGovern, 2002).

Lee's (1994) ethnographic study on Chinese American students in a US public high school revealed that the model minority stereotype positively influenced the students' academic performance. Lee found those students consciously sought to live up to the model minority ideal in their behaviour, such as by studying hard or respecting the school authority.

On the other hand, there are also studies indicating that not all Chinese Americans like the label attached to them. Ambivalent feelings and attitudes have been generated among Chinese Americans, resulting from the perception of the model minority (Wong and Halgin, 2006). Another study of Chinese American students in high school (Fong, 1998) showed that the model minority stereotype and the expectation to live up to the 'model standard' may be causing pressure and harm to these students' mental health. Also, the idea that Chinese Americans are able or are supposed to achieve success in an academic or professional field may result in overwhelming pressure within the group. No empirical evidence exists to verify the claim that Chinese Americans have innate outstanding learning abilities, but the media tell them so. The model minority stereotype reflects that Asian-Americans can obtain high-status jobs with relatively desirable incomes, such as medical doctors, and their unemployment rate is low. It would not be hard to assume this after the perceived information is pointed out, so from the television drama, a Chinese student may never be good enough for his parents, just like Topher.

4.2 Out-Group Influences

Scholars (Lee, 1996; and Ngo, 2007) suggested that the model minority in media narratives appears to be positive at first: as a complimentary acknowledgement that Asian-Americans have done well for themselves and, as a result, are to be admired and respected ; however, there are also more critical views. Kubota (2004) suggested that these portrayals do nothing to improve the social status of Asian-Americans or other minorities, nor anything to improve wider issues of social and racial inequalities in the U.S. The motivation of creating and reproducing such images is to set a model for other minorities to follow. This also implies that if other minorities continue to fail, they only have themselves to blame. The Asian-Americans have done it on their own, so why can't the others? In this way, while distancing from the majorly white world by the group's race, the model minority stereotype also distances Asians from the other minority groups. Ziegert (2006) argued that the model minority stereotype was a 'hegemonic device' used to maintain the dominance of whites in the racial hierarchy by diverting attention away from racial inequality and by setting standards for

how minorities should behave (Ziegert, 2006). Thus, this stereotype is often invoked by conservatives in an attempt to 'shame' or discipline members of other minority groups (most notably African Americans) by arguing that their failure to climb up the socio-economic ladder, as Asian Americans supposedly have done, is due to their own stupidity, laziness or lack of family values and education; they, too, should be able to 'get ahead' in their pursuit of the American Dream.

Besides putting Asian Americans against African Americans and driving a wedge between these groups, a further consequence of model minority stereotypes is to make the problems and struggles of Asian Americans invisible. Inkelas (2003) argues that because Asian Americans are seen as so successful, they are almost regarded as part of the mainstream. The idea that Asian Americans are a part of the social elite makes it easy to exclude them from assistance and aid programmes since it is assumed they do not need any help. Also, the model minority stereotype implicitly ignores the socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural factors amongst minority groups that contribute to social inequality, instead promoting unrealistic notions of just reward for those who work hard to succeed (Hartlep, 2015). In fact, some scholars (Kobuta, 2004) argue that the model minority stereotype unfavourably conceals the fact that a large proportion of the Chinese American population still lacks educational resources and career opportunities. The model minority stereotype generates biased judgments, convincing people, particularly other racial/ethnic groups, that the Chinese need no help in attaining economic and educational success (McGowan and Lindgren, 2006). Bearing in mind these thoughts, the western audience may find that Chinese Americans threaten them more than other minority groups in schools and job markets, and this could result in further bias and discrimination. These portrayals also create an illusion that Chinese Americans do not possibly experience racial discrimination, which might put the Chinese in a more vulnerable situation when they face racial harassment and discrimination. Early studies (Delucchi and Do, 1996) found that students and administrators treated racist incidents differently, based on individuals' ethnic backgrounds. When the incidents involved African Americans, the students and administrators were more likely to denounce the incidents as racist explicitly. In contrast, when the incidents involved Asians, the students and administrators showed more indifference and were less likely to identify the incidents as racists.

Most socio-economically and professionally successful minority groups (e.g., Asians, Jews, and career women in the United States) are stereotyped as competent but cold and may be perceived as a threat to the status and stability of the majority. As a result, the portrayal of Chinese Americans as

diligent and fruitful in their economic and professional endeavours could engender group threats and competition. In other words, negative attitudes and emotions may result from the model minority stereotype because Chinese Americans are posed as a real threat to the success, status, and welfare of other groups. Therefore, the perception of the utmost positive characteristics of Chinese Americans may backfire and induce hostile emotions from the other social groups.

5 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have closed analysed Dr Zia's character in *The Night Shift* with cross-referencing to other model minority Chinese and Chinese Americans in other television shows such as Dr Chen in *ER*. The model minority has been one of the dominant images of Chinese and Chinese Americans in the United States. They are thought to be intelligent, gifted in math and science, hardworking, family oriented, law-abiding, and successfully entrepreneurial (Wu, 2002). In the televised world, there are mainly two types of model minority portrayal. One of them is just as how Dr Zia was presented: the textbook Chinese model minority who is intelligent, hardworking, and family oriented. However, his masculinity and sexual attractiveness were left out of the picture. Furthermore, as the chief of the ER, he was seemingly less 'bossy' compared to other chief characters in other medical shows, as his chief work was mainly related to paperwork instead of giving commands. There was one episode in which Dr Zia appeared to be 'bossy' around the emergency room, and it turned out it was because he had experienced a medical condition that had influenced his judgement and behaviour.

Historically, the Chinese men had the image of emasculation because of their physical appearance as labourers in the early 1900s and the fact that they did what the Westerners thought to be women's work. The flood of cheap Chinese labourers posed a serious potential threat to the white workforce; thus, laws were enacted to protect the Chinese labourers from many traditional 'male' work industries, and they could only do work that was thought to be women's work, i.e., laundry, cooking, and childcare (Prasso, 2005). As mentioned earlier, Chinese men in Hollywood films were mainly shaped as being asexual geeks or martial artists who had no interest in love or in women. This trend still continues in today's films and television. In general, the dominant Western culture intends to construct Chinese and Chinese-American men as powerless, asexual, and even inferior to all other men. Nakayama (1994) suggested that the representation of Chinese men as asexual and emasculated in films and television serves as a foil to the masculinity of white men.

Efforts were made to reclaim the masculinity of Asian-American men. Chin argued against the dominant media's depiction of Asian men as asexual, emasculate, and inferior. In 2004, the magazine Detail published an article entitled 'Gay or Asian,' which was protested by many Asian-American individuals and organisations. Opinions were raised in rage because Asian men's sexuality mattered to their feelings of inclusion, citizenship, and belonging.

The other famous portrayals of the model minority stereotype in television are the nerds and geniuses. In the field of medical shows, there are a few such representations, including Dr Yang from *Grey's Anatomy*, Dr Chen from the *ER*, and Dr Park from *Monday Morning*. They are all shaped as gifted doctors who have excellent medical skills but are cold and lack social skills and sympathy. Here, I would like to introduce a few famous geniuses in television as a comparison to the Chinese or Asian nerds. One of the most famous nerds today would be Dr Sheldon Cooper in *The Big Bang Theory*. On the one hand, in the show, he is portrayed as socially awkward and lacking in communication skills, just as all the Asian doctors mentioned above are. On the other hand, he has a long-term, stable relationship with his girlfriend, Dr Amy Fowler. The romantic relationship between Sheldon and Amy is well developed, with many details for several seasons, and in the latest season finale, they get married in front of all their loved ones. It is noteworthy here that despite how nerdy Sheldon is presented in the show, the storyline of his romantic interaction with Amy illustrates to the audience that he is able to love. Such a fact makes him more humane and brings him closer to the audience. Unlike the medical robot image of Dr Chen, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, Sheldon is seemingly more like a human due to his romantic feelings towards Amy and his deep friendship with the other characters. The audience also knows everything that Sheldon likes and dislikes because the show has portrayed his life vividly in multiple layers. Though appearing to be distant from people, Sheldon always makes hot tea for his friends who had a bad day because that was what his Meemaw (grandmother) taught him to do when he was a little kid. This detail is presented multiple times throughout the seasons and makes him more acceptable as a human to the audience.

The other example would be Dr Shaun Murphy (Freddie Highmore) from the recent medical show *The Good Doctor* (2017- present). As a gifted surgical resident with autism and savant syndrome and a photographic memory, Dr Murphy is another textbook representation of socially awkward genius. But in the show, his personal life, especially special relationships, also share a fair amount of highlight in the storyline. His romantic crush on and interaction with his neighbour, Lea (Paige

Spara), and the father-son relationship with his mentor, Dr Aaron Glassman (Richard Schiff), both add layers and humanity to him. In short, compared to the Asian nerds, the white geniuses are portrayed in a more complex manner, with detailed representation of their life after work and their relationships with others, which makes them seemingly more acceptable and connected to the audience as human beings, while the Asians are 'subhuman, inhuman, lesser human, superhuman' (Dower, 1986:9), just never simply normal human. Something similar happened to Dr Susie Chang, the senior medical examiner in *Rizzoli and Isles*, whose humane side was discovered by her colleagues after her death (S6E05, *Misconducted Game*). In the episode, Dr Chang's colleague went to her apartment, trying to find evidence linked to her death, By looking at the photos stuck to her fridge, they found that she had many hobbies, such as skydiving and beekeeping. They were shocked at what they found. The episode about Dr Chang's death dramatically changed her image from a 'nerdy geek' to a real human, who was just as complex and multi-layered as everyone else.

Through the analysis of Dr Zia in *The Night Shift*, while cross-referencing her to Dr Chen (*ER*), Dr Chang (*Rizzoli and Isles*) and the white characters, such as the other two leading actors in *The Night Shift*, it is not difficult to observe that, though it appears to be positive, the Chinese minor characters lack 'layers' and complexity, compared to their white peers. In addition, the tendency to portray the Chinese males as sexless and unattractive is still evident in the contemporary televised world. On the contrary, while the Chinese male characters are struggling with the lack of complexity and one-sided representation, Chinese females are enjoying more comprehensive storylines and representation. The next chapter will focus on one of the leading Chinese American female characters Joan Watson in *Elementary*.

CHAPTER 7 FEMALE REPRESENTATION

1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, I introduced and analysed the model minority Chinese American stereotype especially model minority Chinese males in American television today. For decades, Chinese Americans have been portrayed in media as a successful minority who enjoyed extraordinary achievements in education, career, and income (Wong et al., 1998) due to their hard work and disciplined individualism. These figures have more visibility in today's television dramas and have become one of the 'mainstream' representations. In the last chapter, I focused on Dr Topher Zia in *The Night Shift* and identified him as an overall positive figure who challenged the medical robot portrayal because of his developed personality in the show. In other words, he jumped out of the Envious Stereotype box of Fiske's SCM model and into and the Admiration type, which was an improvement to existing Chinese American model minority portrayals. But as one of the leading actors playing as the chief of the emergency room in the show, Dr Zia often served as the sidekick to the other leading characters. Moreover, I pointed out a problematic characteristic that he shared with a lot of other Chinese American male representations, which was a lack of masculinity. These asexual and undesirable Chinese male model 'sidekicks' could be found in various contemporary television dramas such as Detective Mike Tao (Michael Paul Chan) in *Major Crimes*, Sgt. Wu (Reggie Lee), in *Grimm*, and Detective Kimball Cho (Kim Kang) in *The Mentalist*.

However, female Chinese-American portrayals are a different story. Even though they could also be categorised as a model minority stereotype because of their educational or career achievements, Chinese-American women were often represented with greater sexual attraction in television and films.

Standing in contrast to the portrayal of Chinese-American men as asexual and emasculate, the hyper-sexualisation of Chinese female stereotypes also has its roots in immigration history. During the 1930s to 1940s, approximately one million men immigrated from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines to the U.S. to work as cheap labourers. The U.S. immigration law treated those workers as temporary, disposable, and exploitable labourers and prohibited the entry of their families and Asian-American women, fearing the permanent presence and growth of Asian-Americans (Espirit-

us, 2000). During the late 19th century, the economic recession stirred up the Nativist movement against Asian immigrants. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, and in 1894, barred all Asians from immigrating to the U.S. (Mansfield-Richardson, 2000). When Asian-American men were not allowed to establish conjugal families, they sought sexual outlets in prostitution. It was estimated that in 1870, 61% of the 3536 Chinese women in California were prostitutes (Mansfield-Richardson, 2000). In 1875, the Page Law prohibited the importation of Chinese prostitutes, but Chinese women nevertheless continued to be suspected of prostitution and, regardless of their social status, were subject to harassment (Cao & Novas, 1996:29, Espiritus, 2000:18).

The history of the hyper-sexualisation of Asian females in films and television was also reinforced by the US military involvement in Asia in the 20th century when troops were stationed in Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Japan. The soldiers there often developed a strong perception of Asian women as prostitutes, bargirls and geishas ((Villapando, 1989); these images are also prevalent in Asian war films of this period, which I have briefly introduced in the early film chapter. .Thus, the representations of asexual Asian American males and hyper-sexual Asian American females serve to confirm 'the white men's virility and superiority' (Espiritus, 2000).

These historical roots also resulted in a positive fact, that is, though America's popular culture is generally male-centred and male-dominant, Chinese American women are historically and currently more visible than Chinese American males (Feng, 1993). Compared to the narrow roles of 'lotus blossom' and 'dragon lady' stereotypes I introduced in Chapter 2, the representations of Chinese American females are more complex and portrayed with more in-depth layers. In this chapter, I will start by summarising the historical stereotypes of the 'lotus blossom' and the 'dragon lady', followed by a brief introduction of the 'turning point' in Chinese American female representation', as identified by many scholars (Brooks and Hebert, 2006), for example, Lucy Liu's character Ling Woo in *Ally Mcbeal*. This chapter will then focus on Joan Watson, Lucy Liu's most recent television role in *Elementary*.

2 The Turning Point of Representing Chinese Female: Ally McBeal

The on-screen romantic relationship between a white male and a Chinese female has always been represented as unequal and submissive. But, Lucy Liu's role in *Ally McBeal* (1998-2002) breaks

such possession, as well as the well-known Lotus Blossom stereotype. The character was considered as the turning point of Chinese female representation in contemporary television.

Launched in the fall of 1998, *Ally McBeal* won the Golden Globe award of best comedy for its first season. The show drew 12 million viewers, and by the end of 1998, the audience reached 14.8 million (Cooper, 1999). In the show, Lucy Liu's character stands out among the mostly blond beauties, not only for her looks, but also for the way she evokes and challenges the longstanding history of Chinese female representation.

In the series, Liu's character, Ling Woo, is a tough, aggressive, sharp-tongued, and manipulative Chinese American lawyer who mainly speaks Mandarin. Ling's character was quite popular among Asian American communities because she broke the stereotypes of submissive and quiet Asian American females (Brooks and Hebert, 2006). Tolenino (1999) summarised the opinions from Asian American college students community:

> Strong Asian female role models are few and far between in media today. Typically, Asian American women are seen as fresh off the boat, non-English speaking, small, naive, sex objects, or in denial of their culture… Ling is not the soft-spoken, passive, quiet Asian woman that the society has stereotyped us as. She is tough, aggressive, and worldly. She is a beautiful, sexy woman with a mind that is both cunning and slick. She is not the typical Asian geisha girl. Let her be a model for us to be strong, smart, sexy, and aggressive. (Tolennino, 1999:16)

On the other hand, consistent with a history of representation that scarcely ever shows Asian men as sexually desirable, Ling has romantic involvements with both white men (e.g. with the law firm partner Richard Fish) and a black man (another lawyer Jackson Duper), but no Asian man. Very few Asian males appeared in the show. The only Chinese male visible in the show was a waiter in a Chinese restaurant who barely spoke English, always misunderstood the others, and cooked Ling's colleague's pet frog. Thus, Hamamoto (1994: 74) called Ling 'a neo-Orientalist masturbatory fantasy figure' who is 'concocted by a white man whose job it is to satisfy the blocked needs of other white men who seek temporary escape from the banal and deadening lives by indulging themselves in a bit of visual cunnilingus while relaxing on the sofa.'

Though Ling's character was problematic and controversial, there was a common sentiment that 'it is better than nothing', as 'it is pretty cool to have an all-American Asian Angel, which would never have happened in the 70s' (Chun, cited in Dines and Humez, 2003: 662). During the past decade, more Chinese American female figures became more visible in television series. The list includes another Lucy Liu's character, Dr Joan Watson, in *Elementary*, who challenges the existing stereotypes even more. She is the main character that I will focus on in the following sections.

3 DR JOAN WATSON IN *ELEMENTARY*

Premiered on CBS in September 2012, *Elementary* is an American television series that presents a contemporary update of Sir Conan Doyle's character Sherlock Holmes. The show follows Holmes, a recovering drug addict and a former consultant of Scotland Yard, assisting the New York Police Department (NYPD). He is accompanied by Dr Joan Watson (Lucy Liu), who is initially hired by his father as his sober companion to help him in his rehabilitation. Dr Joan Watson is a former surgeon. While accompanying Holmes in his recovery, she develops a growing interest in the detective job and becomes Holmes's apprentice. They work on NYPD cases together.

Lucy Liu's Watson does not evoke most of the stereotypical markers of Asian-American female representations in popular imaginaries. She is not exotic, hyper-sexual, diminutive, or dehumanised. Most of her characteristics fit in the model minority stereotype I summarised in the last chapter. She is a hard-working, well-educated, and career-driven former surgeon learning to be a consultant detective. Looking closely, though, there is a distinctive difference between Watson's role and the other female doctors' roles I introduced in the last chapter. Unlike Debbie Chan and Dr Christina Yang, she demonstrates communication skills and empathy within the narrative. For example, she is concerned about the child victims and their families (*Child Predator*, S1E3), and she offers emotional support to the families of the murder victims (*Dirty Laundry*, S1E11). On the one hand, her educational and career background in the show shared the identifiers of model minority stereotype. On the other hand, these identifiers were only introduced as background information of the character and played very little importance within the narrative of the storyline. Thus, I will not examine Watson's role under the model minority scope but look at her in the broader context of gender, race and sexuality representational perspectives.

3.1 Casting Choice: Gender and Race

Before the show was aired, *Elementary* had become known for the decision of casting Dr Watson as a Chinese American woman. The existing audience opinions can generally be summarised into two camps. On the one hand, there are some who praise Joan Watson as a very progressive character in that she plays an Asian woman without replicating conventional racist and sexist stereotypes. Heimbach (2016) stated that Liu's Watson was 'the best version of Watson' and was an excellent example of how 'changing a character's race and gender can offer new narrative opportunities and character dynamics rather than reinforcing traditions'. Fans of Holmes insisted that a female Watson and a male Holmes could not be friends and partners without becoming sexually or romantically involved (Coren, 2012).

On the other hand, there were Holmes fans who were outraged at the utter absurdity of an Asian-American woman playing their beloved character, Waston (Heimbach, 2016). Even though Lucy Liu was already quite famous for her parts in *Charlie's Angels* (2000) and *Kill Bill* (2003), the casting choice of Dr Watson was widely criticised by the public. Even after the show's producer, Robert Doherty, clearly stated in the interview that 'nothing will be changed; telling a Holmes and Watson story is not a story of romance, but a story of partnership,' (in *My Dear Watson*, 2013), Coren (2012) bluntly wrote on Guardian that the casting choice was 'such an appalling and offensive racial change.'

Interestingly, while Coren (2012) criticised Lucy Liu's casting as Watson as being an offensive racial change, the phenomenon of whites casting as Asians has never stopped for decades. There was Katherine Hepburn, as Jade, in *Dragon Seed*, and more recently, Tilda Swinton, as The Ancient Tibetan One, in *Doctor Strange* (2016), and Scarlett Johansson, as Major Motoko Kusanagi, in *Ghost in the Shell* (2017). In his research comparing the percentage of minority portrayals in Oscar nominees and top grossing films between the early era (before the 1950s) and the contemporary era, Hope (2016) revealed that there is an overall lack of minority representation in both early and contemporary Oscar-nominated and top-grossing films. She (Hope, 2016) suggested that, even after decades of racial progress, the percentage of minority presentation in Oscar-nominee leading roles has only risen by 15%. White actors and actresses are still taking the lead. Whites portraying minority situations still exists.

Early Era

Oscar Best Picture Nominees-   99% Whites Portraying Whites
                                 0.4% Minorities Portraying Minorities
                                 0.4% Whites Portraying Minorities

Top Grossing Films-   98% Whites Portraying Whites
                                 1% Minorities Portraying Minorities
                                 0.6% Whites Portraying Minorities

Contemporary Era

Oscar Best Picture Nominees-   84% Whites Portraying Whites
                                 15% Minorities Portraying Minorities
                                 0.5% Whites Portraying Minorities

Top Grossing Films-   91% Whites Portraying Whites
                                9% Minorities Portraying Minorities

Table 7 The Percentage of Minority Portrayals in Early and Contemporary Era

In *Hope (2016) Running head: White Royalty: Whitewashing from Prince of Persia to Sofia The First, pp 19*

Thus, Heimbach (2016) argued that casting Watson as an Asian American female served as a 're-freshing' example of race-bending practice in Hollywood. It was a positive casting choice challenging the long tradition of white washing in the media industry. Lucy Liu herself told the Wall Street Journal that:

> …Changing it up is a good thing. If you look at the percentage of ethnicities and percentage of women on television now, it is such a different time. That's how you keep things current. You update and you change them accordingly. People probably thought the same thing about the president of the United States, how is it possible that you have someone who's not Caucasian, in this vision… It's nice to be able to portray an Asian American on camera without having an accent, or without having to be spoofy. And I think it's a big step forward. I'm just playing… a regular person (Liu, in *Brillantes*, 2012).

In Lucy Liu's statement, 'not having an accent on camera' was highlighted. In many television shows today, the language barrier still exists for those Asian American characters. For example, in *Monday Morning* (2013), despite his brilliant surgery skills and brilliant education background, Dr

Sung Park (Keong Sim) was still talking to patients like: 'do' (medical procedure), as 'live'; and not 'do' as 'dead' (*Monday Morning*, *Deus Ex Machina*, S1E2). In the episode of *Bones* that I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Chinese females either exclusively spoke in Mandarin, or they remained silent from the beginning to the end. Hymes examined the close correlation between language and culture — known as the concept of Communicative Competence — and said it is 'one of the most powerful organising tools to emerge in the social sciences in recent years' (in Savaille-Troike 1982: 21). Successful communication is not only dependent on a knowledge of phonology, grammar and the lexicon, but also on the ability to interpret speech and expressions appropriately, in a concrete context, and with reference to social and cultural aspects. 'Ordinary talk provides a readily-available window into the structure and significance of other people's worlds' (Basso 1996:73). Communicative competence on an oral level is embedded in a notion of cultural competence, and vice versa. In *Elementary*, Watson's character not only spoke English fluently without an accent, but also understood the ironic or western brand of humour in everyday conversation with Holmes. It could be assumed that her world had no difference from Holmes. The equality between genders and races was not a common notion in films and television, as stated earlier in this chapter. I will further explore and analyse the equality of their relationship in the following sub-section.

3.2 Partnership between Watson and Holmes

In contemporary television series, the majority of Chinese American characters, if they were not portrayed as enemies or villains, were often a member of a group serving a mostly white leader. For example, Detective Mike Tao (Michael Paul Chan) serving under Deputy Chief Brenda Leigh Johnson (Kyra Sedgwick) in *The Closer*, and Commander Sharon Raydor (Mary McDonnell) in *Major Crimes* ; Dr Susie Chang (Tina Huang) as the senior criminologist of Boston P. D. crime lab with Dr Maura Isles (Sasha Alexander) as her superior (*Rizzoli and Isles*, 2010-2016); Happy Quinn (Jadyn Wong) serving in the Scorpion team (*Scorpion*), and Special Agent George Huang (B. D. Wong) serving as forensic psychiatrist and criminal profiler in *L&O: SVU*. The list could go on and on. But Dr Joan Watson was significantly different from these characters because, in the series, the relationship between her and Holmes was an equal partnership.

Even though Doherty and Liu promised the audience that in *Elementary*, Watson would be much more than a sidekick to Holmes, her characterisation during Season One seemingly contradicts their declaration. In Season One, Liu's Watson is a Chinese American woman hired to look after Holmes

during his recovery process. While Holmes is a wealthy white man, and Watson is a help for hire, their relationship highlights the nexus of race, class and gender. After her tenure as Holmes's sober companion ends, she deliberately chooses to stay as his caretaker in order to continue learning detective skills from him. This transition is significant because, instead of being hired by Holmes's father, from this point on, she becomes dependent on Holmes for her next paycheque. Thus, their relationship is an imbalance of power. Watson is living under Holmes's roof with no other source of income. During this stage, their relationship is less of a friendship than a partnership, as the creator and Liu clarified.

However, after six seasons, Watson's character has developed into a real partner to Holmes. She is a competent and intelligent individual who is much more than a blindly loyal sidekick to Holmes. As early as Season 2, Holmes realised that she was his only trusted partner, confidante, and friend, and how much he valued and depended on her psychologically. In Season 2, when Watson decided to move away to get her own place and practice, Holmes delivered a passionate plea in an attempt to persuade her to stay.

Holmes: *When I look back on the 18 months, I often categorise it as a kind of grand experiment. The result of which demonstrated me, much to my surprise, that I'm capable of change. So, I will change for you; for the sake of our partnership; for the sake of our work. Stay.*

But Watson refused by saying:

Watson*: You have this kind of pull, like gravity. I'm so lucky that I fell into your orbit. But if we live together, that's how it will always be; me orbiting you.*

She then proceeded to move out of Holme's place, established her own consulting detective practice, and entered a new romantic relationship. From that point, though, still working on cases together from time to time, and even when they move back under the same roof in later seasons, their relationship eventually becomes an equal partnership in comparison to what it was in the first season.In season 3 episode 4, their conversation proved such relationship.

Holmes (talking to Watson regarding Andrew, her new boyfriend and partner): *I like him. He's intelligent. He hasn't just jumped into a new business. He has the patience and self-possession*

to wait for something worthwhile. And, most importantly, he understands you. He understands you and me.

Watson: *What do you mean by that?*

Holmes: *I mean, Watson, that whether you care to admit it lately or not, I am an important part of your life. And whether I say it out loud or not, you are an important part of mine. My return to New York was driven in large part by a desire to repair our relationship. And I think, even though we might draw further or nearer from each other, depending on circumstance, you and I are bound. Somehow, Andrew accepts that without feeling needlessly threatened. It's a rather enlightened position. And so, no, I've got no desire to banish the man to Scandi-bloody-navia.*

Watson: *Okay, I believe you. Kinda feel like to hug you right now.*

Holmes: *Yet, as my friend, you know that would be a rush decision.*

In season 3 episode 19, Holmes further stated that:

Holmes: *What I was trying to say was that one of the things I've gained from our collaboration is a working definition of the word friendship. Friendship, I've come to believe, is most accurately defined as two people moving towards the best aspects of one another. It is a relationship of mutual benefit, mutual gain.*

Instead of serving under Holmes, Watson was working with him as a partner and a friend. Sometimes, she even challenged him with different thoughts or demanded him to go on using her methods when trying to solve crimes. As early as in the series premiere, when a witness was not forthcoming with information, Holmes got furious and accused the witness of lying to protect the identity of her attacker. Instead of following Holmes, Watson expressed her outrage towards Holmes's temper:

Watson: *You're done here. Go wait in the car. You are so full of it.*

Even on her first day of meeting him, Watson was able to hold her own opinions against him. Though at the time she had no prior training in detective work, she had her own skill set that Holmes lacked, and still lacks, which was the ability to empathise. When it comes to reading people

and gaining information from people, Watson is superior to Holmes, and finally, Holmes agreed with her and her methods:

> Holmes: *I could have gotten the information some other way, but you got me there faster.*

More examples could be found within the narrative supporting their equal partnership. In S1E6, when Holmes sees a device and thinks it is a pager, Watson disagrees: 'That's not a pager. It's an insulin pump. Your mystery man is a diabetic.' Using her skills as a former surgeon, she provides an important insight to solve the case. In S1E11, when Holmes is complaining to Captain Gregson of the NYPD about the 'lurching, inept bureaucracy,' Gregson sees Watson approaching and tells her gladly, 'Oh, good, you are here. He's doing his tantrum thing.' In Season 1, Episodes 23 and 24, when Holmes almost steals a vial of opiates from a crime scene, he eventually resists the temptation and tells Watson he did so because 'I knew how disappointed you would be in me.' In short, she makes him a better person or at least makes him want to be a better person.

In *Elementary*, their relationship of Holmes and Dr John Watson in detective work seems even more equal than that in the original novel series. In the novels, John does not engage in investigations very often. In most cases, John only shares his thoughts when he is being asked about cases. In other words, they do not practice detective work together. Their relationship is not about their friendship, but about their partnership. However, in *Elementary*, Watson was able to run her own leads, using her own methods. Her talent could be summarised in a conversation that Holmes had with her family, who thought that her ability as a surgeon was wasted:

> Holmes: *Her practice has a quite unique specialty, your daughter. She rebuilds lives from the ground up. You can measure her success in the careers that she has restored. In my case, it would be the criminals caught and in the lives saved.* (*The Leviathan*, S1E10)

In short, different from many other Chinese American characters in contemporary television, in *Elementary*, Watson did not play the role of someone who serves under her superior, but who works with him. When one examines her characteristics under the gender traits scope, it is easy to observe that she is also different from most of the female figures in contemporary television. On the one hand, she is portrayed as a nurturing and helpful friend, who is more emotional and compassionate than Holmes. However, on the other hand, she is not represented in the typical role of being physic-

ally weak, submissive, and a dependent follower. She offered Holmes her advice and challenged Holmes' methods multiple times. Besides an equal partnership, the other significant difference between Watson and Holmes' relationship in *Elementary* was that their relationship involved no romantic feelings, and she was never described as physically attractive, as most females in television are. I will further examine the idea in the next section.

3.3 Desexualisation

Romantic involvements between female characters and their male colleagues are very commonly seen in contemporary television dramas. For instance, Detective Kate Beckett (Stana Katic) ended up marrying her partner, Richard Castle (Nathan Fillion) (*Castle*, 2010-2016); Commander Sharon Raydor was romantically involved with her colleague, Lieutenant Andy Flynn (Anthony Denison) (*Major Crime*); even Dr Temperance Brennan (Emily Deschanel), who was considered one of the most distant, detached, and emotionally incapable characters in contemporary television married her partner, FBI Special Agent Seeley Booth (David Boreanaz) in *Bones* and raised kids together. Nevertheless, there were no office-place romances in *Elementary*. Unlike many female characters, even female superiors in crime shows, Watson and Holmes never developed the slightest bit of romantic feelings through all six seasons. However, in most seasons, living under the same roof, Watson and Holmes maintained a platonic partnership without adding any romantic notion to it. Just as the producers of the show Robert Doherty and Carl Beverly stated in San Diego Comic-Con 2012:

> I knew that it would be inevitable that people would be fascinated by the 'will they, won't they'... I don't want them to end up in bed together. That's just not what the show would go for. I would like to show where a man and a woman can be friends and do this kind of work and live together and not end up romantically entangled.

Gill (2007) discussed the increase of women's sexualisation in the media and stated that 'the sexualisation and commodification of women's bodies in the wake of feminist critiques that for a decade or more had neutralised at least the more overt example of objectification, and to the exclusions of this practice—only some young, fit, beautiful bodies are sexualised.' This trend in many, if not all media formats, seems to make it inevitable that a female character, particularly if she fits the parameters of conventional beauty, will soon or later be sexualised or objectified for the benefit of her fellow male characters and the audience. Smith (2008) examined over 15,000 speaking characters in

films from 1990 to 2006. Her data revealed there were generally two types of females frequently appeared in films: the traditional and the hyper-sexual. The traditional referred to those who were described as parents or those who were staying in a committed relationship in the story. In contrast, another significant percentage of the females were shown in a hyper-sexualised fashion. In her study (2008), Smith suggested that hyper-sexuality referred to an overemphasis on attractiveness and sexuality by way of clothing (i.e., alluring attire) and body proportions (i.e., uncharacteristically small waist, hourglass figure, and thinness). Her findings could be summarised in the following figure.
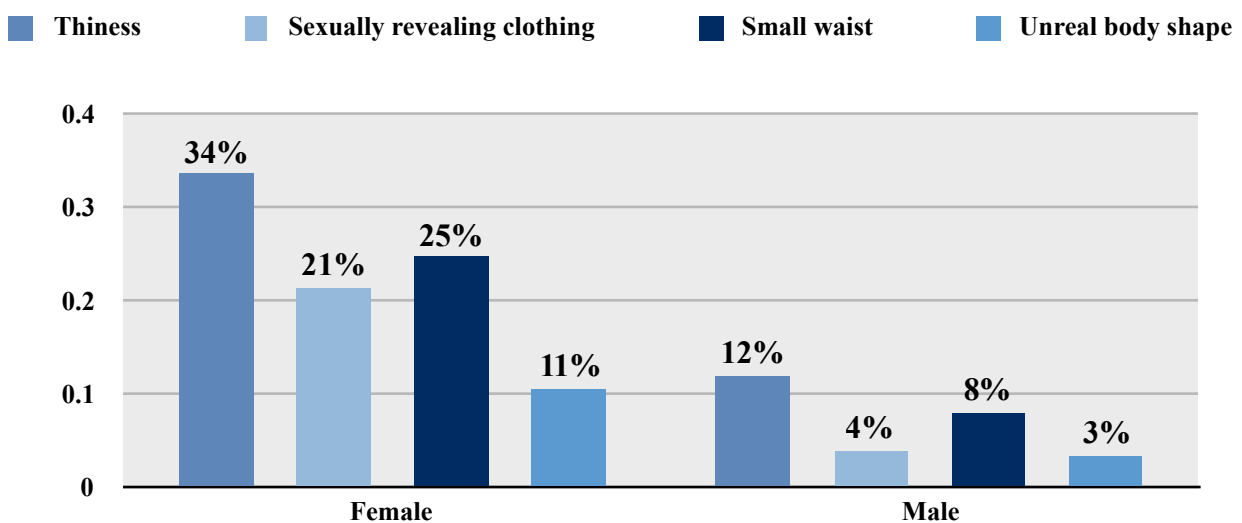
Figure D Hyper-Sexuality of Males and Females in Films 1990-2006

Smith (2008) *Gender Stereotype: An analysis of popular films and TV*, pp 12

According to Smith's study, females were over five times as likely as males to be shown in sexually revealing clothing, which was defined as attire that enhances, exaggerates, or calls attention to any part of the body from neck to knee. Similarly, the Media, Diversity, & Social Change (MDSC) Initiative examines inequality on screen and behind the camera across the 100 top−grossing US films. To summarise their findings on gender inequality, evaluating 35,205 characters across 800 of the most popular films from 2007 to 2015, they found that females were over three times as likely as their male counterparts to be shown in sexually revealing clothing (30.2% vs 7.7%) and with some nudity (29% vs 9.5%).

Measure	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015
% in sexy attire	27%	25.7%	25.8%	33.8%	31.6%	30.2%	27.9%	30.2%
% w/some nudity	21.8%	23.7%	23.6%	30.8%	31%	29.5%	26.4%	29%
% referenced attractive	18.5%	15.1%	10.9%	14.7%	Not Measured	13.2%	12.6%	12%

Table 8 Sexualisation of Female Characters on Screen 2007-2015

Measure	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015
% in sexy attire	4.6%	5.1%	4.7%	7.2%	7%	9.7%	8%	7.7%
% w/some nudity	6.6%	8.2%	7.4%	9.4%	9.4%	11.7%	9.1%	9.5%
% referenced attractive	5.4%	4.1%	2.5%	3.8%	Not Measured	2.4%	3.1%	3.6%

Table 9 Sexualisation of Male Characters on Screen 2007-2015

Adapted from *Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, (2016), Inequality in 800 Popular Films: Examining Portrayals of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, LGBT, and Disability from 2007-2015, pp 11-12*

Collins (2011) summarised the hyper-sexualisation of women on television and stated:

> Women are often sexualised, most typically by showing them in scanty or provocative clothing. Women are also subordinated in various ways, as indicated by their facial expressions, their body positions, and other factors. Finally, they are shown in traditional feminine roles. (Collins, 2009:290)

However, in *Elementary*, Watson was never, in any way, presented as 'eye candy', or sexualised in a traditional feminine role. On many occasions, throughout the seasons, the audience witnesses Holmes waking Watson up in her bedroom, with news of an investigation that they are pursuing. These scenarios could offer endless possibilities to sexualise Watson. For instance, she could be staged asleep in sexual positions, or she could be dressed in sensual underwear, or Holmes could stare at her with sexual intent. But none of the above had ever occurred in the show. She is always shown as simply being annoyed about being suddenly woken up, she is wearing a T-shirt or pyjamas, or she is sleeping, covered by blankets. Lots of examples could be found in the show. Watson's appearances in her bed are never sexualised.

Figure 41

Figure 42

For example, in Season 2, Episode 7, Holmes is waking up Watson by poking her with a stick. She wakes up and asks, annoyed and frowning (see Figure 41 and Figure 42):

Watson: *Uh! Why are you poking me with the stick?*

In the scene, she is first fully covered in a blanket from neck to toe. After a few seconds, Holmes hands her DEA files and she sits up in her bed, wearing a brown long-sleeve sweat shirt (see Figure 43). Visually, there is no rendering, shallow focus, nor soft tones added to make her appearance more attractive and sexualised. There is also no indication of any romance between the characters in their conversation: They are simply discussing a lead in the case they are working on.

The lack of sexualisation in Watson's role is made even more apparent in Season 1, Episode 19, entitled *Snow Angels*. In the episode, Holmes goes into Watson's room to wake her up. He hands her a bunch of her clothes to get changed, which she does on camera, with him explaining details of the case (Figure 44, 45 and 46). The following is their conversation. While Holmes rushes in her room and throws all the clothes to her, Watson asks:

Watson: *Are we fleeting from the scene of a murder? Because Ms Hudson and her boyfriend were up half the night yelling at each other.*
Holmes: *They're progressed to the quiet conversation stage. Ms Hudson assures me he will be leaving within the hour. Now, I have ascertained which buildings designed by Masslin & Associates that the thieves intend to hit…* (explaining the case)
Watson: *It seems like a conversation that can wait until I'm clothed.*
Holmes: *When I was reviewing the accounting files…* (further explaining his discovery)

156

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

Holmes' discovery in the accounting files drew Watson's attention, and she started to get dressed in the scene. During the whole scene, Holmes not once turned to peep at her while she was getting dressed, and the audience was encouraged to pay more attention to Holmes because in the scene, the camera used a shallow focus on Sherlock leaving Watson in a slight blur in the back. Additionally, instead of having her get dressed in plain view behind Holmes, she changed most of her clothing under the blanket, in a natural, but non-sexual way. From Figure 47 (also see Appendix A), we could see how she got her socks on. It was neither sexy nor alluring nor even elegant as she normally was. In many films and television shows, actresses are portrayed in the same graceful manner when they are at home. They are often dressed in beautiful nightdresses or robes, wearing make-up even when they are in bed (for example, Mrs Maisel, in *The Marvellous Mrs Maisel,* Season 1 Episode 1, 2017 - today). However, Watson never serves as eye candy at home. In most cases, while at home, she wears T-shirts, sweatpants, and sometimes hoodies (e.g., Figure 48, from Season 4 Episode 19). On the other hand, while heading out, her choice of clothing reveals a feminine and yet practical style. She never chooses to wear sexy clothes to seek attention or favours in the 'masculine' NYPD world. Instead, most of her clothing is in neutral colours, such as grey or black, or cool, dark colours. These images illustrate how the show consistently refuses to sexualise or objectify Watson under circumstances in which the audience may be accustomed to seeing a sexualised woman.

3.4 Romantic Relationships

At the beginning of the last section, I introduced multiple shows in which career-oriented females ended up in an office romance cliche. In her study on contemporary films, Smith (2008) found that almost all the films in her samples depicted a female lead pursuing a committed romantic relationship. In some of the films, the females' romance is the primary focus of the plot. In the films where it is not, the storylines often show that the females were capable of having a long-term relationship, as well as achieving other life goals. If a heroine could fall in love at

Figure 47

Figure 48

first sight, it was often dramatically accentuated with a song or a dance. As a matter of fact, in contemporary television dramas, it is difficult to name one female leading character who does not have a long-term exclusive romantic partner by her side (examples will be raised and examined later in this section). However, *Elementary* is a different story (at least by the end of Season 5). In the show, Watson developed two romantic relationships, which both ended pretty quickly.

In Season 3, Watson was romantically involved with Andrew during the period she moved out of Holmes' place and practiced on her own. Though seemingly thriving on the surface, Watson was actually unsatisfied with her relationship. She confessed to Holmes that though they had only been dating for a few months at the point, she was already beginning to feel constricted by the burgeoning relationship, though she was yet unable to pinpoint the precise cause of her discomfort. Shortly thereafter, Andrew invited Watson to dinner with his father, which she hesitantly agreed to. The dinner went smoothly and she made a very nice impression upon Andrew's father. Yet, she talked to Holmes about their dinner in the following way:

> Watson: *It was totally a 'Meet the Parents' thing! It went as well as you could possibly imagine. And yet, I didn't want any of it! I just didn't feel comfortable. I'm not feeling anything that I'm supposed to be feeling.*

158

Holmes: *Your romantic inclinations are not a flaw to be corrected; they're a trait to be accepted. I know you'll never be happy within the confines of a traditional relationship.*

Her relationship with Mycroft was a pretty casual one. In Season 2, Episode 7, she defined their relationship as 'two consenting adults who went to bed together'. In the same episode, the conversation between Watson and Holmes indicated that she paid more attention to how her sexual relationship with Mycroft resulted in Holmes acting weird, rather than to the relationship itself. Her main concern was that their sexual encounter might interfere with Holmes' mental status, as well as his relationship with Mycroft. Later on, in Season 4, Holmes commented about their relationship by saying 'You are sex partners, not business partners.'

In Season 2 Episode 7, the following conversation happened between Watson and Holmes.

Watson: *What is the matter with you? Your brother is reaching out to you. You guys have a chance to fix things, and you are wasting it.*

Holmes: *I'm not wrong, though. You're uncomfortable in his presence.*

Watson: *I'm not uncomfortable around Mycroft. I am uncomfortable around you and Mycroft together.*

Holmes: *For what reason?*

Watson: *This is none of your business. But you're being weird, and I don't want you to wreck your relationship with your brother again. Okay, we had dinner. I was a little bit nervous because I thought he was going to hit on me, but it became obvious that he just wanted to talk about you. He was sincere and sweet, and he's funny too.*

Holmes: *Oh, my God.*

Watson: *I was in London. I didn't know he was going to come here.*

Holmes: *You had sex with my brother. Willingly?*

Watson: *Great. You had to push, so now you know. Two consenting adults went to bed together. Okay, you can let that ruin your relationship with your brother, or not. Your call.*

In another episode, Watson seemed not to have an interest in it while her half-sister Wen was gossiping about it. Again, in her opinion, he did not dump her because her relationship with Mycroft was two assenting adults who went to bed together. Unlike her attitudes toward Andrew and their

relationship, Watson's conversations discussing her sexual relationship with Mycroft showed no signs of any guilty feelings.

> Wen*: You were with him* (Mycroft Holmes) *too, weren't you? Mycroft?*
>
> Watson sighs
>
> Wen*: You were. Guess he has a type, huh?*
>
> Watson*: Do you mind?*
>
> Wen*: Do you think he dumped you for me? Is that why you don't like me?*
>
> Watson*: He didn't dump me.*
>
> Wen*: Oh my God. Was he seeing us at the same time? You think he was two-timing you.*
>
> Watson*: Say he was. That would mean he was also two-timing you.*
>
> Wen*: True, but it's not like he and I were exclusive.*
>
> Watson*: You said you were about to move in together.*
>
> Wen*: Sure, but that wouldn't have meant we had to stop having fun.*

Earlier in this chapter, I reviewed Lauzen and her colleagues' fruitful study on females in prime-time television in which they stated:

Female characters were more likely to be seen interacting with others in familial and romantic roles. In contrast, male characters were more likely to inhabit work roles exhibiting more agentic goals, including ambition and the desire for success. Such portrayals illustrate the ongoing tendency of network television to paint characters in the broadest of gender strokes (2008:211).

However, looking into Watson's romantic relationship closely, it could be observed that she did not fit the description of female representation in television. In *Elementary*, she was not interacting with others in a romantic way, and she was not longing for a long-term, exclusive relationship with any of the others. Her attitude towards sex and relationships was more like that of Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker) in *Sex and the City*, which was that women 'can have sex like men' (Pilot, Season 1 Episode 1). In *Sex and the City*, the four main characters suggested that women could separate sex and love as men did. There needed to be no guilty feelings or emotional interactions. Watson's relationship with Mycroft fully elaborates this idea. But unlike Carrie, who kept struggling in her relationship with Mr Big and eventually had a fabulous wedding in the second film, Watson, as far as the newly ended Season 6, showed no signs of pursuing a stable relationship or settling down

with anyone. In order to better understand how unique the story of Watson is, I examined the romantic/marital status of the leading actresses in the Ranker's best contemporary television dramas with female leads to serve as a comparison to Watson's role.

From the storylines of the top 10 contemporary crime television series with female leads, I observed that no matter how independent, intelligent, or aggressive those leading actresses were, all of them ended up in marriage or at least developed a stable romantic relationship at some point of the storyline.

Show	Marriage/Relationship	Marriage/Relationship	Children
Criminal Minds (2005-)	Jennifer Jereau (A.J Cook), Special Agent	Dated William 'Will' LaMontagne Jr. (Josh Stewart) since Season 2, pregnant in S3, maternity leave since S4E5, had a baby boy and settle down with her family in Washington DC from S4E7, fully returned in S5, married in S7	1
	Penelope Garcia (Kirsten Simone Vangsness), Technical Analyst and Media Liaison Officer	Dating Kevin Lynch (Nicholas Brendon) from S3 to S7	None
Law & Order: Special Victim Unit (1999-)	Olivia Benson (Mariska Hargitay), lieutenant, later captain	Long-turn relationship with Captain Ed Tucker (Robert John Burke), adopted a child in Season 16	1
NCIS (2003-)	Eleanor Bishop (Emily Wickersham), NSA agent, later NCIS Special Agent	Married with Jake Malloy (Jamie Bamber) Later divorced	None
	Ziva David (Cote de Pablo), NCIS Special Agent	In long-turn relationship with her colleague Anthony DiNozzo (Michael Weatherly)	1
Castle (2009-2016)	Catherine 'Kate' Becket (Stana Katic), NYPD detective, captain	Developed a romantic relationship during the partnership with Richard Castle (Nathan Fillion), married in the last two seasons	1

Show	Marriage/Relationship	Marriage/Relationship	Children
Bones **(2005-2017)**	Dr Temperance 'Bones' Brennan (Emily Deschanel), Forensic Anthropologist	Married her partner Seely Booth (David Boreanaz)	2
	Dr Camille Saroyan (Tamara Taylor) Pathologist, Chief of the Jeffersonian Institution	Dated and married with intern Dr Arastoo Vaziri (Pej Vahdat)	1
	Angela Montenegro (Michaela Conlin)	Married to her colleague Dr Jack Hodgins (T. J. Thyne)	2
Cold Case **(2010-)**	Lilly Rush (Kathryn Susan Morris)	Long-turn relationship with Joseph Shaw (Kenneth Johnson)	None
The Mentalist **(2008-2015)**	Teresa Lisbon (Robin Tunney)	Dated her partner Patrick Jane (Simon Baker) in the whole series	None
Lie to Me **(2009-2011)**	Gillian Foster (Kelli Renee Williams)	Divorced, adopted child Sophie	1
Rizzoli and Isles **(2010-2016)**	Jane Rizzoli (Angela Michelle Harmon)	Long turn relationship with Casey Jones (Chris Vance), settle down with Gabriel Dean (Billy Burke) in the end of the series	None
NCIS *Los Angeles* **(2009-)**	Kensi Blye (Daniela Ruah)	Long turn relationship with her partner Marty Deeks (Eric Cristian Olsen), engaged	None
CSI New York **(2004-2013)**	Lindsay Monroe (Anna Belknap)	Stable relationship with Danny Messer, married, later divorced, had a baby girl in S5	1

Table 10 Marriage/Relationship Status of the Female Leading Characters in the Top 10 Popular Crime Television Series

Summarised from *IMDb Most Popular Crime TV Series 2017*

To summarise, most of the female leads in top ten crime genre television either had a long-term stable relationship that lasted for seasons, or else they settled down with someone at some point in the storyline. There was always a romantic or family theme underlying in the shows' sub-storyline, which could be developing for several seasons. Though it may not be shaped as a mother, the female characters' mothering nature toward children always found an entry to express in the

stories. A lot of female leads in the former table had experienced struggles between their professional and domestic lives. For example, Special Agent Jereau, in *Criminal Minds*, left her unit to give birth and take care of children for two seasons; Captain Benson, in *L&O: SVU*, had guilty feelings toward not spending enough time with her adopted son; even Dr Brennan, in *Bones*, who was described as an emotionally-distanced person, had struggled between long working hours and limited quality time with her children. It seems like the television shows do not like to portray a woman totally based on their professional storyline. As stated in Chapter 3, they restored to their 'due place in the patriarchal order by the end of the film by reintegrating her into a romantic relationship (MacDonald, 1995:27). However, Dr Watson is a different story. She never has expressed any desire of either settling down with someone nor giving birth and becoming a mother. Compared to those on-and-off long-term relationships that the other female leads had developed for seasons, Watson's romantic relationship, or in other words casual sexual interaction, seems like no more than a little ornament to the plot line.

4 DISCUSSION

Though having controversial opinions from the beginning, re-envisioning Watson as a Chinese American woman generates conflicting narratives regarding the trends of stereotypical Asian American female representations. The race shifting of casting marks the moment that Chinese American ascendancy within the US national culture, a realm in which Asian Americans have long been categorically excluded or marginally represented. As reviewed in Chapter 2 and will be further discussed in Chapter 9, using white actors and actresses portraying the coloured are a long trend in the film and television industry. However, using a Chinese actress to present someone who was originally shaped as white and portrayed by someone white was a milestone in the field of race representation.

Additionally, in the series, Watson is neither a Dragon Lady nor a Lotus Blossom. Her characteristics are not stereotypically deployed but carefully developed in depth throughout all six seasons. The race-bending and gender-bending elements of Doherty's careful conceptualisation of Dr John Watson as a Chinese-American woman make her a very progressive character in the history of Asian-American representation on primetime television. Furthermore, her storyline presents no significant racial and gender power difference. In the narrative, she is portrayed as powerful and intelligent as

her white male partner, Holmes. Although she started as an employee hired to be Holmes's sober companion, she has developed an equal partnership with Holmes from Season 2 until today.

Although the latest ideas about feminism (third-wave feminism and post-feminism) are more tolerant about the so-called 'beauty ideals,' which concerned the second-wave feminists, there are still different voices. For example, the bestseller written by the famous third-wave feminist activist Naomi Wolf entitled *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (1991) identifies the pressure that women feel resulting from the unrealistic social standard of physical beauty created by the mass media. In the book, she wrote that:

> … (Women should have) the choice to do whatever we want with our faces and bodies without being punished by an ideology that is using attitudes, economic pressure, and even legal judgments regarding women's appearance to undermine us psychologically and politically. (Wolf, 1991:17-18)

Wolf (1991) examined five areas: work, religion, sex, violence, and hunger, in which she believed that women were assaulted by the beauty myth. She further argued that beauty is the 'last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact. It is not about women at allt; it is about men's institutions and institutional power' (Wolf, 1991:13). In a book review posted in *The Guardian* (Wilson, 2005), the editor suggested that women have been flogged with the idea that they have to be beautiful in certain ways; for example, thin, youthful, silky hair, etc., or they will not be loved. The representation of Watson fits the ideas that feminists promote: she is portrayed as dressing properly in a professional workplace, and yet, not in a hyper-sexualised manner. Thus, the portrayal of Watson not only significantly challenged the longstanding Chinese female as a sex object representation, but also challenged the habit of producing hyper-sexualised female figures in films and the television industry.

Aside from the partnership and not being a beauty ideal, Watson's role challenged the long-lasting gender norms that women seemingly tend to pursue a stable, exclusive relationship. From Table 5, it is easy to observe all of the leading female characters in the top 10 crime television shows who have embraced the idea of 'having it all,' which was introduced earlier in this chapter. But is it necessary to have it all? The central concept is that it is a personal choice (Adriaens and Van Bauwel, 2011). According to Orr (1997:34), 'it is now up to individual women to make person-

al choices', which means that a female should be able to choose whatever lifestyle she prefers, with or without getting married or being involved in a stable relationship. The characters from Table 5 are living under the assumption that all women want to 'have it all' (2008). According to Negra (2009), this is an overly-ambitious notion that specifically needs to be abandoned in the third-wave and in post-feminism. Faludi (1992) wrote about the myth that show business has created about women, namely, that single women over thirty suffer from a 'man shortage'; that professional women get stressed and lonely; that women who do not have children, get depressed, and that unmarried women become hysterical (Faludi, 1992:1-2). She did surveys researching women's attitudes towards relationships, marriage, professional life and single-hood, and proved that all the above myths are false. The idea of single women being desperate to get married was entirely incorrect. Instead, they chose to live on their own (Faludi, 1992:34). Thus, staying single, though scholars do not have a fancy word for it, is just as much of choice as 'hyper-domesticity', from the perspective of third-wave feminism. According to the table of traditional/postfeminist feminine traits that presented in Chapter 3, it could be easily observed Watson's role as pioneer who embraces the postfeminist femininity traits.

In *Elementary*, Liu's portrayal of Watson is beautiful without being a sexual object, at the same time powerful without being over aggressive. Her role has positive traits of both feminine and masculine. However, the positive and progressive representation of Watson is a single case. First, the Asian-Americans are still underrepresented. Lauzen (2015) summarised the percentages of female characters by race/ethnicity in the following figure:
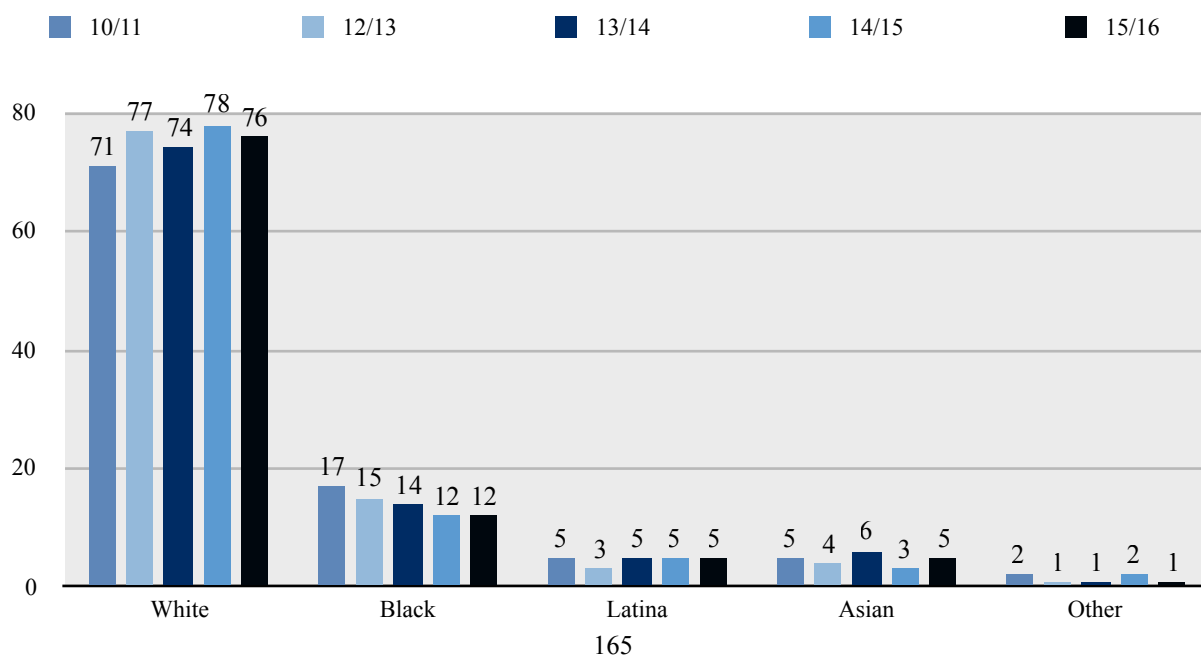
Figure E Historical Comparison of Percentages of Female Characters by Race/Ethnicity

Adapted from Lauzen (2015) pp. 7

Lauzen's study included all speaking characters in the prime-time television dramas. Turning to the method list of this study, there are only four Chinese-American female characters playing as leading actresses in contemporary television dramas. The three characters, other than Watson, are Happy Quinn (Jadyn Wong), in *Scorpion*, Malinda Qiaolian May (Ming-Na Wen), in *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.*, and Jessica Huang (Constance Wu), in *Fresh off the Boat*. Besides the fact of under-representation and the recent debate around 'whitewashing,' I brought up earlier in this chapter that the lack of opportunity is not the only problem for Asian-American actresses in the television industry. While Lucy Liu presented as a Chinese-American female role model, other Chinese-American actresses are still struggling in the stereotypical portrayals. They rarely have the chance to play leading roles in prime-time television dramas; when they do, they are frequently secondary to the plot [i.e., Happy Quinn, in *Scorpion*], or else they are portrayed in a stereotypical manner [i.e., Malinda Qiaolian May, in *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.*, a female version of a Chinese Kong-Fu hero].

On the topic of being an Asian actress in Hollywood, Lucy Liu stated in an interview:

> I never really thought of myself as the only Asian face out there until somebody pointed that out to me, and said 'You actually are quite a pioneer, and we hope that this going to set a new precedent.' As an actor, you're defining who you are little by little, you're leaning about your-self through your work, especially with this role being something as dynamic as Dr. Watson. (Morning Edition, National Public Radio, September 27, 2012)

The positive representation of Watson's character might result from Lucy Liu's successful career prior to *Elementary*. She first gained widespread recognition as a series regular in *Ally McBeal*. Her breakthrough *(Entertainment Weekly*, 1999) as the cruel, vindictive, eroticised, and exotically sen-sual lawyer Ling Woo gained attention from both ordinary audience and media scholars. In 2000, she played one of the leading characters in *Charlie's Angels*, alongside famous Hollywood stars Cameron Diaz and Drew Barrymore. The blockbuster success of *Charlie's Angels* led her to another famous role in Quentin Tarantino's martial arts film *Kill Bill*. She was nominated multiple times and won several awards in both film and television. She was already a star before playing Watson in

Elementary. Also, her success in her early works, such as *Ally McBeal* and *Charlie's Angels*, has already made her a desirable figure to the audience. She has been on the cover story of *Playboy* multiple times and has been announced in the top 100 desirable women on askmen.com. To some audience, even though Dr Watson is desexualised in *Elementary*, she is still an attractive and desirable character simply because she is portrayed by Lucy Liu. Apart from Liu's legacy and stardom status in the industry, the concept of 'Asian fetish' also plays an important role in the success of Watson's character. The term Asian fetish refers to Caucasian or other non-Asian males who are attracted to Asian females with more intensity or frequency than is shown for other groups of women. In other words, it does not matter how desexualised Watson was presented in the series, she attracts a group of viewers for the sole reason that she appeared as an Asian woman. In short, the success of Watson could be considered the personal success of Lucy Liu, and among the other Chinese-American characters in television dramas, she is alone.

Although Liu has been widely described as a figure of racial progress in Hollywood (Funnel, 2014), she has also been criticised for helping to rein-scribe Asian American stereotypes and oriental sexuality into action genre. The following quote from another interview of Lucy Liu may answer the questions that why she chose those desirable stereotypical roles and why she is an exception as an Asian American actress. In the interview, she responded directly to a question about racial stereotypes by describing the bondage of her stardom in the clear voice of someone firing in the forefront of the industry (Shimizu, 2007).

> Interviewer: In *Kill Bill*, aren't you perpetuating the stereotype of Asians doing martial arts in movies?
> Lucy Liu: It's like this — I get a few opportunities, and I try to make them as full and as three-dimensional as possible. Once those movies succeed, the studio sees that I am a viable person who can bring in money. I still work on a couple of movies which perhaps wouldn't be my first choice, but as I build on momentum and audience, then I start doing my own projects. You don't have a choice when you don't have options. So you have to create options that will ultimately create new opportunities. (in Shimizu, 2007:93)

In the interview, Liu explained her position and strategy within the struggles for opportunities. By playing roles that are shaped stereotypically, she built up reputation, popularity and her stardom

which gave her the exceptional position and empowered her the possibility of making new and more positive roles. Her celebrity status gave her the power in the industry.

In this chapter, I have introduced and examined Watson as one of the most significantly positive characters that challenged all existing Chinese stereotypes pre-existing in films and television. I have also explained the comprehensive reason behind the camera regarding why she was treated differently compared to her Chinese peers in other television series. As concluded above, among the Chinese-American characters of both genders, she is alone. The next chapter will focus on Lieutenant Mike Tao, in *The Closer*, and Skye, in *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.*, which share the same complexity in the storyline through the scope of social types and melting-pot theories.

CHAPTER 8 MODEL CITIZEN

In the last three chapters, we focused on three characters as examples and elaborated on the stereotypical representations of enemy, model minority, and female of the Chinese and Chinese Americans. The one thing in common between the three characters was that they were all represented as 'others' in different ways. Chinese Foreign Minister Chen on the show *Madam Secretary* was represented as an enemy that endangered and threatened the United States. In this case, he was the other for the whole of the US. Dr Topher Zia was portrayed as a not-so-typical model minority. Though the model minority stereotype was challenged a little bit, the character of Dr Zia was still portrayed superficially and highlights his otherness from his traditional Eastern family values his lack of Western masculinity. Dr Joan Watson is a female character who embraced concepts from second-wave and third-wave feminism, which have nearly nothing in common with the existing 'Dragon Lady' or 'Lotus Blossom' Chinese female stereotypes. However, per our analysis, Watson's portrayal was the sole reason behind the success of Lucy Liu. Most other Chinese and Chinese American females on the big screen were still represented as others in the dominant Western culture and in a stereotypical way.

However, in contemporary television dramas, there is also a small number of Chinese and Chinese Americans, though not many, who are more acceptable as 'us', along with a few characters from other racial minority groups. To some extent, these characters could be considered as 'us' in the storyline. In this chapter, I will take a brief look to find out who they are and what efforts they need to make to be defined as 'us'. Before getting to that, I would like to have another look at the stereotype theory and identify the standpoint of 'us'.

1 WHO ARE WE?

Hegemony is the 'process in which a ruling class—or, more likely, an alliance of class factions—dominates subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology into their common sense and everyday practice' (Gitlin 1982:445). The social understanding of race, gender, and sexuality are constantly changing with time. As a result, popular culture reflects those changes. Hegemonic forces renegotiate these reflections in such a way that the ruling group does

not lose its dominance over the subordinate groups (Gitlin, 1982). Therefore, the unequal balance is kept between the dominant and subordinate groups that, if done right, often goes unnoticed.

In order to understand the concept of 'we', I would like to revisit Lippmann's (1922) classic theory of stereotypes and stereotyping. In Chapter 3, I quoted from Lippmann's well-known statement that stereotypes create a picture of the possible world to which 'we' are adapted. He further explained that in such a world,

> …We feel at home. We fit in. We are members. It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them, they are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defences, we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy (1922: 96).

This statement summarised one of the basic functions of stereotyping, which is to define territory and identify who is within and who is not. Lippmann uses the words 'we' and 'our' throughout the quoted paragraph, which leads to a problematic issue with stereotyping. That is, who are 'we'? Who proposed the stereotypes? Who has the power to enforce it, and whose value is 'our value,' as invoked by Lippmann?

According to Dyer (1999), Klapp's (1962) book studying the distinction between social types and stereotypes is particularly helpful in answering these questions. In his book, Klapp defines social types as representations of those who 'belong' to the society, whereas stereotypes are for those who do not belong (Klapp, 1962). As Dyer suggested, though constructed iconographically similarly to the way stereotypes are constructed, social types could be used in a much more open and flexible way than stereotypes could. An important distinction between social types and stereotypes is that social types could figure a wide range of roles in many genres and plots. They are complex characters who, whether heroes or villains, have many different layers and contradictions (Holtzman and Sharpe, 2014). They more closely resemble real people, and their depth and intricacy defy easy categorisation; compared to this, stereotypes are so much simpler that they nearly always carry within their very representation in an implicit narrative (Dyer, 1999). The stereotypes generally convey one or two strong elements of personality or behaviour that have little texture, complexity, or depth. The social types can be fluid. In other words, a character within the social type frame can be both good

170

and bad at the same time. He or she can be an alcoholic but also a loving mother (e.g., Christy in *Mom, 2013 - today*); an autism patient but also a bright young doctor (e.g., Shaun Murphy in *The Good Doctor*); a drug-addicted but brilliant detective (e.g., Holmes in *Elementary*); or a villain with a tragic childhood that makes the audience feel empathetic. However, stereotypes do not share a similar manner of fluidity. Most stereotypical characters are shaped in two distinct ways, good or bad, or, in other words, the ones that are acceptable and the ones that are not. This is one of the most important functions of the stereotypes, as stated in the literature review chapter: to maintain a sharp boundary and identify clearly who is within and who is beyond. The less experience people have in their everyday lives, the more significant role the stereotypes play—they fill in the gaps in people's experiences, and hence, these people often come to believe that these images, messages, and stereotypes are true. Klapp believes that this distinction between social types and stereotypes is primarily geographic; for example, there are social types of Americans and stereotypes of non-Americans. Unfortunately, the geographical distinction does not explain the difference between the representations since immigration from different races is an component of the US social fabric—they are all, geographically, Americans. However, adding to Klapp's idea, who does or does not belong to a given society is a function of the relative power of groups in that society to define themselves as central and the rest as 'others' (Dyer, 1999). Thus, the piece needed to solve the puzzle is the question of 'who proposed the stereotype and who has the power to enforce it' from the list of questions that I have established. To answer the two questions, first, I would like to briefly summarise the current situation both within and behind the scenes in the television and film industry.

1.1 Current Diversity on Screen and Behind the Camera

1.1.1 Race

In earlier chapters, I reviewed the statistics regarding the percentage of racial minorities portrayed as villains, as well as the percentage of female racial minorities in the screen. In this section, I would like to take a look at the big picture of racial and gender balance in the media entertainment industry.

In a study of 600 popular films from 2007 to 2013, Smith, Choueiti, and Pieper (2014) found that of the 3932 speaking characters, 74.1% were white, and only slightly more than a quarter were from other races/ethnicity groups. Their findings are summarised in the following table.

Year	White (%)	Hispanic (%)	African American (%)	Asian (%)	Other (%)
2007	77.6	3.3	13	3.4	2.5
2008	71.2	4.9	13.2	7.1	3.5
2009	76.2	2.8	14.7	4.7	1.5
2010	77.6	3.9	10.3	5	3.3
2012	76.3	4.2	10.8	5	3.6
2013	74.1	4.9	14.1	4.4	2.5

Table 11 Characters' Race/Ethnicity in Screen, 2007-2013

Adapted from Smith, Choueiti and Pieper, 2014, pp3

Smith and her colleagues' data showed that 4.9% of onscreen film characters were Asian and Asian American from 2007 to 2013. They further examined 414 stories, including 109 films and 305 broadcast, cable, and digital series dramas, and compared the results to U.S. Census statistics. They confirmed that only 28.3% out of a total of 10,444 speaking characters were from ethnic minority groups, which is 9.6% below the 37.9% minority population within the U.S., and this underrepresentation did not vary much between platforms. Among the total of 305 stories from broadcast, cable, and streaming platforms, 161 (53%) of them contain no speaking Asian characters, and 23% of them have no speaking African-American characters. Marking a ±10% to the census data as the range of racially balanced representation, they identified that only 34 shows (11%) from the total 305 television shows could be considered as having a balanced cast. Also, based on the leading characters in the television content, only 26.6% of the series regulars were from racial/ethnic minority groups, which was 11.3% below the census statistics. In addition to these findings, Smith and her colleagues further looked behind the scenes.

Director Status	Film (%)	Broadcast (%)	Cable (%)	Stream (%)
White	87.3	90.4	83.2	88.6
Other	12.7	9.6	16.8	11.4

Table 12 Directors from Racial/Ethnic Minorities by Media Platform

Adapted from *Smith, Choueiti and Pieper, 2016, pp10*

Out of the 407 directors evaluated, 87% were white, and only 13% of them were from racial/ethnic minority groups, which are even higher percentages under the index relative to the US population norms. They further identified the problematic distinction of racial representation (underrepresentation) between the white and the minority directors; that is, white directors created fewer minority roles on the screen. The percentage of minorities on screen increased by 17.5% when a director from a racial/ethnic minority was in charge of a television episode or a film. Only a proportion of 26.6% of characters were presented as minorities when the directors were white, whereas 43.7% of characters on the screen were minorities when the directors came from racial/ethnic minority groups.

The statistics above help answer part of my question. Currently, the majority of the film and television industry is white, both on the screen and behind the camera. As they are the ones holding the power of producing the television series, they are the ones proposing the stereotypes to the audience and holding the power to enforce them. This data leads to the conclusion that the 'we', in the contemporary world of the television industry, refers to white majorities. Among all the minorities, the situation of African Americans was slightly better off, composing 9.7% (a total of 40) directors across all four platforms, which left even smaller spaces for Hispanic and Asian directors.

1.1.2 Gender

In the last chapter, I introduced Lauzen and her colleagues' study of female contributions on the screen. In this section, I will revisit Lauzen's report in order to answer the question raised earlier in this chapter.

In their study on women on screen and behind the scenes in television in the 2016-17 television season, the researchers identified that overall, 68% of the programmes considered featured casts with

more male than female characters. Across the platforms of broadcast, cable, and streaming television, females comprised of 42% of all speaking characters during 2016–17; the percentages were 39% in 2015–16 and 40% in 2014–15 (Lauzen et al., 2016, 2018). however, despite the partially positive statistics of females on screen, the study also showed that the situation behind the scenes was still frustrating for that women only comprised of 28% of all creators, directors, writers, producers, executive producers, editors, and photographers working in television across the platforms. Examining 4310 behind-the-scenes credits in 2016–17, the scholars found that 50% of the television shows employed four or fewer women behind the camera, while in contrast, only 6% of programmes employed four or fewer men. Also, only 3% of the programmes employed more than fourteen females behind the scenes, whereas 47% of the shows employed fourteen or more males. Among all the shows examined, 97% of the programmes considered had no female director of photography, 85% had no female director, and approximately 75% had no female editor or creator. Their findings over the years are summarised in the following chart:
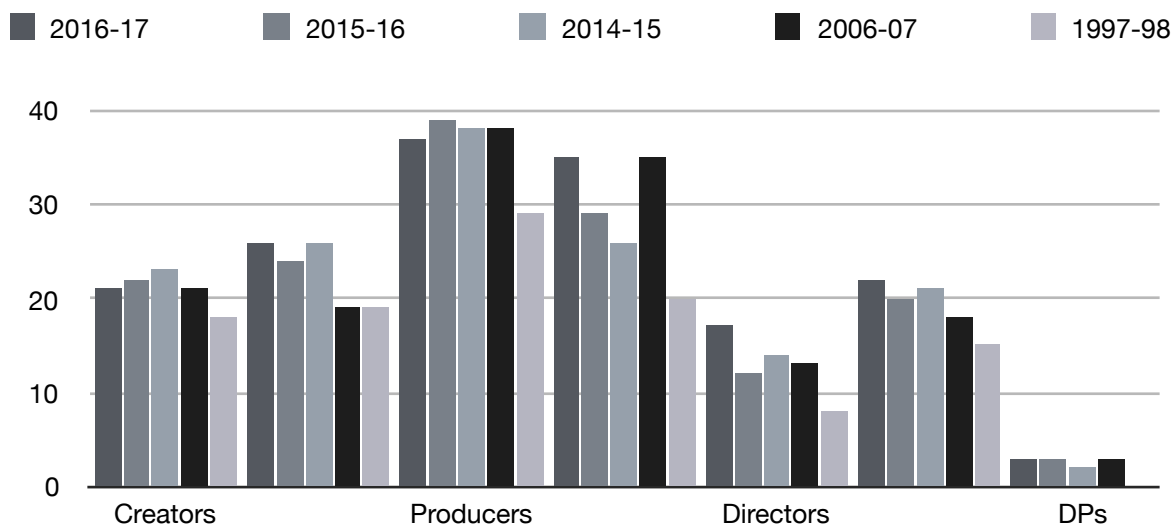
Figure F Historical Comparison of Percentage of Behind-the Scene Women by Role

Adapted from Lauzen, 2018

Smith and her colleagues also examined gender behind the camera from the 414 programmes, including film and television series, and reached a similar conclusion. Their results showed that, among all the programmes, a total of 4,284 directors were assessed; 84.8% (n=3,632) of them were male, and only 15.2% (n=652) were female. Regarding the writers of the show—

and this career area could be observed as slightly more of a woman's field, judging from Lauzen's study—only 31.6% of broadcast, 28.5% of cable, and 25.2% of streaming television shows were written by women. The percentages of women who were creators, directors, and editors were even lower.

The results from both Lauzen and Smith showed the dominance of white males in the contemporary film and television industry and answered the question I raised earlier in this chapter. In short, the majority behind the camera are white males. Since white men dominate the writing, production, and direction of prime time television, it is more likely that their collective life experiences, worldviews, values, and even biases would be reflected in the characters, themes, and plotlines. Thus, they are the ones holding the power to shape representations, and hence, propose and enforce stereotypes. From this angle, white males are the 'we', and therefore, their values are 'our values', as referred to by Lippmann.

2 EXAMPLES OF MODEL CITIZENS IN A TELEVISED WORLD

Racial and ethnic minorities have to travel a long way before they are considered to be 'acceptable'. For example, African Americans had a long struggle for proper jobs and positive characters in the televised world. One African American police officer per station is a standard arrangement for all the police stations on television today. This specific type of African American officer has been rooted in crime television dramas for two decades and has now become one thing indispensable in the particular genre. There are no doubts that those dedicated African American police officers are model citizens, both in the narrative and in the audience's perceptions. However, most of them have something interesting in common. These characters were mostly shaped by growing up in a messy neighbourhood, and at some point in the storyline, they have to confront their past. In most cases, they have to stand against their old neighbourhood, arrest childhood neighbours or friends, guide younger brothers who are involved with the wrong crowd, or, at least, stand up to ease the tension between their community and law enforcement [e.g., see Lieutenant Danial 'Hondo' Harrelson (Shemar Moore in *SWAT,* 2017 - today); Detective Kevin Atwater (LaRoyce Hawkins) in Chicago P.D. (2014-); Detective Odafin Tutuola (Ice-T) in *L&O: SVU*; etc.]. The storylines of those television dramas indicated that positive black characters worked hard to get rid of their community's traditions and values to finally became better people. When tension occurs, they are standing at the right side, fighting against the place where they grew up. This is a typical example

of 'marking the boundary'. The stands taken by African American police officers draw a clear line between the acceptable African Americans within 'our' territory and the others who are not.

Compared to African American representations on screen, Chinese and Chinese Americans seem to be in a better position. These characters do not need to turn against their own kind to be acceptable to the audience. Progress has been made in recent years. In this section, I will briefly examine two characters to see how Chinese Americans fit in 'our' cultural fabric and express 'our' value.

Portrayed by Michael Paul Chan, Lieutenant Mike Tao has been one of the longest-lasting Asian American characters in contemporary television today. Through seven seasons in *The Closer* (TNT, 2005-2012) and another six in *Major Crimes*, the character has been successfully shaped and elaborated on over more than 200 episodes.

Before joining the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) *Major Crimes* Department, in the first four seasons of *The Closer*, Tao worked at the LAPD Scientific Investigation Division and is described by the Chief as a 'technical genius'. In the later seasons of *The Closer* and all six seasons of *Major Crimes*, he works as lieutenant in the LAPD Priority Homicide Division and, later on, the Major Crime Division. Though the full history of his service in LAPD is never revealed, the medals and ribbons he wears in the newest season of *Major Crimes* offer the audience a glimpse of his whole career. In *Major Crimes* Season 6, Episode 1 (*By All Means*), Tao is wearing medals and ribbons, including the Police Meritorious Service Medal, the Police Meritorious Unit Citation, and the Police Commission Distinguished Service Medal. Also, he is wearing his 1984 Summer Olympics Ribbon, which was given to any LAPD officers who served during the 1984 Summer Olympics, indicating his at least 33 years of service with the LAPD.

The most important difference between Tao and other Chinese-American law enforcement members on screen is that he is no longer the tech geek working behind the desk or an investigator working on the crime scene after the crime has taken place. He responds to critical on-going situations and has pulled his weapons out a lot in recent seasons, which is a significant difference between him and the 'nerdy' Chinese-American technicians and the feminised model minority Chinese males. Compared to Dr Zia in the model minority chapter, Tao expresses a more masculine figure with his gun and badge. In addition, unlike Dr Zia, who is living a pretty traditional Chinese

176

family life under the Confucius philosophy, Tao's family plays very little part in his private life. The only named members of his family in the show are his Japanese wife Kathy (Patti Yasutake) and his teenage son, Kevin. From the conversation in the office, the audience can learn that Tao has three children, but except for Kevin, they remain unnamed and never make their appearances in the storyline. Tao's private life beyond office hours is primarily portrayed by his engagement with the fictional television drama, Badge of Justice. Since he is the advisor of the show and was awarded for his contribution to it, Tao's representation fits the role of an elite professional compared to Dr Zia.

Another noteworthy fact about Tao is that though the character is of Chinese ancestry, he can neither read nor speak Chinese. In one episode, when Tao is asked about whether he speaks Chinese, he denies it by saying, 'the only Chinese I can speak is to order take-outs'. In another episode, when someone assumes he can speak Chinese due to his heritage and asks him to tell a bus full of Chinese tourists to shut up, he does that in English. Those plots have further driven him away from the existing Chinese American television portrayals when most of them had taken their heritage and tradition seriously. In an earlier chapter, I introduced the correlation between language and culture (Hymes, in Savaille-Troike, 1982). With this insight, Tao's lack of Chinese language skills indicated that his character did not have a Chinese cultural identity. Furthermore, the other members of his family—for example, his parents, from whom he took his Chinese heritage—were never shown in the picture. This, combined with his long history of service in the LAPD, helped him to become more easily recognised and accepted as 'one of us' by the American majority.

The other example I would like to present is Skye (Chloe Bennet) in *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D*. Discovered by Shield agents from Hunan province in China, Skye grew up in the St. Agnes Orphanage and bounced around different foster homes. Skye was eventually revealed in 2015 to be the daughter of Jiaying (Dichen Lachman), making the character half Chinese and the first Chinese-American superhero on television. Like Lieutenant Tao, Skye began her career in Shield as a talented hacker who was first hired for her genius computer skills. It was a half-way decision to feature Skye as a character with Chinese heritage. She did not show any signs and was not even aware of her Chinese heritage before this aspect of her identity was revealed. As an orphan, her family members never appeared until Season 3, when they were turned into monsters.

Having a half-Chinese superhero on screen is a huge milestone, but there were several reasons that primarily contributed to Skye's character being recognised as one of 'us' that have limited progress. For one, the television series is set in a fictional world created by Marvel, in which the main conflicting parties are Shield against Hydra: superheroes against super-villains. Also, in the Marvel Universe, Hydra, constructed on a base of alien technology, is the enemy of the Earth. The idea of the Earth vs alien and good alien superhero vs aliens who want to control the Earth significantly blurs the boundaries between countries. In such a fictional universe, the citizens of the Earth become the identified 'us'. Thus, nationality and cultural identity does not play an important role between characters, as long as they are all fighting for the Earth. Like Lucy Liu's 'Watson', Skye was also a personal success for actress Chloe Bennet. Early in her career, Bennet used her Chinese last name, Wang, and struggled in Hollywood, finding it impossible to get a role. Later on, she changed her last name to Bennet, which was her Chinese father's first name, and her career eventually started. After the show 'Shield' became a success and Bennet's career as an actress took off, she started to talk about how difficult it was to get a job using her Chinese name. 'The first audition I went after I changed my name, I got booked', she said in an interview on Marvel's 'Women of Power'. 'So that's a pretty clear little snippet of how Hollywood works.' In August 2017, she tweeted:

'Changing my last name does not change the fact that my blood is half Chinese, that I lived in China, speak Mandarin, or that I was culturally raised both American and Chinese. It means I had to pay my rent, and Hollywood is racist and would not cast me with a last name that made them uncomfortable. I'm doing everything I can, with the platform I have, to make sure no one has to change their name again, just so they can get work'.

The reason for choosing Tao and Skye as examples here is that among the few characters who are recognised as one of 'us' in television dramas, they are the only ones who have revealed their Chinese (or half-Chinese) heritage in the storyline. For example, on the one hand, the character Happy Quinn in *Scorpion* is not being stereotypically portrayed. On the other hand, her ancestry is never revealed in the storyline. With parents named Patrick and Grace Quinn, who both appear to be white in faint flashback shots, the only things linking her to the Chinese are her Eastern look and her actress, Jadyn Wong.

Looking at Skye and Tao alongside the African-American police officers on the screen that I introduced earlier in the section, it is not difficult to see that they have one thing in common: Each of the characters belongs to a team, and each of the teams serves an admirable purpose: to protect the majority of citizens or even Earth. Before the character was known as an individual, they were first recognised as members of a team. The team setting created a sense of belongingness. The audience becomes easier to understand the character's standing point, which is the ones on 'our side.' Whether protecting civilians and solving crimes in Los Angeles or fighting against super-villains with alien technologies, Tao and Skye's characters were the textbook definition of 'one of us'. Race and ethnicity differences are seemingly minimised in these shows because the main idea in them was the battle between law enforcement and criminals as well as Earth versus alien villains. For example, the audience sees Tao as a dedicated and admirable police officer before they pay attention to his Chinese American heritage. Hence, as long as the characters stay on the rightful side, their race and ethnicity differences would be diminished. Being someone from the authority who was protecting 'us' made the audience easily identify them as 'one of us'. The other thing in common among the two characters was that their Chinese heritage played a tiny part in the storyline. Skye was not aware of her Chinese mother until Season 3, and Tao's Chinese family members never appeared in the total thirteen seasons of the two series. Neither of the characters speak or read in Chinese. Different from Dr Zia's family values and Watson's involvement with her half-sister, Skye and Tao are more American from a cultural identity perspective.

A white male is automatically recognised as one of 'us', even if he speaks in British accent (e.g., Sherlock Holmes in *Elementary*). Then, what does a racial/ethnic minority need to do in order to enjoy the same treatment on the screen? For the African American police officers across the shows, they need to confront their previous neighbours and friends. Standing on the right side, protecting the people does not seem to be enough; the Chinese and Chinese Americans need to abandon their cultural heritage to be treated equally. More problematically, the situation was not limited to the fictional world; it also happens in the real media industry. As a result, Bennet had to change her last name to get a role.

3 DISCUSSION

The cases of Tao and Skye indicate that the Chinese and Chinese Americans have to give up their heritage to be accepted by the dominant cultural group, which is mainly formed by white Americ-

ans. The situation that one has to give up one's heritage to be accepted into a given society is not solely happening to Chinese immigrants but is deeply rooted and could be found throughout the American immigration history. Gordon (1978) used the term 'Anglo-conformity' to explain this situation. This broad term covers a variety of viewpoints about assimilation and immigration. According to Gordon, those viewpoints all 'assume the desirability of maintaining English institution (as modified by the American Revolution), the English language and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard American life' (Gordon, 1987:246). The ideology of Anglo-conformity further became the foundation of 'Americanisation' of all future newcomers (Balgopal, 2000).

In American history, multiple legislations were made to promote and help the process of Americanisation and assimilation (see Appendix C). In the early twentieth century, except for the white European immigrants, 'it was ordered — that the Mexicans, Asians, and blacks would remain culturally separate' (Bouvier, 1992:111). For instance, President Woodrow Wilson was recorded saying, 'Any man who thinks (of) himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American' (in Balgopal, 2000:11). From the Anglo-conformist point of view, it is impossible for the newcomers to adjust in their new home while at the same time preserving their cultural ethics and religious and linguistic background.

The ideas of assimilation and Americanisation, thus, underlie the Americans' dominant attitude towards immigrants. Scholars have defined the term 'assimilation' in the context of immigration. According to Gordon (1964), assimilation is 'a process of interpretation and future in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life' (1964:62). In Gordon's opinion, the acquisition of the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other people is essential to the assimilation or, to use another term, Americanisation process. In order to blend into the dominant group, one must be willing and able to conform and, thus, remove one's original cultural and ethnic background. In other words, one must be willing and able to forget one's heritage, family, and previous lifestyle. If minority cultural groups attempt to retain or stick to their traditions and heritage, they are seen as unassimilable or sometimes even deviant (Balgopal, 2000). In short, to be socially accepted, members from the minority groups are expected to assimilate and blend into the value structure provided by the dominant Anglo group in America. The preservation of one's own ethnic and cultural heritage is not encouraged. In other words, it means that the members of

cultural minority groups should adopt and assimilate the cultural norms of the dominant groups. According to Conyers and Epps (1974), American society has been willing to accept different people only if they are willing to become acculturated and reject their cultural distinctiveness.

Gordon (1964) further pointed out the two levels of assimilation, which are the structural level and the behavioural level. Structural assimilation means that individuals must have equal access to membership of society's institutions and other kinds of decision-making structures (for example, the right to vote). Behavioural assimilation, which is also known as acculturation, means that minority members' behaviours must conform to the dominant group's norms. If the minority's behaviour stands out, that person is seen as different and will not be considered as belonging to the social mainstream. In other words, in order to avoid being identified as 'foreign', people from the minority groups should assimilate behaviourally. There are a few examples of the failed acculturation from the characters I introduced in earlier chapters, including Minister Chen's feminised hand gesture and body language in *Madam Secretary*, Dr Zia's family values in *The Night Shift*, and the characters' traditional Chinese costumes in *Bones*. Those characters hold onto their Chinese ethical values and heritage in different ways; thus, they did not fully assimilate and blend into the American mainstream and are therefore identified as 'foreigners' by the audience.

Based on the Anglo conformity viewpoint, the melting pot theory was proposed to explain the assimilation process. The term 'melting pot' came from Israel Zangwill's 1908 play *The Melting Pot*, and hence became the symbol to describe the American assimilative process. The melting pot theory suggests that immigrants adopt the norms, values, behaviours, and characteristics of the majority and become indistinguishable from the mainstream over time (Brown, Bean, 2006). In other words, they are Americanised. The theory indicated that all minority groups will end up being assimilated into the majority by getting rid of their own language and culture while adopting the language and culture of the host country. The quicker a person 'melted' into the 'pot' of American culture, the easier it was to be accepted by the white dominant group. The members from ethnic minority groups were encouraged to forget their own language, religious practices, dietary and eating habits, customs, values, and norms. It was not viewed as possible for a group of immigrants to assimilate into the dominant society while holding onto their ways of living, thriving, and surviving (McDonald, Balgopal, 1998). Furthermore, the theory also unfolds the assimilation process in a sequence of generational steps that each new generation represents a new stage of adjustment until the

group is fully assimilated (Alba and Nee, 1997). It implied that the longer the immigrant groups live in the host country, the more assimilated the group will become.

There are two key facts to evaluate the level of assimilation, which are language abilities and marriage status (Schwab, 2013). According to Schwab (2013), if immigrants expect to be accepted as citizens, they must learn the host society's language, norms, and culture to show their loyalty to the host nation. Language is considered the foundation for assimilation as it is the bridge that narrows the gap between different ethnic groups and the mainstream society. Americans believe that speaking English is a key component of national identity, which provides the social glue that holds the nation together (Schwab, 2013). The other key component is intermarriage, which is often considered as the ultimate step in the assimilation of immigrants. Marriages between partners with different ethnic backgrounds are a sign of the breakdown of social distance between different groups (Lichter, Calmalt, and Qian, 2011). Similar to the language assimilation process pattern, the level of interracial and interethnic marriages increases steadily over generations as the social barriers between ethnic groups diminish, and preference for in-group marriage fades (Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa, 2006). The character of Lieutenant Tao in *The Closer* and *Major Crimes* fits the description of the assimilation process. In the show, he is married to someone outside of the Chinese-American group, and he speaks English proficiently.

Berry (1984) pointed out three stages of assimilation: 1) contact—the interface of two cultures; 2) conflict—the struggle of choosing values adhering to either the host culture or the heritage culture; and 3) adaptation—strategies to reduce the conflict and maintain balance between the two cultures. In addition to that, Berry (1997) listed four patterns of acculturation: 1) assimilation—giving up one's ethnic identity and the heritage culture's value in favour of the host culture's; 2) integration—achieving balance between the heritage culture's values and the host culture's by maintaining one's ethnic identity, coupled with contact and participation with the host culture; 3) separation—little or no interaction with the host culture and a strong desire to maintain one's ethnic identity; and 4) marginalisation—maintaining no contact with either the home or host culture and experiencing alienation, a loss of identity, and stress. Under this scope, Lieutenant Tao is a textbook example of Berry's assimilation type of acculturation pattern. Dr Zia falls under the category of integration, for he maintains contact with both his home and host culture. Dr Watson belongs to the same category, with less contact with her Chinese heritage compared to Zia. The characters who do not speak English and hold onto the Chinese costume and religious practices could be considered as representing

the separation type of immigration. The higher the assimilation level the characters embrace, the more they appear to be acceptable in the show and to the audience. Thus, Tao is easily recognised and accepted as 'one of us' by the audience.

However, researchers have found that later generations of immigrants are mostly bilingual (see Portes and Schauffler, 1994; Mouw and Xie, 1999). They speak both the language of the host country and the language of their country of origin. Mouw and Xie (1994) further found that growing up as a bilingual is beneficial because it stimulates cognitive-language development and, in the meantime, gives the immigrants a means of resisting unwanted assimilation. However, Lieutenant Tao does not share the bilingual pattern of immigrants. In other words, rather than representing the true status of Chinese Americans, Tao's fictional figure is more likely the ideal immigrant in the dominant group's imagination who is willing and able to let go of his cultural and ethnic foundation and is melting into the pot of American culture. But are the 'letting go' and utmost Americanisation processes really necessary?

In a discussion about the Americanisation of immigrants, cultural pluralism and multiculturalism are also important concepts. According to Schaefer (1990), cultural pluralism emphasises mutual respect among various groups in society for each other's cultures—respect that allows minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or hostility (1990:47). It indicated that the ethnic minority groups have the right to preserve their cultural heritage and also to contribute to American civic life (Epps, 1974). Based on cultural pluralism, multiculturalism further suggested that assimilation must be rejected (Glazer, 1998). Multiculturalists pointed out the importance of maintaining cultural diversity (Christensen, 2012). According to Berry (1997), maintaining the culture of origin was as important as participating in the host culture for the immigrants to maintain their identity and find their spot in society. However, many in the white majority have assumed that advocating for multiculturalism and the maintenance of ethnic differences was antagonistic to their ideal colourblind imaginary world (Blauner, 2001). Van Dijk (1993) pointed out that the explosive debates regarding multiculturalism exemplify how even a modest challenge to the dominance of the white Anglo-centric culture is likely to be met with hostile reactions.

The representations of the characters that I have introduced did not promote the ideas of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. Instead, the different portrayals indicate that the less these characters melt into the American culture, the less accepted they will be. The characters with lower assim-

ilation levels appear to be more stereotypical, and those who are more Americanised such as Lieutenant Tao and Skye are presented as more social types and are, hence, more acceptable. The distinction between the representations might be problematic, for it promotes the idea of assimilation. Characters such as Tao and Skye are sending the message consistent with the melting pot theory to the minority groups that in order to get accepted by the mainstream society, they should better let go of their heritage from their country of origin, embrace the American culture and values, and finally, blend into the white dominant majority. This message does not help minorities form identities and find their belongingness in a given society. On the other hand, it could be harmful for the minority cultures to preserve and maintain their heritage.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

1 FROM WHITEWASH TO UNDERREPRESENTATION

I would like to start this section by briefly revisiting the term 'whitewashing', which was first brought up in Chapter 2. The history of whitewashing can be dated back to the early age of film industry. The term 'whitewash' was originally described as a casting practice in the US film industry in which white actors and actresses fill in the role of non-white characters (Brook, 2015). Contemporarily, the term expanded for the purpose to describe those films in which a white man (often cited as 'the white knight' in literature regarding early films evolving white males and Asian females, e.g., in Marchetti, 1993; Ty, 1996; Kwan, 1998; Farquhar & Doi, 1976, etc.) saves the world.

Asian men being whitewashed could be found throughout the past century. Before the Pacific War, the two most influential Asian figures in the early era of the film industry were Dr Fu Manchu and Detective Charlie Chan. Asian actors never played Dr Fu Manchu. His first appearance on the big screen was in the 1923 British silent film *The Mystery of Dr. Fu Manchu* (Lee, 1929), starring Agar Lyons. After this, there was a series of Dr Fu Manchu films produced and released. In all these films, the main character, Dr Fu, who was described as a Chinese, was portrayed by white leading actors. The list of the actors casting Fu Manchu includes Warner Oland, who was famous for his portrayal of Charlie Chan and Sir Christopher Lee, who was famous for his role as Saruman in *The Lord of the Rings* series. On the other hand, detective Charlie Chan began its run in 1926, with Japanese and Korean actors casting Chan in the first three films. In all three films, Charlie Chan's role was minimised (Hanke, 1989). In the third film, in which Chan was cast by a Korean actor, he appeared only in the last ten minutes (Hanke, 1989). The reviews of the films were unfavourable. Reviewers suggested Chan's character was no more than a waiter or cook. Only when a white actor was cast for the leading role in a Chan film did the character meet success, beginning with the 1931 film *Charlie Chan Carries On* (Hamilton MacFadden), with Warner Oland starring as Chan. Chan was portrayed by white actors exclusively ever since.

Although the racial impersonation of Asians by Caucasian actors remained common during World War II after the attack on Pearl Harbour, the construction of a Japanese enemy in Hollywood films was perceived by government authorities as critical to the war effort. During the same period, China

became one of America's important allies, and due to the efforts China made in World War II, there are several films focusing on the Chinese Anti-Japanese War. For example, the film *Dragon Seed* was adapted from Pearl S. Buck's best-selling novel that describes a typical Chinese farmer's heroic struggle with the invaders after his village was destroyed by the Japanese. In the film, the Academy Award winner Katharine Hepburn adopted an Oriental accent and taped her eyelids to play Jade, a young Chinese woman who leads her village against Japanese colonisation, and the screen legend Walter Huston plays the peasant farmer Ling Tan. In fact, the overall casting of the film has been summarised by James Agee as solely Caucasian stars (Hepburn, Huston, et al.) playing Chinese characters with Japanese roles portrayed exclusively by Asian actors. It is hilarious, though, to have the Japanese played by Chinese while the Chinese are played by Caucasians, as James Agee reviewed (Agee, cited in Koppes and Black, 1988:242).

The trend continues. The list of Caucasians who play Asian characters is very long and still redundant. For example, in 1972, the television series *Kong Fu* was aired. Though it was inspired by Asian martial artist Bruce Lee, who was also interested in starring, the show chose David Carradine to play the leading role despite the fact that he had no martial arts training. One producer from the series explained the decision: 'If we put a yellow man up on the tube, the audience will turn the switch off in less than five minutes' (Mako, in Michelle, 2010).

Though race/ethnicity minority groups are often underrepresented in films and television dramas, the situation of Chinese and Asian Americans seems worth comparing to other racial minorities. Although integral to a complete picture of the multiracial and multicultural American experience, the mainstream news and mass media have been slow to recognise Asian Americans' roles. While other commonly marginalised minority populations like Latinos are beginning to gain some notice to alter the old black-and-white paradigm, discussions of minority issues still commonly overlook Asian Americans (Wong, 2001). Hispanic Americans have become the largest ethnic group in America and African Americans have played a major role in American entertainment industry, but Asians or Asian Americans are often left out of the picture and seem 'invisible' most of the time (Tung, 2006). As Hamamoto wrote:

'Asians or Asian-Americans when represented at all, they exist primarily for the convenience and benefit of the Euro-American lead players. ... Rarely are the lives of Asian-American

characters examined on their merit, and the problems they face in daily life are not considered to be intrinsic interest' (Hamamoto, 1994:206).

The appearances of Asian Americans in film and television during the late 1970s and the 1980s increased due to the prevalence of stories about the Vietnamese war. Yet, it remained small. Even in the late 1990s, only 1.3 percent of the characters in television were Asian American despite their comprising 3.6% of the population. On prime-time television in the fall 1999, 0.8% of the characters on sitcoms and 1.9% in dramas were Asian American (Chow, 2002).

The situation has improved slightly in recent years. The Media, Diversity, & Social Change (MDSC) Initiative examined inequality on screen. The project examined the 100 top-grossing US films from 2007 to 2015. In total, 800 films were studied, and 35,205 characters were analysed across eight years of cinematic content (Smith et al., 2016). In their most recent report on the race/ ethnicity of all the named/speaking characters in films in the year 2015, Smith and her colleagues found that, of the 3975 characters studied, 73.7% were white, 12.2% black, 5.3% Latino, 3.9% Asian, and 3.6% other or 'mixed race'. Compared to the percentage of Asian and Asian Americans on screen in the 1990s, progress on racial diversity has been made in recent years. However, according to Smith, given the fact that 38.4% of the US population and 45% of film tickets buyers are from races other than White, the total of 26.3% of race diversity does not reflect the demography of the country (MDSC), and thus minorities were still under-represented.

Besides the fact that Asians are still underrepresented in today's films and television, the situation for Asians in the media industry is still problematic. Television shows seldom depict Asian Americans as everyday Americans. Asian-American characters are typically passive, scholarly foreigners who cannot assimilate, or characters restricted to cliched occupations and marginalised with comical accents and mannerisms. One Asian actor's experience is particularly telling: In a 2003 survey of Asian Americans in primetime television, he disclosed that he had played 'a dry cleaner and a Chinese take out delivery man in a total of 21 different primetime shows' in the span of a few years (Chow, 2003). The specific actor's case spoke for a lot of other Asian characters who served as some sort of racial minority 'background' in numerous television shows, for example, the Chinese restaurant owner in *The Big Bang Theory* who had quite some appearances but of zero importance or relevance to the storyline. This situation brought up the question that Christina Chang, a Taiwan-

born actress, asked in an interview: 'Are you getting a part because you beat everybody else in the audition, or because somebody had a minority quota to fill?' (cited in Tung, 2006).

With growing demands for more minority roles on television from minority groups, network executives are under immense pressure. The lack of representation of minorities has been a thorny issue for the networks that have faced ongoing criticism from the creative community and advocacy groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. According to a report by *Los Angeles Times* Greg Braxton on May 20, 2000, some advocacy groups charged that prime-time television programming, specifically the 1999–2000 season's near-total exclusion of minority actors in any role of significance, was ignoring the changing cultural landscape of the country. In response to months of negotiations with advocacy groups, executives at CBS, NBC, ABC, and Fox finally agreed to implement some strategies to increase diversity.

There is no way to find the accurate reason for the increasing number of Chinese and Chinese-Americans in television today, but based on the observation and with the insight of the backstage story of the fighting for racial diversity, I suggest the 'progress' that we see in today's screen is the result of several factors.

First of all, from the perspective of visibility, there has been a progression. I am not arguing that the Chinese and American actors and actresses are enjoying a fair share in the industry as the majority white performers enjoyed, but Chinese and American characters, as well as Chinese culture, are far more visible in today's televised world comparing to the situation they're used to be. However, a problematic underrepresentation and lack of diversity still exists. Even with the rising rate of Chinese-American representations in television, the percentage of their presence is still behind the Census' statistics. It may have something to do with the diversity behind the camera. According to Smith's annual media diversity study (2014, 2015, 2016), broadcast television directors were the least diverse in the industry. Her report (Smith, 2016) carefully examined professionals behind the camera and pointed out that 90.4% of television directors were white, as I have discussed in the last chapter. Combined with the fact that white directors tended to produce fewer racial/ethnic minority characters on screen (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2016), it is not difficult to see why the situation of invisible Chinese and Chinese Americans has improved yet remains.

Besides the critical underrepresentation of Asian and Chinese Americans, the long-term trend of whitewashing still exists as well. I found it hard to believe that such a historical tradition is still alive until I saw those recent box office blockbusters in which Tilda Swinton (*Dr. Strange*), Scarlett Johansson (*Ghost in the Shell*) and Rooney Mara (*Kubo and the Two Strings*, 2016) were portraying characters who were identified as Asians in the storylines. However, a silver lining has emerged. It is a positive trend that, in recent years, whenever a film or television series contains any suspected whitewashing, critical news articles will be highly critical of it. In 2017, numerous news articles have been published concerning whitewashing in films. For example, *The Guardian* has published, 'Does Hollywood have an Asian Problem?' (Rose, 2017). The article criticised *Ghost in the Shell* and noted that 'White Actors must Stand up to Whitewashing'. As such, the article praised the white actor Ed Skrein's decision to turn down a Japanese-American role in *Hellboy* (2017). The issue of whitewashing in film and television has been brought to light to the public, not only in academic research as it used to be, but also in mainstream media and news publications. Media exposure of the matter raises the public's awareness and concerns regarding whitewashing in the media industry. I suggest that this trend is relatively positive. With more audiences raising concerns and more Asian actors and actresses standing up to speak on the issue, there is reason to believe that the situation of whitewashing is going to improve and disappear eventually.

However, the progress made in creating racial/ethnic diversity is not solely progressive. The interviews cited in Tung (2006) and Chow (2003) indicated that, potentially, a large percentage of Chinese Americans on screen was made by the 'minority quota to fill' as discussed in Chapter 8. Background roles as Chinese restaurant owners, Chinese takeaway delivery drivers, or Chinese waiters and waitresses who do not even have a line in the television shows may contribute a considerable portion of the overall percentage of Chinese and Chinese Americans on screen. The media spam of raising concerns about whitewashing and minority underrepresentation may also reinforce such patterns because media exposure increases pressure on the film and television industries and thus compels them to create diversity by increasing the minority role quotas to fill.

Today, Hollywood is still the most influential centre of the film and television industries, yet the Hollywood representation of Chinese people was and has been 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said, 1979). In other words, it obtains overwhelming 'power' over other independent filmmakers from other countries. The Hollywood value of film is mainly based on Western values as well as the Western social order. To summarise, the me-

dia holds the power of shaping the world, as stated earlier, and Hollywood holds the power of shaping the media. As the work of Berger and Luckmann, among others, on the 'social construction of reality' stresses, any given society's value of reality is not only a historical product, but it is also necessarily implicated in power relations in society (Dyer, 1999). As Berger and Luckmann have put it, he who has the bigger stick has the better chance of imposing his definitions of reality (1967:127). National stereotypes and race representations exemplify such contextual influences on stereotyping formation, with perceivers relying on features of a nation—political, economic, religious, geographic, and status with one's own nation—to characterise its residents (Fiske & Lee, 2008). Applying the discourse and stereotype theories, the deeper reason of the 'whitewash' and underrepresentation phenomenon could be explained by the widely believed stereotype formation motivation, which involves self-fulfilling prophecies, as stated in Chapter 3. That is, magnifying differences may serve to underscore the positive features of some inner group with respect to outsiders, thereby contributing to a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Schaller & Maass, 1989; Larsen et al., 1982). Magnifying, highlighting, and even exaggerating the differences, especially the negative ones, may help the inner group members to gain self-confidence and self-esteem. The differences help the inner group members to mark the boundary between self and others. When people's self-esteem is threatened, stereotypes will be activated through downward social comparisons that will make them feel superior (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). With the rise of China in today's political stage, the Western values and masculinity are somehow threatened and need to be asserted by creating a white superior to save the Eastern world, even a fictional one (cited in Tung, 2006). However, these representations might be toxic, especially for children in the race/ethnic minority groups. Social identity theory explains the effects of media on viewers' self-perceptions (Mastro and Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Scholars of social identity theories point out that identity is not a defining, personal characteristic as it might be traditionally defined but rather shaped by social surroundings and experience (Erikson, 1968; Hall, 1996; Gee, 2000). The impact of film and television on youths' self-perceptions and development is tremendous (McGovern, 2002). For children, inclusion in the television show is a 'major signal of acceptance, respect and recognition' (McGovern, 2002:241). Consequently, minorities in particular negative or helpless imagery in films and television negatively influenced children's ability to realise their personal and academic potential in society. Whitewashing and under-representation largely deprives minority children of the feeling of normalcy. Therefore, they are most likely harmful to children in minority groups.

2 STEREOTYPICAL FASHION OF REPRESENTATION

From Chapters 5 to Chapter 8, I have introduced and analysed four main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans in American prime-time television dramas today which answers the research question of 'what are the main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese American in television today'. For each stereotype, I have chosen one unique character as an example to analyse thoroughly. In each chapter, I have discussed and analysed why the characters are shaped and how they influence the audience. Nevertheless, there are more Chinese and Chinese American portrayals that could fit into those categories. In order to establish and reinforce the pattern of the representation, I would like summarise the findings and briefly introduce the characters from the original data set where the four examples were chosen from, cross-referencing to a certain characters who were not included in the data set that I presented in Chapter 4 because they were first shown after the sampling process.

As stated in Chapter 5, statistics have shown that the Chinese and Chinese Americans have very little to do with the crimes in crime dramas (Levine, 2013). Reviewing over 1,000 criminals in 20 years of crime shows, researchers found that only 1.3% of the suspects were Asian, and none of them were convicted (Levine, 2013). However, these findings do not lead to the conclusion that the Chinese enemy stereotype has disappeared in today's television. As a matter of fact, the theme of Chinese as the enemy, or in other words, Chinese threats, has become more serious and critical in contemporary television. Bigger than street gangs, robberies, and small-scale drug trafficking, the conflict has been brought up to a new level.

In Chapter 5, I mentioned several Chinese intelligence agents in contemporary American television and described them as a 'national threat'. However, there is another rather important character who came to light after my research had begun: Whiterose (BD Wong) in *Mr Robot*. While I realise that it is a bit late in the thesis to introduce a new character, I have referred to Whiterose briefly in Chapter 5, and it is worth concluding the thesis by going into more details here because she captures the theme of yellow peril and sexless Chinese male representation well. *Mr Robot* was first aired in 2015, and Whiterose has limited on-screen appearances during the 2015–2016 season; thus, she was not included in the original data set, which was collected between 2014 and 2015. Masquerading as the male Chinese Minister of State Security Zhi Zhang, Whiterose is a transgender woman and is the leader of the Chinese top-class hacker group Dark Army. In Season 1, Whiterose remains a mysterious figure, much like the Dark Army, which is described as a notorious hacker-

for-hire team that she appears to lead. Besides being dangerous and unforgiving, not much about Dark Army or Whiterose herself was revealed to the audience. In Season 1, Episode 8, she appears on screen for about three plus minutes, and in those three minutes, she shares information and knowledge that the main characters do not have. In the show, Whiterose is observed to gain power in two ways: as the leader of the Dark Army and as the Chinese Minister of State Security. The access to both confidential Dark Army database and government information made her extremely powerful in the show.

Piehl and Ruppel (1993) also wrote that 'the ramification of television programming on the viewing public exceeds a mere reflection of a perceived reality' (p. 182). In fact, television's perceived reality, however misleading, too often becomes the viewers' actual reality. The way that television provides simplifications of the social world precludes the medium from presenting formulations that are not stereotypical. The time constraints in the production of programmes encourage the use of simplistic notions of good/bad and hero/villain so that such characterisations are presented in simple, two-dimensional schemas. That is what *Mr Robot* does when shaping Whiterose. The show gives her overwhelming power and thus presents a mysterious yet powerful enemy to the audience.

Whiterose is presented as being powerful in her appearance as a transgender female figure. On the one hand, this character brought a fresh representation of the Chinese because of the severe lack of LGBTQ Chinese and Asian figures on the screen. Of the 207 LGBTQ television characters in primetime scripted series and streaming original series, only nine were Asian (GLAAD Annual Report on LGBTQ Inclusion 2016-17). On the other hand, it somehow reinforced the tradition of feminising the Asian male and compromising their manhood and masculinity in the undercover of a progressive transgender figure. The representation was similar to Minister Chen in *Madam Secretary* and Dr Zia in *The Night Shift*, only in *Mr Robot*, the powerful 'man' was simply shaped as a transgender woman, and thus, he became a 'she'.

In Chapter 6 (Model Minority) I have introduced Connell's (1995) study on the contemporary formulation of masculinity and her point of view that defining the masculine was a necessary component of empire-building and colonisation, which also linked current hegemonic ideals of masculinity with violence, rationality, heterosexuality and above all, whiteness. This idea of manhood becomes a common ideal and collective practice, setting the boundaries for an exceptional in-group of men, marginalising and feminising those in the out-group through processes of both coercion and con-

sent. As such, studies of masculinity can reveal moments where the formation of a gendered identity is consonant with dominant constructions. Even those masculinities that are not aligned with the hegemonic ideal can work to uphold and perpetuate dominant notions of masculinity. Regardless of whether or not Asian American male identities resist or internalise hegemonic masculinity, they are still constructed in relation to the dominant codes, norms, and practices associated with it. For example, Osajima's (1993) study found that Asian students at predominantly white colleges internalised the negative images whites held of Asians in order to form their own identities. Chua and Fujino's (1999) study revealed that Asian men, regardless of immigrant status, evaluate their masculinity using dominant ideals as a standard: For example, whites were considered more attractive, outgoing, sociable, and powerful than Asians. Similarly, Chan (2001) stated that 'representations of Chinese men are excluded from being a part of elite group simply because a hegemonic masculinity seeks to define itself against men of colour, fuelling its need to constantly re-invent or re-imagine a homogenous patriarchal identity to protect its own networks of power'. Studies such as these reflect Cheng's (1999) argument that Asian American men are more likely to have to negotiate multiple negative stereotypes within a dominant or hegemonic formulation of masculinity. As mentioned above, racial stereotypes often intersect with understandings of masculinity. Many of these stereotypes highlight the perception of Asian American men as being physically smaller and asexual or homosexual as well as nerdy and introverted compared to white men.

The representation of Asian men lacking masculinity influenced the audiences in real life as well. Ku (2008) studied audience receptions regarding sexless Asian males and found that the audiences were more likely to feel that even Asian girls were way out of the league of Asian men. As I have mentioned in the last chapter, one of the key components of assimilation is intermarriage. Marriages of individuals from different ethnic backgrounds are a sign of the breakdown of social distances between different groups (Lichter, Calmalt, & Qian, 2011). However, from what I have observed in contemporary television dramas, Chinese and Chinese Americans seemingly do not deserve white partners. While Asian American women are dating men from other races constantly in film and television dating back to the 1920s, Asian American men often do not have the chance to date or marry girls from other races, especially white girls. Despite Lieutenant Tao, who marries a Japanese female (who is still Asian), none of the male characters I have examined married or had a stable, long-term relationship with non-Chinese females. In the original dataset, none of the 11 characters had white partners. Among all the Asian characters on television, Glenn Ree, an American-born Korean in *The Walking Dead*, is probably the only one who marries a white girl on television. In

Chapter 6, I explained Glenn's case and suggested that as a brave zombie slayer on the show, his manhood is constantly questioned.

Apart from the questionable manhood and masculinity that Whiterose had in common with Dr Zia and Minister Chen, another important fact is that most of the characters more or less have a sense of being 'nerdy' no matter which category they fell into and how acceptable they were. On the one hand, Whiterose is the leader of a hacker group, Lieutenant Tao starts his career as a technician, and Skye is first recruited because of her extraordinary talent in computer science and internet hacking. On the other hand, Dr Zia and Dr Watson are both highly intelligent surgeons who are successful in their own fields. Here, I would like to introduce some other characters who were contained in the original dataset. Senior Detective Jay Lee (James Liao), in *Unforgettable*, is in charge of the department's information collecting and internet monitoring. Special Agent and M.D. George Huang was the forensic psychiatrist for *L&O: SVU*. Dr Susie Chang was the senior criminalist of Boston P.D. crime lab in *Rizzoli and Isles*. All the above Chinese and Chinese-American characters were doing the 'nerdy' jobs such as technicians and lab analyst. Not to mention the even nerdier Chinese American high school students in contemporary American television drama such as Mike Chang (Harry Shum Jr.,) in *Glee* and Ming Huang (Jessica Lu) in *Awkward*. In the episode entitled Asian F in the third season of *Glee*, Mike Chang Sr. stated that 'A- is the Asian F'; as well as '*My grandmother in China knew three English phrases: Coca-Cola, Kiss my grits and Harvard University.*' Deep in Hubei province, this old woman knew the best school in America. That's where my son belongs. In the show *Awkward*, Ming Huang was not a stereotypical nerd since though she was dedicated to studying but the result did not turn very well. There was this conversation between Huang, and her Chinese American classmates took place in Season 2 episode entitled Sex, Lies and Sanctuary:

> Becca: *What I don't know is, are you a cool Asian or a school Asian? What are your PSAT score?*
> Huang: *120.*
> Becca: *Low. You are not a school Asian. Have you ever spring-breaked in Cabo, or had an affair with the lead singer of an indie rock band?*
> Huang shakes head
> Becca: *Not a cool Asian either.*
> Huang: *So what am I?*

Becca: *You are white.*

This short conversation gave the audience a glimpse of the identity threat (or stereotype threat) causing by even the rather positive model minority stereotype. As stated in Chapter 6, Chinese and Chinese Americans were largely portrayed to be intelligent, ambitious, and hardworking, resulting in high educational and career achievements, especially in fields related to math and science (Kawai, 2005). This long lasting fashion of stereotyping leads to the fact the Chinese and Chinese Americans were thought to be so focused on school and achievement that they segregate themselves socially, leading to beliefs that they are nerdy, unfriendly, shy and lacking in warmth (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin et al., 2005; Wong, Owen, Tran, Collins, & Higgins, 2011). According to Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997), when Chinese Americans were asked to come up with stereotypes about their group, the most commonly mentioned attributes were in the academic achievement domain, but negative attributes in the social domain were still widely mentioned. Kawai (2007:111) suggested that the model minority myth is an ambivalent discourse, which is interlocked with the obvious racialist presentation of Asians and Asian Americans in Yellow Peril. She stated that the model minority stereotype is pervasive today both nationally and internationally. The model minority is depicted to be well-educated, submissive, economically affluent, and competitive in the job market. However, they also pose a threat to the West and to the United States specifically. The double-edged sword of the simultaneous existence of positive and negative perceptions of the model minority stereotype maps nicely onto the SCM model (Fiske et al., 2002). The model minority stereotype depicts the Chinese and Chinese Americans as being very high in competence and, at the same time, very low in warmth and sociability. Li (2005) suggested that the model minority label has two layers of meanings: Asians are minorities acceptable to and yet different from the white majority in the racial group formations of the society. Asians also serve as visible models for other less motivated racial groups in terms of proper behaviours, attitudes, and work ethic. Such an idea disguised the fact that Asians and Chinese Americans experience racism and discrimination (Lee, 1996).As stated in Chapter 6, the model minority image places Asians in a precarious position that they do not have any problems and do not need any social services or that the system does not need to change for Asians at all. Such silencing often hinders the Asian Americans' collective struggle for social justice and disempowers them from fighting actively for their equal rights. Also, the representation of the model minority maintains the existing social order and hierarchy. It is argued that the model minority stereotype has been used to support the status quo of white superiority and the ideologies of meritocracy in that other minority groups ought to be able to succeed, as well, without affirmat-

ive action or any other institutional change. It took the attention off the white majority by pitting the Asians against the other disadvantaged minority groups, such as the African Americans and the Hispanic Americans. As Lee (1996) notes, 'While Asian Americans and African Americans are fighting among themselves, the racial barriers that limit Asian Americans and African Americans remain unchallenged' (pp 9). Recent studies also showed that the term 'model minority' created resentment towards Asians not only from other minority groups but also from members of the majority culture who came to believe that Asian students drive up the grade curve, dominate the competitive honours and scholarships, and crowd out places for whites in the classroom and workplace (Rohrlick, Alvarado, Zaruba, & Kallio, 1998).

> Student: *Asians are threatening our economic future. We can see it right here in our own school. Who are getting into the best colleges, in disproportionate numbers? Asian kids! It's not fair.*
> Teacher: *Uh . . . That certainly was an unusual essay . . . Unfortunately, it's racist.*
> Student: *Um . . . are you sure? My parents helped me.*
> —Trudeau, Doonesbury, March 17, 1988, cited in Wu 2002:39

As depicted by the cartoonist Garry Trudeau, the Asian Americans gained much of the public attention about their performance at schools. Some scholars suggest that the understanding of Asian Americans as model minority is insidious and pervasive, especially in the field of education. In one aspect, the allegedly good academic performance of Asian Americans at schools makes up one of the Asian Americans' success stories that are admired and appraised by the other ethnic groups, but it also raises threats. In November 19, 2005, *Wall Street Journal* published an article about two high schools in Silicon Valley (Hwang, November 19, 2005), where the white students are transferring away because of the increase of the Asian students. The story suggests that, historically, white people moved from the inner city to the suburbs because the inner city was 'overrun' by minority groups, especially African Americans. Recently, the whites are making another move from the academically top high schools to other places because of the influx of the highly competitive and academically superior Asian students. According to the news story, the white parents felt that the environment in the two schools was too competitive and, thus, unhealthy for their children's mental wellbeing.

Another article named *Little Asia on the Hill* (Egan, 2007) was published in the *New York Times*. The article focused on how Asian UC Berkely is and emphasises that UC Berkeley was taken over by a large number of Asians and Asian Americans. The article questioned the 'diversity' of UC Berkeley and indicated that the number of Asian and Asian Americans has made the university less diverse. Furthermore, Egan suggested that UC Berkeley is 'boring socially, full of science nerds, and a hard place to make friends' purely based on assumptions about the model minority stereotype. The article sets Asian and Asian students against other ethnic groups. However, this article failed to mention that historically, white students have dominated higher education at the top universities across the United States. Compared to the main theme, it is easy to find similarities in 'the Chinese labourers are taking our jobs' and 'the Asian students are taking over our universities', which implied to some extent that the model minority shared similar characteristics to the Yellow Peril. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Yellow Peril first referred to cheap Chinese labourers flooding into the US and taking over jobs from whites. Similarly, the model minority is imbedded in the idea that the Chinese and Chinese American students are taking over the top-class US universities and stealing professional jobs, such as those of doctors and lawyers. Although the idea that the Chinese and Chinese Americans are taking over has shifted significantly, the belief that the Chinese are stealing positions that belong to white Americans is common.

Besides the negative effect that the model minority stereotype has created in other groups, there are also negative consequences among the Chinese and Chinese Americans, which I very briefly introduced in Chapter 6. One of the most important effects is what was shown in the earlier quote from *Awkward*, which was the tremendous pressure of academic achievement and the sense of an identity threat when one feels he or she does not meet expectations. The idea that every Asian American student is able to or is supposed to achieve academic success is prevalent. Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, and Lin (1998) conducted a study that showed students from all racial/ethnic backgrounds, including Asian Americans, believe that Asian Americans perform better academically, are more motivated to do well at all levels of education, and are more likely to succeed in their chosen careers than are other students. However, this perception is misleading and falsely generalised. No empirical evidence exists to verify the claim that Asian Americans have outstanding academic abilities. The aggregate data might display better academic performance of Asian Americans, but a more intensive analysis of subgroups actually demonstrates that numerous Asian Americans face obstacles to succeed academically (Yang, 2004). Lee's (1994) study demonstrated that the model minority label does not apply to all Asian Americans. In support of Lee's finding, Ying et al. (2001) found that

whites had higher GPAs than all ethnic minority students. Asian Americans' GPAs were similar to those of other racial/ethnic students (Ying et al., 2001). At a small, private college, Asian American students were also more likely to be on academic probation or to withdraw from classes for medical reasons as a result of emotional problems, compared to other ethnic minority students. They also had greater difficulty keeping up with the coursework, which did not appear to be problematic for other ethnic minority students (Toupin and Son, 1991). The various academic problems that emerge among Asian American students are attributed largely to the enormous pressure on them to outperform other racial/ethnic students. For instance, Cheryan and Bodenhausen (2000) investigated how salient cultural stereotypes concerning Asians' mathematical prowess affected their actual math performance. The findings indicated that ethnicity salience gave rise to the diminished ability to concentrate during the test, which, in turn, significantly undermined math performance. The findings of many studies provide evidence that Asian American students are experiencing overwhelmingly high pressure to succeed academically as a result of the model minority label. Their individual personalities are neglected, and actual academic capabilities are overrated, which could potentially lead to unfavourable psychological stress that is, in fact, detrimental to their academic performance.

The other negative effect in-group is that the stereotyping may result in the identity threat when the individual does not meet the expectation of the group. In Ming Huang's case, her Chinese American classmates denied her being Chinese because her SAT score was too low. Another perspective of identity threat is when the Chinese Americans were perceived by other people (especially the white majority) as perpetual foreigners, even though they viewed themselves as fully American (Cheryan and Monin, 2005; Park-Taylor et al., 2008). For example, a second- or third-generation Chinese American who was constantly being asked about where he or she comes from or receiving compliments, such as 'your English is so good', may lead to the feeling that he or she is not perceived as a member of the mainstream culture, resulting in the feelings of social exclusion and rejection from the mainstream culture. In such cases, a sense of identity threat may also arise.

To avoid being distant or disconnected from the mainstream culture, individuals sometimes distance themselves psychologically and behaviourally from the stereotyped ethnic identity in an effort to be considered more American. What the messages sent by Lieutenant Tao and Chloe Bennet's case are also encouraging them to do so. Kawai (2007) suggested that the Chinese man in the film or television is a 'good' guy in the sense that he is willing to assimilate into the white rule of the game but is a 'bad' guy who disrupts what the white attempts to achieve. The situation remains as Geneva

(1973) noted historically that whites use power to perpetuate their cultural heritage and impose it upon others while at the same time destroying the culture of ethnic minorities. The American film director Greg Pak said in an interview that:

> Even the best known Asian American actors have a tough time finding roles outside of the geisha/delivery boy/dragon lady/scientist/martial artist/evil businessman stereotypes. These are great actors, and they deserve the chance to play leading roles which don't have anything to do with ethnic stereotypes (An Interview with Greg Pak, The Insider, 2009).

For instance, Jet Li, one of the most famous actors in Asia who used to play the roles of heroes only in Chinese films, has now been quite often cast as a stereotypical villain in Hollywood films like *Lethal Weapon 4* (1998) and *The Mummy: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor* (2008). Thus, in order to get rid of the stereotypical representation and embrace a more in-depth, social type of portrayal, it seems that the only way out is for the characters or the portrayers abandon their own cultural heritage to be more assimilated to the melting pot of mainstream Western culture and values. Among the characters I have explored in this research, the only exceptional case was Lucy Liu's Joan Watson in *Elementary*, which I would like highlight further.

The character of Joan Watson is a progressive Chinese American female figure, compared to even white female characters in television series of a similar genre. The character itself is a textbook expression that embraces the important ideas in the recent waves of feminism. However, I consider the success of Joan Watson as the success of the actress. Lucy Liu was famous long before the launch of the series. Her fame is even mentioned in the famous television series *Sex and the City*. In Episode 11 of Season 4 of *Sex and the City*, one of the main characters, Samantha, wants to purchase a famous luxury bag, and she claims that she is buying the bag for Lucy Liu and, therefore, gets to skip the waiting list. Being the biggest star in the crew of *Elementary* gave her the power in the series.

Despite Lucy Liu's contemporary fame, she has been criticised for her portrayals of exotic hypersexual females who were described as sexual objectifications of the gaze (Durham, 2007). Representations in the American film industry since the early twentieth century have invariably presented Asian women as sexualised and vampish. The figure of the Asian American femme fatale signifies a particular deathly seduction. Just like Lucy Liu's portrayal in *Charlie's Angels* and its sequel (2003),

she attracts with her soft, unthreatening, and servile femininity while concealing her hard, danger-ous, and domineering nature. Early images of Chinese females (for example, the performance of Anna May Wong introduced in Chapter 2) continue to haunt the reproduction of Chinese women on screen. One of Liu's characters, Pearl in *Payback*, was criticised for being a sex machine (Shimizu, 2007), which reinforced the long-standing representation of Chinese women as hyper-sexual objects of desire. Liu also had a great range of international media presence. She had been the cover girl of popular men's magazines, such as *Maxim* (twice), *Playboy*, and *Arena* and various women's magazines, such as *Allure*, *Jane*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Marie Claire*. In an article about her, *Playboy* magazine referred directly to her as a woman of Asian sex secrets, myth, and hype (Shimizu, 2007).

I argue that all of the media exposure and earlier hyper-sexual portrayals of Liu played an important role in the successful and progressive representation of Joan Watson: as a female figure, Watson could be portrayed in a desexualised manner because the portrayer was attractive enough. Even when dressed in neutral-coloured clothing, the audience still see her as desirable simply because Lucy Liu herself is desirable. From Ling Woo in *Ally McBeal* to Pearl in *Payback* (1999), Liu cre-ated an on-screen persona as an object of desire. Thus, no matter how desexualised Watson was, the character would still be sexually attractive to the audience simply because it was portrayed by a de-sirable actress.

Apart from the character of Joan Watson, there are also various other Chinese and Chinese Americ-an females who have more in-depth roles in television shows today. Although most of them are still stereotypical in different extents (for example, the Chinese 'tiger mother' figure in the recent televi-sion show, *Fresh off the Boat*), but comparing to the contemporary male characters on screen, I have observed that the females are enjoying more shares in the storyline and being represented in a social manner. This is consistent with what I have suggested in Chapter 6 that the Chinese females are having more entry points into the industry compared to the Chinese males. Part of this might be because of that the long history of the White Knight myth, that the white male-Asian female ro-mance was not as depicted or even favoured in the historical as well as contemporary films and television. From the television series that I have introduced, it can be observed that Chinese females have a much better percentage of getting involved in an interracial sexual relationship. For instance, both men that Watson had dated were white. From early films such as T*he World of Suzie Wong*, to the films in the 80s and 90s (for example, *The Year of the Dragon* [1985], *Come See the Paradise* [1990], *Thousand Pieces of Gold* [1991]), even to contemporary television such as *Desperate*

Housewives and *Bones*, the stories reinforced the same negative messages that a sexual relationship with a white man was the redemption and opportunity for the Chinese American women. In those stories in which white males 'save' the Chinese females from the others, including the Chinese males, the white male authority remains, and the dominant ideology was sustained. The images and stories of interracial romance between white male and Chinese female, although presented in an aesthetic and romantic appeal in terms of the potentially positive effects on race relations, created a problematic fake picture of the reality that erased racial violence and racial hierarchy in the real world. Instead of challenging hierarchies and inequalities, these interracial romances in films and television series present race and gender according to traditional ideologies. Considering the fact that over 90% of screenwriters and television directors are white males, as explained earlier in this chapter, it is not surprising that the storylines about interracial relationships reflect white male desires and fantasies. Although they appear to be progressive because of the race-less aspects of those relationships, the underlying message is of white-centred assimilation (Childs, 2009). In general, the interracial relationships between Chinese females and white males on screen reinforce white male heroism, with white men depicted as liberal and progressive, certifying their superiority over the others.

Historically, Asian men and women have been represented in different ways, and there is reason to believe it is closely related to the history of colonialism — its logic has significantly influenced the ways that the Western mainstream media represents the people of colour. The popular representation of sexually alluring Chinese and Chinese American women and asexual Chinese and Chinese American men imply that not only are the Asian and Asian American women available for the other (white) men, they are also well-grounded to escape from the male patriarchy of the Chinese American men, who are depicted to be undesirable, barbaric, and uncivilised in the Western mainstream media (Ono and Pham, 1986). Gender, race, and sexuality are three essential topics in the field of media representation analysis. These factors help to define the power relation in-between different genders and races. Some characters were portrayed in a position of power and dominance, while others were in a position of submissiveness or even subservience. Frankenburg (in Ono and Pham, 1996) has suggested that whiteness is a product of negative difference because people come to know who they are by what they are not. Thus, the only way white people can understand themselves as white is by contrasting their experience with those people of colour.

Another noteworthy point I would like to raise in this chapter is some of the fictional (or not) political issues represented in television shows such as *Madam Secretary*, *Elementary*, *House of Cards*, and even Desperate Housewives. Real world political encounters and disagreements such as the South China Sea, Taiwan, Tibet, and China's human rights issues have been brought into the televised world. In each case, the television plot-line set up a standing point that made China the enemy of human rights and democracy.

For example, the South China Sea issue was brought up in *Madam Secretary*, as mentioned in Chapter 5. In the real world, the South China Sea problem is a complex and debatable issue associated with ongoing negotiation processes between nations. Several countries and regions, including China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Malaysia, have made territorial claims over the South China Sea. It is a textbook he-said-she-said situation that requires further diplomatic negotiations and discussions between nations and regions. Though it is righteous to express ideas through television storylines, those ideas may not necessarily be true. Without proper explanation of the real-world issue and because automatic correlation works between fictional ideas and real-world attitudes, *Madam Secretary* has set up a negative image of where China stands on the issue, which affects the audience's attitude towards that particular matter. Similar to *Madam Secretary*, several television shows have brought real-world political debates into the storyline. The Dalai Lama was mentioned in a number of television dramas, as well as the Tibetan Independence Movement and the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong. These television episodes made accusations about China, which could be proven either true or false. Television poses a significant influence on its audience's understanding of the world, especially the world with which the audience is not familiar. While the individual effects from the television dramas are hard to estimate, there are reasons to believe that they have widespread and expansive effects on the audience's understanding of real-world politics.

3 SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

To conclude, from the television shows and characters that have been introduced and analysed in this thesis, it is obvious that the representation of Chinese and Chinese Americans is often stereotyped. Whether they are negative or positive, they contribute to society's cultural understanding of the group.

During the recent years, several Chinese American actors and actresses including Constance Wu, Margaret Cho, Ming Na Wen and John Cho have spoken out their stories publicly. The Twitter trending hashtag *#whitewashOUT* had numerous retweets and responses. These online exposure and movements against whitewashing has gathered the attention from both the production and the audience sides. Although there are articles addressing the negative Chinese stereotypes in media productions, the seriousness of stereotypical representations of Chinese and Chinese Americans are still being underestimated and overlooked in mainstream media and academic field. This thesis examined the stereotypical portrayals in six top-rated popular American television dramas and filled the gap of existing literature.

Chapter 2 has reviewed the Chinese characters in the films from 1920s to 1980s. Using chronological order, the chapter explores Dr Fu Manchu and Detective Charlie Chan during the pre–Pacific War period, Jade and Aylward after the Pacific War, Dr No during the Cold War, and Suzie Wong in the 1960s to establish the existing historical stereotypes of Chinese, such as the Yellow Peril, the model minority, and the broken lotus. Chapters 3 and 4 provide the theoretical framework, the methodological approaches, and the sampling and data collection process of the thesis.

From Chapters 5 to 8, four types of stereotypes have been examined closely to answered the research question of 'what are the main stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese Americans in contemporary television series' and 'how they have challenged or maintained the existing historical stereotypes'. To summarise, I identified that the stereotypes in *Madam Secretary* and *The Night Shift* which are the enemy figure and the model minority remained consistent with the historical representation of the Chinese and Chinese American, while the female representation in *Elementary* has challenged the existing representation of Asian females.

Chapter 5 studies Chinese Foreign Minister Chen in *Madam Secretary* as an example of the portrayal of the Chinese as the enemy. Through the close readings of Minister Chen, I argue that he is the contemporary representation of the long-lasting yellow peril stereotype. The narrative in Madam Secretary also reinforced the traditional storytelling of conflicts between 'we' and 'other'. The television episodes in question have highlighted Chen's 'Otherness' by presenting the moral distinctions and shaped the character as morally questioned and distanced. Although the American has a long history of imagining the Chinese and Chinese American as the yellow peril which is an enduring moral threat to US society, interestingly the yellow peril representation is applied to different

Asian groups at different times. For example, as stated in Chapter 2, during the World War II, the Chinese were portrayed as allies and the Japanese were seen as enemies, while during the Cold War it was the other way around. Thus I argue that the enemy portrayal is shaped because representations in popular culture are closely related to the global political status and served the political propaganda that positioned China and the Chinese as a political, economic and military threat to the US. I suggest the representation of Minister Chen is shaped mainly because of the self-defence motivation of stereotyping. By distancing the Other and promoting the sense of 'us' (e.g., the Star and Stripes repeated appearance in the frame), the show clearly marked the territory and identified 'we' and the 'other' while positioned Minister Chen as an enemy and threat.

Chapter 6 looked through Dr Topher Zia in *The Night Shift* as the representation of model minority with cross-referencing to Dr Chen in *ER* and Dr Yang in *Grey's Anatomy*. I argue the portrayal of Dr Zia and Dr Chen are the textbook examples of two most popular representations of model minority stereotype. In this chapter, I have examined Dr Zia within the scope of family value and masculinity. The character maintained the long lasting trend of portraying model minority males as hardworking, law-obeying model citizens but nerdy, asexual and unattractive at the same time. The show has highlighted Dr Zia's family value by establishing the plot-line about his relationship with his mother which is consistent with the pattern that model minority are frequently presented as having strong family ties (Lee, 1996). Dr Chen's image is consistent with the other portrayal of model minority: emotionless, robot-like people, or in other words, yellow ants (Morley and Robins, 1995) who are potentially a threat to the employment opportunities of the Americans. Additionally, I have also answered the question of model minority's social impact by analysing its influences from both in-group and out-group perspectives. On the one hand, the representation of model minority gives the in-group viewers a role model to follow which helped their self identity process but also raised pressure that harmed their mental health. On the other hand, although the model minority stereotype seemed to be positive and set up the model for other minority groups to follow, it also distanced the Chinese Americans from the other minority groups, as well as made the problems and struggles of Chinese Americans become invisible. In short, the portrayal in contemporary television maintained and reinforced the model minority stereotype. It remained problematic due to the single-sided representation style and the lack of layers in character development.

Chapter 7 analyses Dr Joan Watson in *Elementary* as the positive figure of female portrayal. Compared to the historical representations, the female character that this thesis has focused on is more

in-depth and embraces progressive feminism themes. The chapter examined Dr Watson from the perspectives of casting choice, partnership to Holmes, desexualised portrayal and romantic involvement. I argue that she is an exceptional character who has not only challenged existing stereotypes of Chinese and Chinese American, but also challenged gender stereotyping and female representations style in general. First, she is neither dragon lady nor lotus blossom. Her characteristics have no similarity with any of the traditional fashions of representing Asian women. Second, unlike most of the female figures in popular television drama, she maintained an equal partnership with her male counterpart in the show; she was represented in an desexualised manner, and her story-line has very little to do with her romantic relationship which embraces the postfeminist feminine ideals. Revisiting Table 2 provided in Chapter 3, it is not difficult to find Watson's image perfectly fitted the postfeminist feminine traits as: 1) she is an well-educated independent woman, 2) she claims men as equals; 3) her physical appearance does not serve as an object of gaze; and 4) she is sexually free and acceptable to enjoy multiple sex partners. However, looking at the big picture, it is a single case caused by various reasons behind the camera such as the Asian fetish and the actress Lucy Liu's prior success in the industry.

Chapter 8 discusses Lieutenant Mike Tao and Skye as the 'model US citizens' under the scope of the melting pot theory. Although these characters extricated from the existing stereotypes and are considered as acceptable others, minimal indications pointing out their Chinese heritage, have been made in the storyline. It is true that the model citizen portrayal challenged the historical stereotypes of the Chinese and Chinese American. Instead of being shaped stereotypically, they are presented in a social type manner. Their personality was developed in-depth with multiple layers as the same as the White characters do. However, it remains problematic. The representations and their lack of Chineseness indicate that the minority groups have to let go of their heritage from their country of origin to get accepted and blend into the dominant majority.

From underrepresentation and whitewashing to misrepresentation and stereotypical representation, progress regarding the Chinese and Chinese American representation has been made over the past century. But, in general, appearing in a more indirect fashion, history is relived in contemporary television dramas. By excluding racial minorities or presenting them in stereotypical and limited ways, the dominant culture subordinate and justifies this subordination of racial minority groups. The stereotypes examined in the thesis were not created out of thin air, but deeply historically constituted. They come from a long legacy of racial inequality. Observing popular television shows, the

thesis provided close readings of the characters and persuasive evidence on why some of them are seemingly offensive. The portrayals of the characters are reinforced and reflected on the current social position of Chinese Americans in American society. These representations showed that the power relation between the dominant and subordinate groups remained unchanged. The representations of minority groups and social diversity still serve the dominant group's beliefs and benefits.

Although as stated in Introduction, it might be very little that this study could change anything or get anybody to do anything (Hall, in *The Guardian*), it, however, identified the problems. I argue that it is essential to identify problems in order to solve them. In contemporary popular culture, some of the negative features and problematic representations are hidden beneath the seemingly positive portrayals. For example, one might easily overlook Minister Chen's enemy nature without closely examining the visual representations in *Madam Secretary,* or one might simply assume Dr Zia as a successful Chinese American role model without noticing the asexual and unattractive representation formula of Asian male.

Nevertheless, this thesis has certain limitations and more works could be done. For one, CDA highly relies on subjective judgement that involves potential bias. Efforts have been made, including gathering a large data set and being truthful and transparent about the data collected, to reduce the bias to the minimum level. Secondly, this thesis has pointed out the potential negative impact on the audience's thoughts about the Chinese and Chinese American group due to the misrepresentation and stereotypical portrayals on television. However, qualitative interviews could be conducted to study audience perception to confirm (or challenge) the hypothesis of the potential negative impact I have presumed. Furthermore, I have not raised practical actions to improve the existing order. While this thesis has studied the characters and power relations beneath the discourses within the framework of the current social order and raised concerns about the underrepresentation, misrepresentation and inequality between race and gender in the current television industry, future work could be done to explore practical, concrete policies to help prove the current representation system. In a matter fact, in recent years, there are several popular primetime television series leading by African American casts such as *How to Get Away with Murder* (2014-present), *True Detective* (2014-present), and *Scandal* (2012-present) have become quite successful and received exceptional ratings. Future works could also be done by bridging these television dramas and the African American social movements in the US to provide practical guidelines for the purpose of improving invisibility and representation style of the Chinese and Chinese Americans.

4 PARTING WORDS

Only a few days before the submission of this thesis, I came across the latest episode of *9-1-1* (Season 2 Episode 1, aired 23rd September 2018). In the episode, an Asian American Los Angles firefighter and paramedic Howie 'Chimney' Han (Kenneth Choi) had the conversation below with his colleague regarding the Mr Firefighter calendar photo submitting:

> Han: *You think it's ridiculous*.
>
> Henrietta Wilson (Aisha Hinds): *No, no, I mean… Chim, I kind of think the whole thing is ridiculous.*
>
> Han: *You don't think I have shot.*
>
> Wilson: *The pictures are cool. I… I just don't have any answers for you Chim. I'm not into beefcake calendars.*
>
> Han: *I know, I know.*
>
> Wilson: *Why is it so important to you?*
>
> Han: *Because I growing up, I never saw any heroes who looked like me.*
>
> Wilson: *I can understand.*
>
> Han: *I mean, not on TV, not in movies. We're always the computer geek who hacks into the system for the white guy or the evil drug lord, or the guy in the dry cleaners in a fabric softener commercial. I mean, you know, when a kid thinks of a firefighter, do they think of me? Do they think of you?*

The question Han asked in the show is particularly important and enlightening because it meant there is enough awareness of the situation of representing Asian — enough to make a conversation referring and questioning it in a television drama. At the end of the episode, Han was chosen to be Mr April of the calendar, which is a silver lining adding to the current picture of representation. With more media exposure, public awareness, and with the help of research aiming to improve the policies, there is reason to believe there will be one day, Asian and Asian Americans would not need to change their names or blur their heritage to embrace a complicated, in-depth 'social type' character.

REFERENCES

Adriaens, F., & Van Bauwel, S. (2011) *Sex and the City*: A Postfeminist Point of View? Or How Popular Culture Functions as A Channel for Feminist Discourse, in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 47(1): 174-195

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997) Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration, in *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 826-874

Alba, R. (1999) Immigration and the American Realities of Assimilation and Multiculturalism, in *Sociological Forum,* 14(1), 3-25

Allport, G. W. (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice,* Cambridge: Perseus Books

Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Hermann, R. K. (1999) Images and affect: A Functional Analysis of Out-group Stereotypes, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*(1): 78-93

An Interview with Greg Pak, *The Insider*, available at http://www.einsiders.com/features/interviews, retrieved Jan 2018

Atkin, C. K., Greenberg, B. S. & McDermott, S. (1983) Television and Race Role Socialisation, in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 60(3): 407-414

Atkin, D. & Fife M. (1994) The Role of Race and Gender as Determinants of Local TV News Coverage, in *Howard Journal of Communication*, 5:123-137

Bailey, F.Y. & Hale, D. (1998) *Popular culture, crime and justice,* Belmont: Wadsworth

Balgopal, P. R. (2000) *Social Work Practice with Immigrants and Refugees*, New York: Columbia University Press

Banaji, M. R., Hardin, C. & Rothman, A. J. (1993) Implicit Stereotyping in Person Judgment*, Psychol*, 65:272-81

Banaji M. R. & Greenwald A. G. (1995) Implicit Gender Stereotyping in Judgments of Fame, in *Psychol,* 68:181-98

Banaji, M. R. & Bhaskar, R. (2000) Implicit Stereotypes and Memory: The Bounded Rationality of Social Beliefs. In DL. Schacter and E. Scarry (Eds.) *Memory, Brain, and Belief* (pp. 139-175) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Banks, O. (1981) *Faces of Feminism*, Oxford: Martin Robertson

Bargh J. A. (1989) Conditional Automaticity: Varieties of Automatic Influence, in JS Uleman, JA Bargh (Edt) *Social Perception and Cognition: In Unintended Thought* (pp. 3-51), New York: Guil-

ford

Barak, G. (ed.) (1995) *Media, Process, and the Social Construction of Crime: Studies in Newsmaking Criminology.* New York: Garland

Bargh J. A. & Gollwitzer P. M. (1994) Environmental Control of Goal-directed Action: Automatic and Strategic Contingencies Between Situations and Behaviour, In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 41:73-124. Lincoln: Univ. Nebr. Press

Bargh J. A., Raymond P., Pryor J. B. & Strack F. (1995) Attractiveness of the Underling: An Automatic Power→Sex Association and Its Consequences for Sexual Harassment and Aggression, in *Psychol*, 68: 768-81

Bargh, J., Chen, M. & Burrows, L. (1996) Automaticity of Social Behaviour: Direct Effects of Traits Constructed and Stereotype Activation on Action, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(2):230-244

Bargh, J. (ed.) (1999) *The Cognitive Monster: The case against the controllability of automatic stereotype effects*, New York: Guiford

Barnett, A. (1982) *Iron Britannia*, London: Allison and Busby

Basso, K. H. (1996) *Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press

Baxandall, R. & Gordan, L. (2002) *Second-wave Feminism*, in Nancy Hewitt (ed.) *A Companion to American Women's History*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp 414-430

Beasley, C. (1999) *What is Feminism?: An Introduction to Feminism Theory*, London: Sage

Bennit, C. (2017) in Bergado, *Chloe Bennet Calls Out Hollywood for Not Casting Her With Her Original Last Name*, available at https://www.teenvogue.com/story/chloe-bennet-hollywood-racism-last-name, retrieved March 2018

Benshoff, H. M. & Griffin, S. (2004) *Queer Cinema: A Film Reader*, London: Routledge

Benshoff, H. M. & Griffin, S. (2011) *America on Film: Representing Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality at Movies,* Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons

Bernstein, B. (1990) *Class, Codes and Control, Vol IV: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*, London: Routledge

Berry. J. W. (1984) Multicultural policy in Canada: A Social Psychological Analysis, in *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 16: 353-370.

Berry, J. W. (1997) Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation, in *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1):5-68

Berger, A. A. (2008) *Seeing Is Believing: An Introduction to Visual Communication,* 3rd edition. New York: McGraw Hill

Berger, A. A. (2005) *Media Analysis Techniques*, 3rd edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage

Berger, J. (1977) *Ways of Seeing*, London: Penguin

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*, London: Penguin Press

Berndsen, M., Spears, R. & McGarty, C. (2002) Illusory Correlation and Stereotype Formation: Making Sense of Group Differences, and Cognitive Biases, in McGarty, Yzerbyt, Spears, (ed.) *Stereotypes as Explanations: The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs About Social Groups,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Biggers, E. D. (1925) *The House Without a Key*, Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers

Biggers (2000) cited in Cohan, M. Murder *Most Fair: The Appeal of Mystery Fiction*, London: Associated University Press

Black, J. (2000) *The Politics of James Bond: From Fleming's Novels to the Big Screen*, Westport: Praeger

Black, J. (2002) *The Reality Effect: Film Culture and the Graphic Imperative*. London: Routledge

Blair, I. V. & Banaji, M. R. (1996) Automatic and Controlled Processes in Stereotype Priming, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*(6): 1142-1163

Blauner, B. (2001) *Still the Big News: Racial Oppression in America,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Blum, L. (2004) Stereotypes and Stereotyping: A Moral Analysis, in *Philosophical Papers,* 33(3): 251-289

Bodenhausen G. V. (1990) Stereotypes as Judgemental Heuristics: Evidence of Circadian Variations in Discrimination, in *Psychol. Sci*, 1: 319-22

Bodenhausen G. V., Kramer G.P. & Süsser K. (1994) Happiness and Stereotypic Thinking in Social Judgment, in *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol*, 66: 621-32

Bodenhausen, G. V. & Richeson, J. A. (2010) Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination: The State of the Science, In R. F. Baumeister, & E. J. Finkel (ed.), *Advanced Social Psychology: The State of the Science* (pp. 341-383), New York: Oxford University Press

Bodenhausen, G. V., Kang, S. K. & Peery, D. (2011) Social Categorisation and the Perception of Social Groups, in *Sage Handbook of Social Cognition*, (pp 318-336) London: Sage

Bordieu, P. (1998) *On Television*, New York: The New Press

Bordwell, D. (1989) *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Bowen, L. & Schmid, J. (1997) Minority Presence and Portrayal in Mainstream Magazine Advertising: An Update, in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(1): 134-146

Brewer, G. (2011) *Media Psycholog*, New York: Palgrave

Brillantes, M. (2012) Lucy Liu Puts a New Spin on Sherlock Holmes's Sidekick Watson, in *Wall Street Journal,* available at https://blogs.wsj.com/speakeasy/2012/08/29/lucy-liu-puts-a-new-spin-on-sherlock-holmess-sidekick-watson/, retrieved May 2015

Bundy, M. (1962) *Memo Bundy to Kennedy*, 8 Nov. 1962, Foreign Relation's of the United states 1961-63

Butler, J. (1988) Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory, in *Theatre Journal* 49 (1): 519-31

Burr, W. & Richelson, J. T. (2000) Whether to 'Strangle the Baby in the Cradle': The United States and the Chinese Nuclear Program, 1960-1964, in *International Security*, Winter 2000/1, vol.25, no. 3 pp. 54-99

Bussey, K. & Bandura, A. (1999) Social Cognitive Theory of Gender Development and Differentiation. in *Psychological Review,* 106(4): 676-713.

Braithwaite, A. (2002) The Personal, the Political, Third-Wave and Postfeminism, in *Feminist Theory,* 3 (3) :335-344

Brenchley, C. (2005) *The Trail of Dr. Fu Manchu*, in Jones, S. & Newman, K., (Eds) *Horror: Another 100 Best Book*, (pp: 69-73) NY: Carroll & Graff

Brewer, M. B. (1988) A Dual Process Model of Impression Formation. In T. K. Srull & R. S. Wyer, Jr. (Eds.), *Advances in Social Cognition, Vol. 1. A Dual Process Model of Impression Formation* (pp. 1-36). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Brewer, G. (2011) *Media Psychology,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Brewer M. B. (1994) *The Social Psychology of Prejudice: Getting It All Together*, in Zanna & Olson 1994, pp. 315-29

Brook, T. (2015) *When white actors play other races*, BBC, available at http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20151006-when-white-actors-play-other-races, retrieved April, 2017

Brooks, D. E. & Hebert, L. P. (2006) Gender, Race, and Media Representation, in B. J. Dow & J. T. Wood (Edi) *SAGE Handbook of Gender and Communication*, London: Sage

Brown, P. and Levinson, S.C. (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bruner, J. S. (1957) On Perceptual Readiness. in *Psychological Review, 64*(2): 123-152

Brunnemer, K. C. (2003) Sex and Subjectivity: Gazing and Glancing in HBO's Sex and the City, in *Cercles*, 8: 7-15

Brunsdon C. & Spigel, L. (2008) *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader*, 2nd Edition, New York: Open University Press

Bryson, J., and Bunker, D. (2015) Blurred Lines: Exploring Contemporary Attitudes to Gender Portrayal in the Media, in *Market Research Society Annual Conference 2015*, available at https://www.mrs.org.uk/pdf/Blurred_lines_Exploring_contemporary_attitudes_to_gender_portrayal_in_the_med.pdf, retrieved Jan 2017

Calavita, K. (2000) The Paradoxes of Race, Class, Identity, and 'Passing': Enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Acts, *Law & Social Inquiry 1882-1910*, 25(1), 1-40

Campion, A. S. (2016) *The Geopolitics of Read Oil: Constructing the China Threat through Energy Security*, London: Routledge

Candace Bushnell: 'In real life, Carrie and Big wouldn't have ended up together', July 2017, *The Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/jul/03/candace-bushnell-sex-and-the-city-trump-tinder-new-york-city, retrieved January 2018

Cao, L., and Novas, H. (1996) *Everything you Need to Know about Asian American History*, New York: Plume

Carson, D., Gilmore, A., Perry, C. & Gronhaug, K. (2001), *Qualitative Marketing Research*, London: Sage

Carlson, A. L. (2015) *Genius on Television: Essays on Small Screen Depictions of Big Minds*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland

Carroli, N. (2010) *Art in three dimensions*, Oxford: Oxford university press

Cervantes, C., Ji, G., Ramirez, J. & Silver, S., (1994) Resistance to Arsenic Compounds, in *Microorganisms*

Chan, A. B. (2007) *Perpetually Cool: The Many Lives of Anna May Wong*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press

Chan, K. (2009) *Remade in Hollywood: The Global Chinese Presence in Transnational Cinemas*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp: 24

Chan, J. (2001) *Chinese American Masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee*, New York: Routledge

Chan, S. (1991) *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, Boston: Twayne Publishers

Chang, J. & Le, T. N. (2005) The Influence of Parents, Peer Delinquency, and School Attitudes on Academic Achievement in Chinese, Cambodian, Laotian or Mien, and Vietnamese Youth, *Crime & Delinquency*, 51, 238-264

Cheng, C. W. & Hirano-Nakanishi, M. (1982) Minority Role Models: Asian Americans, In M. Schwartz (ed.), TV & Teens: Experts Look at the Issues, *Reading*, MA: Addison Wesley, pp: 101-103

Chermak, S.M. & Gruenewald, J. (2006) The Media's Coverage of Domestic Terrorism, in *Justice Quarterly*, 23, 428-461

Cheryan, S. & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000) When Positive Stereotypes Threaten Intellectual Performance: The Psychological Hazards of 'Model Minority' Status, in *Psychological* Science, 11(5): 399-402

Cheryan, S. & Monin, B., (2005) 'Where Are You Really From?': Asian Americans and Identity Denial, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(5): 717-730

Cheung, K. (1990) The Woman Warrior Versus the Chinaman Pacific, in Hirsch, M. Keller, E.F. (ed.) *Conflicts in Feminism*, London: Routledge, pp: 236-252

Childs, E. C. (2009) *Fade to Black and White: Interracial Images in Popular Culture*, Lanham: MD: Rowman & Littlefield

Chilton, P. (ed.) (1985) *Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate: Nukespeak Today.* London: Pinter

Chilton, P. (2004) Still Something Missing in CDA, in *Discourse Studies* 13(6): 769-781, London: Sage

Chin, F. (1991) 'Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake', in *Jeffery* Paul Chan et al. (eds.), *The Big Aiiieeee!: An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese-American Literature*, New York: Meridian

Choy, P. P., Dong, L. & Hom, M. K., (1995) *Coming Man: 19th Century American Perceptions of the Chinese*, Seattle: University of Washington Press

Chua, P. & Fujino, D. (1999) Negotiating New Asian American Masculinities: Attitudes and Gender

Expectations, in *Journal of Men's Studies*, 7(3): 391-413

Christensen, E. (2012) Revisiting Multiculturalism and Its Critics, in *The Monist*, 95 (1): 33-48

Cohen, M. (2000) *Murder Most Fair: The Appeal of Mystery Fiction*, London: Associated University Press

Cole, T. R., Carlin, N. S. & Carson, R. A. (2015), *Medical Humanities: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Coleman, J. (2009) An Introduction to Feminisms in A Postfeminist Age, in *Women's Studies Journal*, 23(2): 3-13

Collins, R. L. (2011) Content Analysis of Gender Roles in Media: Where are We Now and where Should We Go? in *Sex Roles*, 64(3): 290-298

Connell, R. W. (1995), *Masculinities*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005) 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society*, pp: 829-59

Conyers, J. & E. G. Epps (1974) 'A profile of Black Sociologists', pp. 231-253 in J. E. Blackwell and M. Janowitz (ed.) *Black Sociologist: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Cooper, B. (1999a) Women 'Return the Look': Appropriation of the Male Gaze in Ally McBeal, Presented in *Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association National Convention*, San Diego

Cooper, B. (1999b) Ally McBeal vs. Hollywood's Male Gaze—Round One, Presented to *Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication*, New Orleans

Coplan, A. (2006) Catching characters' emotions: Emotional contagion responses to narrative fiction film, in *Film Studies*, Vol.8(1): 26-38

Costa, J., (1997) Paradisal Discourse: A Critical Analysis of Marketing and Consuming Hawaii. Consumption, Markets and Culture 1(4):303–423

Corren, E. (2012) Lucy Liu Playing Dr Watson: Put That in Your Pipe and Smoke It, in *Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/14/victoria-coren-lucy-liu-sherlock-holmes, retrieved Feb 2016

Cottle, S. (2000) Introduction: Media Research and Ethnic Minorities: Mapping the Fields, in Cottle, S. (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries* (pp.130), Buckingham: Open University Press

Crawshow, R. H. & Tusting, L., (2000) *Exploring French Text Analysis: Interpretations of national identity*, London: Routledge

Crocker, J., & Luhtanen, R. (1990) Collective Self-esteem and Ingroup Bias. in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*(1): 60-67

Cuddy, A., et. al. (2009) Stereotype Content Model Across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48: 1-33

Daniels, R. (1988) *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850,* Seattle: University of Washington Press

Danner, M.J.E. & Carmody, D.C. (2001) Missing Gender in Cases of Infamous School Violence: Investigating Research and Media Explanations. in *Justice Quarterly*, 18: 87-114

DeFrain, J. & N. Stinnett (2002) Family strengths, in J. 1. Ponzetti, et aI. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family*, 2nd ed., New York: Macmillan Reference, 2: 637-42

Delucchi, M. & Do, H. D. (1996) The Model Minority Myth and Perceptions of Asian-Americans as Victims of Racial Harassment, in *College Student Journal, 30*(3): 411-414

Devine, P. G. (1989) Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*: 5-18.

Devine, P. G. & Baker, S. M. (1991) Measurement of Racial Stereotype Subtyping, in *Pers. Soc. Psychol. Bull.* 17: 44-50

Devine, P. G. & Monteith, M. J. (1993) The role of discrepancy-associated affect in prejudice reduction, in *Mackie & Hamilton 1993*, pp: 317-44

Devine, P. G., Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink J. R. & Elliot A. J. (1991) Prejudice With and Without Compunction, *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.* 60: 817-30

Dhingra, P. (2007) *Managing Multicultural Lives: Asian American Professionals and the Challenge of Multiple Identities*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press

Diehi, M. & Jonas, K. (1991) Measures of National Stereotypes as Predictors of the Latencies of Inductive Versus Deductive Stereotypic Judgements, in *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 21(4): 317-330

Dijksterhuis, A., Aarts, H., Bargh, J. & Van Knippenberg. A (2000) On the Relation Between Associative Strength and Automatic Behaviour, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 36*(5): 531-544

Dines, G. & Humez, J. M. (2003) G*ender, Race and Class in Media: A Text Reader*, 2nd Edition, London: Sage

Dixon, T. L. (2007) Black Criminals and White Officers: The Effects of Racially Misrepresenting Law Breakers and Law Defenders on Television News, in *Media Psychology*, 10: 270-291

Dixon, T. L. & Linz, D. (2000) Overrepresentation and Underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as Lawbreakers on Television News. *Journal of Communication* 50(2): 131-154

Doane, M. A. (2003) The Close Up: Scale and Detail in the Cinema, in *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, Sept. 2003, pp: 208

Dohert, T. (1999) *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality and Insurrection in American Cinema 1930-1934*, New York: Columbia University Press

Dolan, J. (1993) *Presence and Desire: Essays on Gender, Sexuality, Performance*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Dorfman, A. & Mattelart, A. (1975) *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*. D. Kuntzle (Trans.), New York, NY: International General

Dower, J. W. (1986) *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War,* New York: Pantheon

Dovidio, J. F. et al (1996), Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination: Another Look, in Macrae, C. N., Stangor, C. & Hewstone, M. (eds.) *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, London: The Guilford Press, pp: 276-311

Dovidio, J. F. & Gaertner, S. L. (1991) Changes in the Expression and Assessment of Racial Prejudice, in H. J. Knopke, R. J. Norrell, & R. W. Rogers (ed.), in *Opening Doors: Perspectives on Race Relations in Contemporary America* (pp. 119-148), AL: The University of Alabama Press

Dow, B. J. (1996) *Prime-time Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women's Movement Since 1970*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Downing, J. & Husband, C. (2005) *Representing Race: Racisms, Ethnicities and Media*, London: Sage

Dryzek, J. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourse,* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dirlirk, A., (1996) Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism. *History and Theory* 35(4):96–118

Durham, M. (1999). Girls, Media, and the Negotiation of Sexuality: A Study on Race, Class, and Gender in Adolescent Peer Groups. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(2), 193-216

Durham, M. (1999). Articulating Adolescent Girls' Resistance to Patriarchal Discourse in Popular Media. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 22(2), 210-229

Dyer, R. (1977) Stereotyping, in R. Dyer (ed.) *Gays and Film,* London: British Film Instute

Dyer, R. (1997), *White: Essays on Race and Culture*, London: Routledge

Dyer, R. (1999) The Role of Stereotyping, in P Marris & S. Thornham. (ed.) *Media Studies: A Reader*, 2nd Edition, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Eagly, A. H. & Mladinic, A. (1989) Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Women and Men, in *Bulletin*, 15(4): 543-558

Eckes, T. (2002) Paternalistic and envious gender stereotypes: Testing predictions from the stereotype content model, in *Sex Roles*, 47: 99-114

Eco, U. (1990) *The Limits of Interpretation*, Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

Eco, U. (1992) *Interpretation and Over interpretation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Egan, T. (2007) Little Asia on the Hill, in *New York Times*, available at https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/07/education/edlife/07asian.html, retrieved Jan 2018

Ekman P. & Frieson, W. (1978), *Facial Action Coding System: A technique for measurement of facial movement*, Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press

Ekman, P. & Keltner, D. (2000), Facial expression of emotion, in Michael Lewis and Jeanette Haviland-Jones (ed.) *Handbook of emotions*, 2nd edition, New York: Guilford, pp: 241-243

Ekman, P. (2003) *Emotions revealed: Recognising faces and feelings to improve communication and emotion life*, New York: Times books

Ellis, M. & Wright, R. (2005), Assimilation and Differences between the Settlement Patterns of Individual Immigrants and Immigrant Household, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America,* 102(43): 15325-15330.

England, D. E., Descartes, L. & Collier-Meek, M. A. (2011) Gender Role Portrayal and the Disney Princesses, in *Sex Roles*, 64: 555-567

Entman, R. M. & Rojecki, A. (2001) *The Black Image in the White Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Erikson, E.H. (1968) *Identity: youth and crisis,* Oxford: Norton

Espiritus, Y. L. (2000) *Asian American Women and Men*, New York: AltaMira

Estep, R. & MacDonald, P. T. (1983) How Prime Time Crime Evolved on TV, 1976-1981, in *Journalism and Mass Media Communication Quarterly*, 60(2): 293-300

Fairclough, N. (1985) Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis, in *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9: 739-63.

Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*, London: Routledge

Fairclough, N. (1992a) Discourse and Text: Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis, in *Discourse & Society*, 3(2): 193-217

Fairclough, N. (1992b) *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Fairclough, N. (1995) Critical Analysis of Media Discourse, in Fairclough, N. (ed.) Media *Discourse*, London: Arnold Publishers, pp: 53-74

Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge

Fairclough, N. (2006) Semiosis, Mediation and Ideology: a Dialectical View, in I. Lassen, J. Strunck, & T. Vestergaard (ed.), *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: Ten Critical Studies.* (pp. 19-35), Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. (2012), *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for Advanced Students*, London: Routledge

Faludi, S. (1991) *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women*, London: Vintage

Faludi, S. (1999) *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, New York: W. Morrow and Co.

Farquhar, J. B. & Doi, M. L. (1978) Bruce Lee vs. Fu Manchu: Kong Fu Films and Asian American Stereotypes in America, in *Bridge Magazine*, (6): 23-40

Fazio, R. H. & Towles-Schwen, T. (1999) The MODE Model of Attitude-Behavior Processes, in S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (eds.), *Dual-process Theories in Social Psychology* (pp. 97-116), New York, NY: Guilford Press

Feng, P. (1993) Redefining Asian American Musicality, in *Cineaste*, 22 (3)

Fisher, C. (1994) *Demographic Trends: Marketers Straddle Asia-America Curtain*, Advertising Age, 65 (7): 2-19

Fiske, S. T. (1982) Schema-Triggered Affect: Applications to Social Perception, in M. S. Clark & S. T. Fiske (eds.), *Affect and Cognition: The 17th Annual Carnegie Symposium on Cognition* (pp. 55-78), Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

Fiske, S. T. (1989) Examining the Role of Intent: Toward Understanding Its Role in Stereotyping and Prejudice, in J. S. Uleman & J. A. Bargh (eds.), *Unintended thought* (pp. 253-286), New York: Guilford

Fiske, S. T. (1998) Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination, n D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 357-414), New York: McGraw-Hill

Fiske, S. T. & Neuberg, S. L. (1990) A Continuum of Impression Formation, From Category Based to Individuating Processes: Influences of Information and Motivation on Attention and Interpretation, In M. P. Zanna (ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 23, pp. 1-74), New York: Academic

Fiske, S. T. & Taylor, S. E. (1991) *Social Cognition* (2nd ed.), New York: McGraw-Hill

Fiske, S. T. & Lee, T. L. (2008) Stereotypes and Prejudice Create Workplace Discrimination, in A. P. Brif (ed.) *Diversity at Work,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fiske, S. T., Xu, J., Cuddy, A. C., &Glick, P. (1999) (Dis)Respecting Versus (Dis)Liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth, *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3): 473-489

Fiske, J. (2000, White Watch, in Cottle, S. (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, Buckingham: Open University Press, pp: 67-82

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, Amy J. C., Glick, Peter & Xu, J. (2002) A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow From Perceived Status and Competition' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (American Psychological Association) 82 (6): 878-902

Fiske, S. T. (2010) Interpersonal Stratification: Status, Power, and Subordination, in S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 941-982). Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Fong, E. & Shibuya, K. (2000) *Suburbanization and Home Ownership: The Spatial Assimilation Process in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*, Sociological Perspectives, 43(1): 137-157

Fong, L. M. S. (1965) *Assimilation of Chinese in America: Changes in Orientation and Social Perception*, American Journal of Sociology, 71(3): 265-273.

Fong, L. M. S. (1973) *Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans*, Journal of Social Issues, 29(2): 115-127

Fong, T. P. (1998) *The Contemporary Asian American Experience: Beyond the Model Minority*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall

Forbes, E. R. (1989) *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*, Acadiensis Press

Forster, D. E. (2014) *Deconstructing Reaganism: An analysis of American Fantasy Films*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Writings and Other Interviews 1972- 1977*, ed. C. Gordon, New York: Pantheon

Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things*, New York: Pantheon

Foxhall, L & Salmon, J. (1998) *Thinking Man: Masculinity and Its Self-representation in the Classic Tradition*, London: Routledge

Franklin, (ed.) (2001) *Asian Americans: Reconcepturalizing Culture, History, Politics,* NY: Routledge

Fredrick, D. A., Fessler, D. M. & Haselton, M. G. (2005) Do Representation of Male Muscularity Differ in Men and Women Magazine, in *Body Image*, (2): 81-86

Friedan, B. (1963) *The Feminism Mystique*, New York: Norton

Fuller, K.R. (2010) *Hollywood Goes Oriental: CaucAsian Performance in American Film,* Detroit: Wayne State University Press

Funnel, L., (2014) Warrior Women: Gender, race, and the transnational Chinese action star, Albany: State University of New York Press

Fyock, J. & Stangor, C. (1994) The Role of Memory Biases in Stereotype Maintenance. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(3): 331-343

Gardner, C. S. (1961) *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Gardener, K. & Lewis, D. (1996) *Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge,* London: Pluto Press

Gauntlett, D. (2002) *Media, Gender and Identity,* NY: Routledge

Gee, J. P. (1999) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, London: Routledge

Gee, J. P. (2000) Identity as an Analytic Lens for Research in Education, in *Review of Research in Education*, 25: 99-125

Geneva, G. (1973) 'Racism in America: Imperatives for Teaching Ethnic Studies', in J. A. Banks, (ed.) *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*, Washington DC: Nation Council for Social

Studies

Genz, S. (2010) Singled Out: Postfeminism's 'New Woman' and the Dilemma of Having It All, in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 43(1): 97-119

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M. & Signorielli, N. (1980) The Mainstreaming of America: Violence Profile no. 11, *Journal of Communication*, 30: 10-29

Gerbner, G. & Gross, L. (1976) Living with Television: The Violence Profile, in *Journal of Communication*, 26 (2): 172-198

Gerbner, G. & Gross, L. (1994) Growing up with Television: The Cultivation Perspective, in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research* (pp.17-41), NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Gillis, S., Howie, G. & Munford, R. (2007), *Third Wave Feminism: A Critical Exploration*, 2nd edition, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp: xxi

Gillespie, M. (2006) Framing the Real: Beyond the Text*,* in Gillespie, M. & Toynbee (eds.) *Analysing Media Texts*, NY: Open University Press, pp: 120-125

Gilpatric, K. (2010) Violent Female Action Characters in Contemporary American Cinema, in *Sex Roles, 62*(11-12): 734-746

Ginneken, J. (2007) *Screening Difference: How Hollywood Blockbuster Films Imagine Race, Ethnicity, and Culture*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield

Gitlin, T. (1982) Prime Time Ideology: The Hegemonic Process in Television Entertainment, in Newcomb (ed) *Television: The Critical View*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 426-454

Glascock, J. & Ruggiero, T. (2004) Representations of Class and Gender on Primetime Spanish Language Television in the United States, in *Communication Quarterly*, 52(4): 390-402

Glass, L. (2012) *The Body Language Advantage*, Beverly, MA: Fair Winds Press

Glazer, N. (1998) *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Gordon, M. M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life,* New York: Oxford University Press

Gordon, M. M. (1978) *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity,* New York: Oxford University Press

Goidel, R. K., Freeman, C. M. & Procopio, S. T. (2006) The Impact of Television Viewing on Perceptions of Juvenile Crime, in *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50(1): 119- 139

Greene, N. (2014) *From Fu Manchu to Kong Fu Panda: Images of China in American Film*, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press

Grossberg, L. (1984) Strategies of Marxist Cultural Interpretation, in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1(4): 392-421

Guastaferro, W. P. (2013) Crime, the Media, and Constructions of Reality: Using HBO' The Wire as a Frame of Reference. in *College Student Journal*, 47(2): 264-270

Gunter, B. (1987) *Television and the Fear of Crime*, Montrouge: John Libbey

Gunter, B. & Wober, J. M., (1988) *Television and Social Control,* Beatty, NV: Avebury

Guthmann, E. (2001) Moody 'Love' Cheung, Leung Star in Hypnotic tale of Sexual Anticipation, in *San Francisco Chronicle*, Friday, 16th Feb 2001

Haddock, G., Zanna, M. P. & Esses, V. M. (1993) Assessing the Structure of Prejudicial Attitudes: The Case of Attitudes Towards Homosexuals, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65: 1105-1118

Haddock, G., Zanna, M. P. & Esses, V. M. (1994). The Role of Trait-laden Stereotypes in Predicting Attitudes towards Native People, in *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33: 83-106

Hagedorn, J. (1993) *Charlie Chan is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction*, London: Penguin

Hall, S., Lumley, B. & McLennan, G. (1977) Gramsci on Ideology, in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.), *Politics and ideology*, 45-76, London: Hutchinson

Hall, S. (1981) Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms, in T. Bennett, G. Martin., C. Mercer & J. Woollacott (eds.) *Culture, Ideology and Social Process* (pp. 19-37), London: Batsford Academic and Educational

Hall, S. (1980) 'Encoding/decoding'. In Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.): *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79,* London: Hutchinson, pp:128-38

Hall, S. (1981) The Determinations of News Photographs, in S. Cohen & J. Young (Eds.), *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media* (Rev. ed., Vol. Communication and society; 4). London: Constable

Hall, S. (1992) The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power, in Hall, S. & Gieben, B. (ed.) *Formation of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, available at https://analepsis.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/hall-west-the-rest.pdf, retrieved Sep. 2016

Hall, S. (1993). Encoding, decoding. In S. During (Ed.), The Cultural Studies Reader, 2nd ed. (pp. 507-517). New York: Routledge

Hall, S. & Gay, P., (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage

Hall, S. (1997), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice*, London: Sage

Hall, S. (1997), The Work of Representation, in Hall, S. (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and signifying Practice*, London: Sage, pp: 15-74

Hall, S. (1987) Urban Unrest in Britain, in J. Benyon & J. Solomos (eds), *The Roots of Urban Unrest,* Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp: 45-50

Hall, S. (1988) *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left,* London: Verso

Hall, S. (2000) Racist Ideologies and the Media, *Media Studies: A Reader,* New York NY: New York University Press, pp. 271-282

Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic*, London: EdwardArnold

Halliday, M.A.K. (1992a) The Analysis of Scientific Texts in English and Chinese, in Halliday, M.A.K. & J.R. Martin (eds) *Writing Science: literacy and discursive power*, London: Falmer Press. Pp: 124-132.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1992b) A Systemic Interpretation of Peking Syllable Finals, in Tench, P (ed.) *Studies in Systemic Phonology*, London: Pinter. pp: 98-121

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994[1985]) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edn), London: EdwardArnold

Hamamoto, D. Y. (1994) Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV, Representation, *Minneapolis*, MN: The University of Minnesota Press

Hamilton, D. L. & Rose, T. L. (1980) Illusory Correlation and the Maintenance of Stereotypic Beliefs, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, (39): 832-845

Hamilton, D. L. (1981) Illusory Correlation as a Basis for Stereotyping, in D. L. Hamilton (ed.) *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behaviour* (pp. 115-144) NJ: Erlbaum

Hamilton, D. L. & Sherman, J. W. (1994) Stereotypes, in R. S. Wyer, Jr. & T. K. Srull (eds.), *Handbook of Social Cognition: Basic Processes; Applications* (pp. 1-68), Hillsdale, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hamilton, D.L. (1979) A Cognitive-attributional Analysis of Stereotyping, in L. Berkowitz (ed.), in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 53-84), New York: Academic Press

Hamilton, D.L. & Gifford, R. (1976) Illusory Correlation in Interpersonal Perception: A Cognitive Basis of Stereotypic Judgments, in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 12: 392-407

Han, Q. (2016) *The Cinematic Representation of the Chinese American Family*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Hanke, K. (1989) *Charlie Chan at the Movies: History, Filmography and Criticism,* Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co.

Hanson, A. (1998) *Mass Communication Research Methods*, London: Palgrave

Harding, J., Kutner, B., Proshansky, H. & Chein, I. (1954) Prejudice and Ethnic Relations, in G. Lindzey (ed.) *Handbook of social psychology*, Vol. 2, pp: 1021-61

Hartlep, N. D. (2015) Unwilling or Unable? Measuring Anti-Asian Implicit Biases of Pre- service

Teachers in Order to Impact teacher Effectiveness, in *Gauisus, 3*(1): 1-10

Hartmann, P., Husband, C. & Clark, J. (1974) Racism as News: A Study in the Handling of Race in the British National Press from 1963-1970, in *Unesco, Race as News,* Paris: Unesco, pp: 91-174

Hatfield, E., Caccioppo, J. T. & Rapson, R. L. (1992) Primitive Emotional Contagion, in *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, (2): 151-177

Hatoum, I. J. & Bell, D. (2004) Mags and Abs: Media Consumption and Bodily Concern in Men, in *Sex Roles*, (51): 397-407

Hau, C. S. (2014) *The Chinese Questions: Ethnicity, Nation, and Region in Beyond the Philippines,* Singapore: NUS Press

Hawkesworth, M. E. (2006) *Globalisation and Feminist Activism*, Oxford: Bowman & Littlefield

Heimbach, A. (2016) Why *Elementary*'s Joan Is the Best Version of Watson, in Vulture, available at http://www.vulture.com/2016/05/elementary-joan-is-the-best-version-of-watson.html, retrieved Jan 2017

Hegedorn, J. (1993) *Charlie Chan is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction,* London: Penguin

Helsby, W. (2005), *Understanding Representation*, London: Routledge

Hemton, C. C. (1965) *Sex and Race in America*, New York: Grove

Henry, A. (2004) Orgasms and Empowerment: *Sex and the City* and the Third Wave Feminism, in Kim Akass & Janet McCabe (ed.) *Reading Sex and the City*, New York: I. B. Tauris

Hess, A. (2016) Asian-American Actors are Fighting for Visibility, They Will Not be Ignored. in *New York Times,* Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/29/movies/asian-american-actors-are- fighting-for-visibility-they-will-not-be-ignored.html, retrieved Jan 2017

Hess, U. & Blairy, S. (2001) Facial Mimicry and Emotional Contagion to Dynamic Emotional Facial Expressions and Their Influence on Decoding Accuracy, in *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, 40: pp 129-114

Hevia, J. L. (1998) The Archive State and the Fear of Pollution: From the Opium Wars to Fu Manchu*, in *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, Nom. 2, Oxon: Routledge Journals, pp: 234-263

Hewstone, M. (1989) The 'Ultimate Attribution Error'? A Review of the Literature on Intergroup Causal Attribution, in *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20(4): 311-335

Hickey, E. W. (2013) *Serial Murderers and Their Victims,* 7th Edition, Boston: Cengage Learning

Higate, P. & Hopton, J. (2005) War, Militarism and Masculinities, in *Handbook of Studies on Man and Masculinities*, London: Sage

Hillman, J. (1997) *Emotion*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern university press, pp: 55-65

Hilton, J. L. & von Hippel, W. (1996. Stereotypes, in *Annual Review of Psychology*, 47: 237-72

Ho, C. & Jackson, J. W. (2001) Attitudes Towards Asian Americans: Theory and Measurement, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31 (8): 1553-1581

Ho, H. (2016) The Model Minority in Zombie Apocalypse: Asian-American Manhood on AMC's The Walking Dead, in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 49(1): 57-76

Holter, G. (2005) *Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality*, London: Sage

Holtzman, L. & Sharpe, L. (2014) *Media Messages: What Film, Television, and Popular Music Teach Us About Race, Class, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*, London: Routledge

Hooks, B. (2000) *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*, Cambridge, MA: South End Press, pp: 1

Hope, L. W. (2016) *Running head: White Royalty: Whitewashing from Prince of Persia to Sofia The First,* available at https://repository.tcu.edu/bitstream/handle/116099117/4512/Wright_tcu_0229M_10421.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, retrieved Apr 2017

Howarth, C. (2011) Representations, Identity and Resistance in Communication, In: Hook, D., Franks, B. & Bauer, M. W. (eds.) *The social psychology of communication*, London: Palgrave Macmillan

Hugenberg, K. & Sacco, D. F. (2008) Social Catagorization and Stereotyping: How Social Categorisation Biases Person Perception and Face Memory, in *Critical Psychology Vol 2 Issue 2*, pp: 1052-1072

Hwang, S. (2005) The New White Flight: In Silicon Valley, Two High Schools with Outstanding Academic Reputations Are Losing White Students as Asian Students Move in. Why? in *Wall Street Journal*, available at https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB113236377590902105, retrieved Jan 2018

Idema, R. (2001) Analysing Film and Television: A Social Semiotic Account of Hospital: An Unhealthy Business, in T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (pp. 183-204), London: Sage

Inkelas, K. K. (2003a) Caught in the Middle: Understanding Asian Pacific American Perspectives on Affirmative Action Through Blumer's Group Position Theory, in *Journal of College Student Development,* 44(5): 625-643

Inkelas, K. K. (2003b) Diversity's Missing Minority: Asian Pacific American Undergraduates, in *Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action, Journal of Higher Education*, 74(6): 601-639

Irvin, S. (2016) *Body Aesthetics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Isaacs, H. (1958) *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India*, London: Routledge

Issacs, H. (1962) *Images of Asia*, New York: Capricorn Books

Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. R. (1987) *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Jahoda, G. (1999) *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture.* London: Routledge

Jackson, J. W. & Ho, C. (2001) Attitudes Towards Asian Americans: Theory and Measurement, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31 (8): 1553-1581

Jeanes, R. (2011). 'I'm into high heels and make up but I still love football': exploring gender identity and football participation with preadolescent girls. Soccer & Society, 12(3), 402- 420)

Jewitt, C & Oyama, R. (2001) Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach, in T. Van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (pp. 134-156), London: Sage

Johoda, G. (1999) *Images of Savages : Ancients Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture*, London: Psychology Press

Jones, D. B. (1955) *The Portrayal of China and India on the American Screen, 1896-1955*, Cambridge, MA: Centre for International Studies

Jones, J. M. (1997) *Prejudice and racism* (2nd ed.), New York: McGraw-Hill

Jorgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2002) *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method,* London: Sage

Jost, J. T. & Banaji, M. (1994) The Role of Stereotyping in System−justification and the Production of False Consciousness, in *British Journal of Social Psychology, Vol 33, Issue 1*, pp: 1-27

Jost, J. T. & Hamilton, D. L. (2005). Stereotypes in Our Culture, in J. F. D., P. G. & L. A. Rudman (eds.), *On the Nature of Prejudice: Fifty Years After Allport* (pp. 208-224), Malden: Blackwell Publishing

Jost, J. T., Burgess, D. Ho, C. & Mosso, C. (2001) Conflicts of Legitimation Among Self, Group, and System: The Integrative Potential of System Justification Theory, in *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Jost, J., & Kay, A. (2005). Exposure to Benevolent Sexism and Complementary Gender Stereotypes: Consequences for Specific and Diffuse Forms of System Justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3), 498–509

Judd, C. M., Ryan, C. S. & Park, B. (1991) Accuracy in the Judgement of In-group and Out-group

Variability, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61: 366-379

Jussim, L. (1991) Social Perception and Social Reality: A Reflection-construction Model, in *Psychological Review*, 98(1): 54-73

Jussim, L., Milburn, M. & Nelson, W. (1991) Emotional Openness: Sex-role Stereotypes and Self-perceptions, in *Representative Research in Social Psychology, 19*(1): 35-52

Kabbani, R. (1986) *Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rules*, London: Palgrave

Kanahara, S. (2006) A Review of the Definitions of Stereotype and a Proposal for a Progressional Model, *Individual Differences Research*, 4 (5): 30-321

Kao, G. (2000) Group Images and Possible Selves Among Adolescents: Linking Stereotypes to Expectations by Race and Ethnicity, *Sociological Forum,* 15 (3): 407-430

Kashima, E. S. & Kashima, Y. (1993) Perceptions of General Variability of Social Groups, in *Social Cognition,* 11(1): 1-21

Katz, D. & Braly, K. (1933) Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, (28): 280-290

Katz, D. & Braly, K. (1935), Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology 30* (1935): 175-193

Kilday, G. (2017) 'Ghost in the Shell': How a Complex Concept, 'Whitewashing' and Critics Kept Crowds Away, in *The Hollywood Reporter*, available at http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/ghost-shellhow-a-complex-concept-whitewashing-critics-kept-crowds-away-990661, retrieved April 2017

Kim, C. J. (1999) The racial triangulation of Asian Americans, *Politics and Society*, 27(1): 105-138

Kim D. Y. (2005) *Writing Manhood in Black and Yellow: Ralph Ellison, Frank Chin, and the Literary Politics of Identity*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press

Kim, E. (1986) Asian Americans and American Popular Culture, in H.C. Kim (ed.) *Dictionary of Asian American History*, New York: Greenwood Press

Kim, L. S. (2001) Sex and the Single Girl in Postfeminism: The F word on Television, in *Television and New Media*, November 2001: 319-334

Kim, J. Y. (2006) *Are Asians Black?: The Asian American Civil Rights Agenda and the Contemporary Significance of the Black/White Paradigm, in Blacks and Asians: Crossing, Conflicts and Commonality*, (pp 171-201), Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press

Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J. & Connell, R. (2005) *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, London: Sage

Kitano, H. H. L. (1995) *Asian Americans: Emerging Minority*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice

Hall

Kitano, H. H. L., Yeung, W. T., Chai, L. & Hatanaka, H. (1984), Asian American Interracial Marriage, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 46(1): 179-190

Klapp, O E. (1962) *Heroes, Villains and Fools: The Changing American Character*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Kleinpenning, G. & Hagendoorn, L. (1991) Contextual Aspects of Ethnic Stereotypes and Interethnic Evaluations, in *European Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 21, Issue 4*

Kleinpenning, G. & Hagendoorn, L. (1993) Forms of Racism and the Cumulative Dimension of Ethnic Attitudes, in *Social Psychology Quarterly,* Vol. 56, No. 1, pp: 22-36

Kohn, S. (2014) Twitter, available at https://twitter.com/sallykohn/status/546701181310218240?lang=en, retrieved June 2016

Koppes, C. R. & Black G. D. (1988) *Hollywood Goes to War: Patriotism, Movies and the Second World War, From Ninotchka to Mrs Miniver*, London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Kress, G. R. (1989) *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kroløkke, C. & Sørensen, A. S. (2006) *Gender Communication Theories & Analyses: From Silent to Performance*, London: Sage

Kubota, R. (2004) The Politics of Cultural Difference in Second Language Education, in *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 1(1): 21-39

Kwan, P. (1998) Invention, Inversion and Intervention: The Oriental Woman in the World of Suzie Wong, M. Butterfly, and The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert, in *Asian American Law Journal*, Vol. 5, Jan 1998, pp: 99-137

Kydd, E. (2011) *The Critical Practice of Film: An Introduction*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Lancioni, J. (2006) Murder and Mayhem on Wisteria Lane, in Kim A. & McCabe j. (ed.) *Reading Desperate Housewives: Beyond the White Picket Fence*, London: I.B.Tauris, pp: 131-143

Lang, B. (2015a) Study Finds Fewer Lead Roles for Women in Hollywood, in *Variety*, available at https://variety.com/2015/film/news/women-lead-roles-in-movies-study-hunger-games-gone-girl-1201429016/, retrieved Jan 2017

Lang, B. (2015b) Hollywood's Ongoing Problem With Women, in *BuzzFeed News*, available at https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/arianelange/gender-television-stagnation, retrieved Jan 2017

Larson, S. G. (2006) Media and Minorities: The Politics of Race in *News and Entertainment*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefiled Publishers

Lauren, P. G. (1988) *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination*,

Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Lauzen, M. M. & Dozier, D. M. (1999) The Role of Women on Screen and behind the Scenes in the Television and Film Industries: Review of a Program of Research, in *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 23(4): 355-373

Lauzen, M. M. & Dozier, D. M. (2005) Maintaining the Double Standard: Portrayals of Age and Gender in Popular Films. in *Sex Roles, 52*(7-8): 437-446

Lauzen, M. M., Dozier, D. M. & Reyes, B. (2007) From Adultescents to Zoomers: An Examination of Age and Gender in Prime-Time Television, in *Communication Quarterly*, 55(3): 343-357

Lauzen, M. M., Dozier. D. M. & Horan, N. (2008) Constructing Gender Stereotypes Through Social Roles in Prime-Time Television, in *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 52: 200-214

Lauzen, M. M. (2015), It's a Man's (Celluloid) World: Portrayals of Female Characters, in *the 100 Top Films of 2015,* available at https://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/files/2015_Its_a_Mans_Celluloid_World_Report.pdf, retrieved Jan 2018

Lauzen, M. M. (2016) *Thumbs Down 2016: Top Film Critics and Gender,* available at https://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/files/2016_Thumbs_Down_Report.pdf, retrieved Jan 2018

Lauzen, M. M. (2017) It's a Man's (Celluloid) World: Portrayals of Female Characters, in *the 100 Top Films of 2017,* available at https://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/2017_Its_a_Mans_Celluloid_World_Report_3.pdf, retrieved Jan 2018

Lee, J. (2001) Asian American Actors in Film, Television and Theater, An Ethnographic Case Study, in *Race, Gender & Class Vol. 8, No. 4, Race, Gender & Class in Media*, pp: 176-184

Lee, S. J. (1994) Behind the Model Minority Stereotype: Voices of High- and Low-Achieving Asian American Students, in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 25(4): 413-429

Lee, S. J. & Ngo, B. (2007) Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success: A Review of Southeast Asian American Education, in *Review of Educational Research*, 77(4): 415-453

Lee, J. & Zhou, M. (2004) *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity,* NY: Routledge

Lee, W. H. & Zia, H. (2003) *My Country Versus Me: The first-hand account by the Los Alamos Scientist who was falsely accused of being a spy*, Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion

Lee, Y. T., Jussim, L. J. & McCauley, C. R. (1995) *Stereotype Accuracy: Towards Appreciating Group Differences*, Washington DC: American Psychological Association

LeGates, M. (2012) *In Their Time: A history of feminism in western society*, New York: Routledge pp: 3

Leit, R. A., Pope, H. G. & Grey, J. J. (2000) Cultural Expectations of Muscularity in Men, in *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 29: 90-93

Levant, R., Richmond, K., Cook, S., House, A.T., & Aupont, M. (2007). The Femininity Ideology Scale: Factor Structure Reliability, Convergent and Discriminant Validity, and Social Contextual Variation. *Sex Roles*, 57, 373-383

Levenson, R. W., Ekman, P. & Friesen, W. V. (1990) Voluntary Facial Action Generates Emotion-specific Autonomic Nervous System Activity, in *Psychophysiology*, 27(4): 363-384

Levin, J. (2013) *Representations of Victims, Suspects, and Offenders: A Content Analysis of Four Television Crime Shows*, available at https://scholar.colorado.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1617&context=honr_theses, retrieved June 2015

Levi-Strauss, C. (1966) *The Savage Mind,* London: Widenfeld & Nicholson

Lichter, D. T., Carmalt, J. H. & Qian, Z. (2011) Immigration and Intermarriage Among Hispanics: Crossing Racial and Generational Boundaries, in *Sociological Forum*, 26(2): 241-264

Lin, C. A. (1998) Uses of Sex Appeals in Prime-time Television, in *Sex Roles*, 38: 461-475

Lin, F. & Salmon, F. (1998a) T*hinking Men: Masculinity and Its Self-representation in the Classic Tradition,* London: Routledge

Lin, F. & Salmon, F., (1998b) *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power, and Identity in Classic Antiquity,* London: Routledge

Lippi-Green, R., Leppi-Green, R., Donati, S. & Donati, R. (1997) *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States,* London: Psychology Press

Lippmann, W. (1922), *Public Opinion*, New York: Macmillan.

Lippmann, W. (1927), *The Phantom Public*, New York: Macmillan.

Liu Y. (1988), Intersections (Duidao), trans, Nancy Li, in *Renditions*, 29-30: 92

Livingston, P. & Plantinga, C. (2009) *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Film*, London: Routledge

Lotz, A. (2001) Postfeminist Television Criticism: Rehabilitation Critical Terms and Identifying Postfeminism Attributes, in *Feminist Media Studies*, 1(1): 105-121

Lotz, A. (2006). *Redesigning Women*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press

Lucy Liu, A Woman as Sherlock's Dr. Watson in 'Elementary', Morning Edition, National Public Radio, September 27, 2012

Luo, M. (2016) An Open Letter to the Woman Who Told My Family to Go Back to China, in *New York Times*, available at https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/nyregion/to-the-woman-who-told-my-family-to-go-back-to-china.html, retrieved Jan 2017

Maass, A., Salvi, D., Arcuri, L. & Semin, G. (1989) Language Use in Intergroup Context: The Linguistic Intergroup Bias, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57: 981-993

Maass, A. & Arcuri, L. (1996) Language and Stereotyping, in C. N. Macrae, C. Stanger & M. Hewstone (ed.) *Stereotypes and Stereotyping* (pp. 193-226), New York: Guilford

MacDonald, C. (2003) The Value of Discourse Analysis as a Methodological Tool for Understanding a Land Reform Program, in *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 36 No. 2, pp: 161-173

Macrare, C. N. & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000) Social Cognition: Thinking Categorically about Others, in *Annu Rev Psychol.* 51: 93-120

Manchel, F. (1990) *Film Study: An Analytical Bibliography,* Vol. 1, London: Associated University Press

Mansfield-Richardson, V. (2000) *Asian American and the Mass Media: A Content Analysis of Twenty United States Newspapers and a Survey of Asian American Journalists,* London: Routledge

Macrae C. N., Bodenhausen G. V. & Milne A. B. (1994) Out of Mind but Back in Sight: Stereotypes on the Rebound, in *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol*, 67: 808-17

Martin, J. R. (1992) *English Text: System and Structure.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Mason, P. (1990) *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other,* London: Routledge

Massey, S. D & Denton, A. N. (1985) Spatial Assimilation as a Socioeconomic Outcome, *American Sociological Review*, 50(1): 94-106

Mastro, D. (2003) A Social Identity Approach to Understanding the Impact of Television Messages, *Communication Monographs*, 70: 98-113

Mastro, D. & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005), Latino Representation on Primetime Television, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82: 110-130

Mastro, D., Behm-Morawitz, E. & Ortiz, M. (2007) The Cultivation of Social Perceptions of Latinos: A Mental Models Approach, *Media Psychology, 9*(2): 347-365

Mastro, D. & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005) Latino Representation on Primetime Television, in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(1): 110-130

Mastro, D., Behm-Morawitz, E. & Kopacz, M. (2008), Exposure to TV Portrayals of Latinos: The Implications of Aversive Racism and Social Identity Theory, *Human Communication Research*, 34: 1-27

Mastro, D. (2009) Effects of Racial and Ethnic Stereotyping, in J. Bryant & M.B. Oliver (eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research* (3rd ed., pp. 325-341), Hillsdale: NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc

Marchetti, G. (1993) *Romance and the Yellow Peril: Race, Se and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction,* Berkeley: University of California Press

Marchetti, G. (2006) *From Tian'anmen to Time Square: Transnational China and the Chinese Diaspora on Global Screen 1989-1997*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Maykovich, M. K. (1972) Reciprocity in Racial Stereotypes: White, Black, and Yellow, The *American Journal of Sociology*, 77(5): 876-897

McCauley, C., Stitt, C. L. & Segal, M. (1980) Stereotyping: From Prejudice to Prediction. *Psychological Bulletin, 87*(1): 195-208

McCarthy, J., Sullivan, P. & Wright, P. (2006) Culture, Personal Experience and Agency, in *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(2): 421-439

McClintock, P. & Galloway, S. (2017) Matt Damon's The Great War to Lose $75 Million; Future US-China Productions in Doubt, The *Hollywood Reporter*, available at http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/whatgreat-walls-box-office-flop-will-cost-studios-981602, retrieved April 2017.

McConahay, J. B. (1986) Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale, in J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (pp. 91-125), San Diego, CA: Academic Press

McDonald, H. G. & Balgopal, P. R. (1998) Conflict of American Immigrants: Assimilate or Retain Ethnic Identity, in *Migration World Magazine*, 26(4): 14-22

McGarty, C., et. al. (2002) *Stereotypes as Explanations: The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs about Social Groups*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

McGovern TM (2002) *Patterns of Sexual and Asexual Reproduction in the Brittle Star Ophiactis Savignyi in the Florida Keys*, Marine Ecology Progress Series, 230: 119-126

McGovern, M. O. & Lindgren, J. (2006). Testing the 'Model Minority Myth'. in *Northwestern University Law Review,* 100(1): 331-377

McKay, J., Mikosza, J. & Hutchins, B. (2005) *Gentlemen, the Lunchbox Has Landed: Representations of Masculinities and Men's Bodies in the Popular Media*, London: Sage

McLaughlin, R. L. & Parry, S. E. (2006) *We'll Always Have the Movies: American Cinema During World War II,* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky

McLuhan, M. (1964) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.* New York: McGraw-Hill

McRobbie, A. (2008) Young Women and Consumer Culture, in *Cultural Studies*, 22 (5): 531-550

Mee, L. & Walker, J. (2014) *Cinema, Television & History: New Approaches,* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Metz, C. (1974) *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema, M. Taylor* (Trans), Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Michael J. Porter, The Structure of Television Narratives, in Leah R. Vande B., Lawrance A. W. & Bruce E. G., eds, *Critical Approaches to Television* (Boston: Houghton Miffin, 1998), pp: 147-8

Michelle, I. (2010) *Yellowface: A story in pictures*, available at http://www.racebending.com/v3/background/ history-of-yellowface/, retrieved Feb 2017

Miller, S. C. (1969), *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882,* Berkeley: University of California Press

Mitchell, C. P. (1999) *A Guide to Charlie Chan Films: Bibliographies and Indexes in the Performing Arts*, Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood

Mitchell, C. (2011) *Doing visual research*, London: Sage

Mittell, J. (2010) Television and American Culture, New York: Oxford University Press

Mohanty, C. T. (1991) Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and Politics of Feminism*,* in Mohanty, Russo & Torres (eds.) *Introduction to Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp: 1-47

Mok, T. A. (1998a) Getting the Message: Media Images and Stereotypes and Their Effect on Asian Americans, in *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health*, 4(3): 185-202

Mok, T. A. (1998b) Asian Americans and Standards of Attractiveness: What's in the Eye of the Beholder? in *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4*(1): 1-18

Morgan, D.H.J. (1992) *Discovering Men*, London: Routledge

Morgan, D.H.J. (1990) Masculinity, autobiography and history, *Gender and History*, 2: 34-39

Morgan, R., Kirk, M., Tonkin, E., Skirton, H., McDonald, K. & Cope, B. (2002) Storytellers as Partners in Developing a Genetics Education Resource for Health Professionals, in *Nurse Educ Today*, 2013 May; 33(5): 518-524

Monaco, J. (2009) *How to read a film: Movies, Media and Beyond*, 4th edition, New York: Oxford University Press

Moneteith, M. J. (1993) Self-regulation of Prejudiced Responses: Implications for Progress in Prejudice-eduction Efforts, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol 65(3), Sep 1993, pp: 469-485

Morreale, J. (2003) *Critiquing the Sitcom: A Reader*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press

Monteith, M. (1993) Self-regulation of Prejudiced Responses: Implications for Progress in Prejudice- reduction Efforts., in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65:* 469-485.

Morrison, T. G. & Halton, M. (2009) Buff, Tough, and Rough: Representation of Muscularity in Action Motion Pictures, in *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 17(1): 57-75

Mouw, T. & Xie, Y. (1999) Bilingualism and the Academic Achievement of First- and Second-Generation Asian Americans: Accommodation with or without Assimilation? in *American Sociological Review*, 64(2): 232-252

Mullen, B. & Johnson, C. (1990) Distinctiveness–based Illusory Correlations and Stereotyping: A Meta–analytic Integration, in *1990 The British Psychological Society*

Myles, J. & Hou, F. (2004) Changing Colors: Spatial Assimilation and New Racial Minority Immigrants, The *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 29(1): 29-58

Nakayama, T. K. (1994) Show/down Time: 'Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Popular Culture', in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 11(2): 162-179

Negra, D. (2009), *What a Girl Wants? Fantasising the Reclamation of Self in Postfeminism*, London: Routledge

Nelson, T. D. (2009) *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination,* Hove: Psychology Press

Neuman, W. L. (2003) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches,* Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon

Newman, J. (2007) *Fictions of America: Narratives of Global Empire,* London: Routledge

Ng, J. C., Lee, S. S. & Pak, Y. K. (2007) Contesting the Model Minority and Perpetual Foreigner Stereotypes: A Critical Review of Literature on Asian Americans in Education, in *Review of Research in Education*, vol 31: 95-130

Nitins, T. (2011) A Boy and His Toys: Technology and Gadgetry in the James Bond Film Series, in Weiner, R. G., Whitfield, B. L. & Becker, J. (ed.) *James Bond in World and Popular Culture: The films are Not Enough*, 2nd Edition, Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp: 454-467

Noelle-Neunann, E (1984) *The Spirul of Silence: Public Opinion-Our Sociul Skin,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Offen, K. (1988) Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach, in *Signs*, Vol. 14 (1): 119-157

Okihiro, G. Y. (1994) *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture,* Seattle: University of Washington Press

Olson, D. H. & J. DeFrain. (2003) *Marriage and Family: Intimacy, Diversity and Strengths*, 4th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill

Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1994) *Racial Formation in the United States: From 1960s to 1990s,* London: Psychology Press

Ono K. A. & Pham, V. N. (2009) *Asian Americans and the Media*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Ono, K. A. & Buescher, D. T. (1996) Civilised Colonialism: Pocahontas as Neocolonial Rhetoric, in *Women's Studies in Communication*, 19(2): 127-153

Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J. & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1957) *The measurement of meaning*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Orgad, S. & Seu, B. (2014) Intimacy at a Distance in Humanitarian communications, in *Media, Culture and Society*, 36 (7): 916-934

Orr, C. M. (1997, Charting the Currents of the Third Wave, in *Hypatia*, 12(3): 29-45

Ortiz, M. & Harwood, J. (2007) A Social Cognitive Theory Approach to the Effects of Mediated Intergroup Contact on Intergroup Attitudes, in *Journal of Broadcasting of Electronic Media*, 51(4): 615-631

Osajima, K. (1993) The Hidden Injuries of Race, in L.A. Levilla, G. M. Nomura, S. Wong & S. Hune (eds.) *Bearing Dreams, Shaping Visions: Asian Pacific American Perspective*, pp: 81-91, Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press

Osajima, K. (2000) Asian American as the Model Minority: An Analysis of the Popular Press Image in the 1960s and 1980s. in M. Zhou & J. Gatewood (eds.) *Contemporary Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader*, pp: 449-458, New York: New York University Press

Oumano, E. (1985) *Film Forum: Thirty-five Top Filmmakers Discuss their Craft*, New York: St Martins Press

Owen, J. J., Wong, Y. J., Tran, K. K. & Higgins, C. E., (2012) Asian American Male College Students' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes About Asian American Men, in *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 13(1): 75-88

Oyserman, D. & Sakamoto, I. (1997) Being Asian American: Identity, Cultural Constructs, and Stereotype Perception, in *The Journal of Applied Behavioral* Science, 33: 435-453

Oxnam, R. B. (1986) Why Asian Succeed Here, in *New York Times Magazine*, pp: 89-92

Paek, H. J., and Shah, H., (2003) Racial Ideology, Model Minorities, and the 'Not-So-Silent Partner': Stereotyping of Asian Americans in US Magazine Advertising, in *Howard Journal of Communication*, 14(4):225-243

Habell-Pallan, M., and Romero, M., (2002) *Latino/a Popular Culture*, New York: New York University Press

Park-Taylor, J., Ng, V. V., Kang, A. E., Morris, C. R., Gilbert, T., Srivastava, D., and Androsiglio, R. A., (2008) What it means to be and feel like a 'true' American: perceptions and experiences of second-generation Americans, in *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol*, 14(2):128-137

Parrott, S. & Titcomb Parrott, C. T. (2015a), U.S. television's 'mean world' for Caucasian women: The portrayal of gender and race on fictional crime dramas, *Sex Roles*, 73, 70-82.

Parrott, S., & Parrott, C. T. (2015b), Law & disorder: The portrayal of mental illness in U.S. crime dramas, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 59(4), 640-657.

Peeters, G. (2002). From good and bad to can and must: Subjective necessity of acts associated with positively and negatively valued stimuli. in *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32: 125-136.

Peffley, M., Hurwitz, J., & Sniderman, P. M. (1997). Racial stereotypes and whites' political views of blacks in the context of welfare and crime. *American Journal of Political Science, 41*(1), 30-60.

Peffley, M., Shields, T., & Williams, B. (1996). The intersection of race and crime in television news stories: An experimental study. Political Communication, 13, 309-327.

Perdue, C. W., Dovidio, J. F., Gurtman, M. B., and Tyler, R. B. (1990). Us and them: Social categorization and the process of intergroup bias, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(3), 475-486

Peterson, C. (2006), *A primer in positive psychology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Piehl, D. & Ruppel, R. (1994). Primetime's Hidden Agenda: The Anti-Asian Bias of American Television. in *A Gathering of Voices on the Asian American Experience*. Fort Atkinson, WI: Highsmith Press, pp. 179-185

Pikering, S., (2001), Common Sense and Original Deviancy: News Discourses and Asylum Seekers in Australia, in *Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 14, No. 2,* pp 169-186

Pink S. (2007), *Doing Visual Ethnography*, London: Sage.

Pink, S. (ed.) (2007) *Visual Interventions: Applied Visual Anthropology*, Oxford: Berghahn.

Plantinga, C. (1999), The scene of empathy and the human face on film, in Carl Plantinga & Greg M. Smith (ed.), *Passionate views: Film cognition, and emotion*, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.

Plantinga, C. (2009), *Moving viewers: American film and the spectator's experience*, Berkeley: University of California press.

Platt, S. (1992), Casualties of war, *New Statesman and society*, 4(139), 12-13.

Potter, G.W., and Kappeler, V. E. (1996). *Constructing crime: Perspectives on making news and social problems*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Portes, A., and Schauffler, R., (1994) Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday

and Today, in *International Migration Review*, 28(4): 640-61

Prasso, S. (2005). *The Asian mystique: Dragon ladies, geisha girls, & our fantasies of the exotic Orient.* New York: Public Affairs.

Press, A. (2009a), Gender and Family in Televisions Golden Age and Beyond, in The annals of the *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 65, pp 139-150

Press, A. (2009b), Gender and Family in Televisions Golden Age and Beyondm in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 625, *The End of Television? Its Impact on the World (So Far)* pp. 139-150

Press, A., and Cole, E. R. (1999) Speaking of abortion. Television and authority in the lives of women, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Quattrone, G. A., and Tversky, A., (1986) Self-deception and the Voter's Illusion, in Elster (Edi), *The Multiple Self,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp: 35-58

Radvansky, G. A., Spieler, D. H. & Zacks, R. T. (1993) Mental Model Organization, *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 19*(1): 95-114

Rampton, M. (2008) Four Waves of Feminism, in *Pacific Magazine*, Fall, 2008

Ramasubramanian, S. (2010) Television Viewing, Racial Attitudes, and Policy Preferences: Exploring the Role of Social Identity and Intergroup Emotions in Influencing Support for Affirmative Action, in *Communication Monographs*, 77(1): 102-120

Reeves, B. & Nass, C. (1996) *The Media Equation: How People Treat Computers, Television, and New Media Like Real People and Places*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Rice, S. A. (1926) 'Stereotypes: A Source of Error in Judging Human Character', Journal of *Personality Research 5*, (1926/1927): 267-276

Rhineberger-Dunn, Rader, N. E. & Williams, K. D. (2008) Constructing Juvenile Delinquency through Crime Drama: A Historical Analysis of Law & Order. in *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 15(1): 94-116

Rohmer, S. (1913) *The Mystery of Dr. Fu-Manchu*, London: Methuem

Rohmer, S. (1972) Master of Villainy, London: Tom Stacey Ltd.

Rohrlick, J., Alvarado, D., Zaruba, K. & Kallio, R. (1998) From the Model Minority to the Invisible Minority: Asian & Pacific American Students in Higher Education Research, *AIR 1998 Annual Forum Paper*

Romer, C. D. & Romer, D. H. (1998) Monetary Policy and the Well-Being of the Poor, in *Economic Review,* Issue Q1: 21-49

Rose, G. (2001) *Visual Methodology: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, London: Sage

Rose, S. (2017) *Ghost in the Shell's whitewashing: does Hollywood have an Asian problem? The Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/mar/31/ghost-in-the-shells-whitewashing-doeshollywood-have-an-asian-problem, retrieved April 2017

Rothbart M. (1981) Memory Processes and Social Beliefs, in D. L. Hamilton (ed.) *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behaviour*, Hillsdale: NJ: Erlbaum, pp: 145-81

Rothbart, M, Dawes, R & Park, B. (1984) Stereotyping and Sampling Biases in Intergroup Perception, in J. R. Eiser (ed.) *Attitude Judgment*, New York: Springer-Verlag, pp: 109-34

Rudman, L. A. & Borgida, E. (1995) The Afterglow of Construct Accessibility: The Behavioural Consequences of Priming Men to View Women as Sexual Objects, in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31(6): 495-517

Ruscher, J. B. (1998) Prejudice and Stereotyping in Everyday Communication, in M. P. Zanna (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, San Diego: Academic, Vol. 30, pp: 251-307

Ruscher, J. B. (2001) *Prejudiced Communications: A Social Psychological Perspective,* New York: Guilford Press

Ruti, M. (2016) *Feminist Film Theory and Pretty Woman*, London: Bloomsbury

Ryan, C. S., Judd, C. M. & Park, B. (1996) Effects of Racial Stereotypes on Judgments of Individuals: The Moderating Role of Perceived Group Variability, in J*ournal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 32: 71-103

Sabine, M. A. (2013) *Veiled Desires: Intimate Portrayals of Nuns in Postwar Anglo-American Film,* New York: Fordham University Press

Said, E. W. (1978) *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books

Said, E. W. (1997) *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World,* NY: Vintage Books

Salinas, M. F. (2003) The Politics of Stereotypes: Psychology and Affirmative Action, London: Praeger Publishers

Sartre, J. P. (1943) *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, London: Routledge

Saville-Troike, M. (1982) *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell

Scannel, P. (1989) *'Public service broadcasting and modern public life', Media, Culture and Society*, 11: 135-66

Scannel, P. (ed.) (1991) *Broadcast Talk*, London: Sage

Scannel, P. (1996) *Radio, Television and Modern Life*, Oxford: Blackwell

Schaefer, R. T. (1990) *Racial and Ethnic Groups*, Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman Co.

Schaller, M. & Maass, A. (1989) Illusory Correlation and Social Categorization: Toward an Integration of Motivational and Cognitive Factors in Stereotype Formation, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*(5): 709-721

Scheufele, D. A. (2000) Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication, in *Mass Communication and Society*, Vol 3, Issue 2-3: 297-316

Schwab, W. A. (2013) *Right to DREAM: Immigration Reform and America's Future*, Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press

Schweinitz, J. (2011) Film and Stereotype: A Challenge for Cinema and Theory, New York: Columbia University Press

Sedikides, C. & Skowronski, J. J. (1991) The Law of Cognitive Structure Activation, in *Psychological Inquiry, 2*(2): 169-184

Sedikides, C. & Skowronski, J. J. (1993) The Self in Impression Formation: Trait Centrality and Social Perception, in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 29: 347-357

Sedikides, C. & Skowronski, J. J. (1995) On the Sources of Self-knowledge: The Perceived Primacy of Self-reflection, in *Journal of Social & Clinical Psychology*, 14: 244-270

Sedikides, C. & Skowronski, J. J. (1997) The Symbolic Self in Evolutionary Context, in *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 1: 80-102.

Sears, D. O. (1988) Symbolic Racism, in P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (eds.), *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy* (pp. 53-84), New York:Plenum

Sears, D. O., Henry, P. J. & Kosterman, R. (2000) Egalitarian Values and Contemporary Racial Politics, in D. O. Sears, J. Sidanius & L. Bobo (eds.), *Radicalised Politics: Values, Ideology, and Prejudice in American Public Opinion* (pp. 75-117), Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Segal, L. (1990) *Slow Motion*, London: Virago

Seldes, G. (1952) *Writing on Television*, NY: Doubleday

Silverstone, R. (1981) *The Message of Television: Myth and Narrative in Contemporary Culture.* London: Heinemann

Silverstone, R. (1994). *Television and Everyday Life.* London: Routledge

Silverstone, R. (1999) *Why study the media?* London: Sage

Shanahan, J., Signorielli, N. & Morgan, M. (2008) Television and Sex Roles 30 Years Hence: A

Retrospective and Current Look From a Cultural Indicators Perspective, conference Papers - *International Communication Association,* pp: 1-26

Sherman, L. W., Gartin, P. R. & Buerger, M. E. (1989) Hot Spots of Predatory Crime: Routine Activities and the Criminology of Place, in *Criminology*, 27(1): 27-56

Sherman, S. J., Mackie, D. M. & Driscoll, D. M. (1990). Priming and the Differential Use of Dimensions in Evaluation, in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 16(3): 405-418

Shiappa, E., Allen, M. & Gregg, P. (2004) Para-social Relationships and Television: A Meta Analysis of the Effects, in Preiss et. al., (ed.) *Mass Media Effects Research: Advanced through Meta-Analysis*, London: LEA

Shinizu, C. P., (2007) The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian American women on screen and scene, Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Shoat, E. & Stam, R. (1994) *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, London: Routledge

Shohat, E., Mufti, A. & McClintock, A. (1997) *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Shuck (1972) *Racist Love,* in Richard Kostelanetz (ed.), New York: Ballantime, 1972, pp: 65-79

Smith, E. R. & Zárate, M. A. (1992) Exemplar-based Model of Social Judgment, in *Psychological Review, 99*(1): 3-21.

Smith, S. L. (2008a) *Gender Oppression in Cinematic Content? A Look at Females On-Screen & Behind-the-Camera in Top-Grossing 2007 Films*, available at https://annenberg.usc.edu/sites/default/files/MDSCI_%20Gender_Inequality_in_TopGrossing_Films_2007.pdf, retrieved June 2016

Smith, S. L. (2008b) Gender Stereotypes: An Analysis of Popular Films and TV, presented in *The Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media Conference 2008*, available at https://seejane.org/wp-content/uploads/GDIGM_Gender_Stereotypes.pdf, retrieved Jan 2016

Smith, N. M. (2016) *Matt Damon and The Great Wall: the Latest Targets of Whitewashing on Film, The Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jul/29/matt-damon-the-great-wallwhitewashing-white-actor, retrieved Feb 2017

Smith, S. L., Choueiti, M. & Pieper, K. (2014) *Gender Inequality in Popular Films: Examining On Screen Portrayals and Behind-the-Scenes Employment Patterns in Motion Pictures Released between 2007-2013*, available at https://annenberg.usc.edu/sites/default/files/MDSCI_Gender-_Inequality_in_600_films.pdf, retrieved June 2016

Smith, S., Choueiti, M. & Pieper, K. (2016) *Inequality in 800 Popular Films: Examining Portrayals of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, LGBT, and Disability from 2007-2015*, available at http://annenberg.usc.edu/pages/~/media/MDSCI/Dr%20Stacy%20L%20Smith%20Inequality%20in%20800%20-Films%20FINAL.ashx, page 17, retrieved Feb 2017.

Sniderman, P. M., Piazza, T., Tetlock, P. E. & Kendrick, A. (1991) The New Racism, *American Journal of Political Science,* 35: 423-447

Sniderman, P. M. & Piazza, T. (1993) *The Scar of Race*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Sniderman, P. M., Crosby, G. C. & Howell, W. G. (2000) The Politics of Race, in D. O. Sears, J. Sidanius & L. Bobo (eds.), *Radicalised Politics: Values, Ideology, and Prejudice in American Public Opinion* (pp. 236- 279), Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Sniderman, P. M. & Carmines, E. G. (1997) *Reaching Beyond Race*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Snyder, M. (1992) Motivational Foundations of Behavioural Confirmation, in Advances, in *Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol 25: 67-114

Soister, J. (2004) *Up From the Vault: Rare Thrillers of the 1920s and 1930s*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishing

Sood, G. & Trielli, D. (2017) *The Face of Crime in Prime Time: Evidence from Law and Order*, available athttps://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2856766, retrieved May 2017

Stadler, J. & McWilliam, K. (2009) *Screen Media: Analysing Film and Television*, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin

Stern, B. B. & Taylor, C. R. (1997) Asian-Americans: Television Advertising and the 'Model minority' Stereotype, in *Journal of Advertising,* 26(2): 47-61

Stephan, W. G. & Stephan C. W. (1994) Predicting Prejudice, in *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 20, Issue 3-4, pp: 409-426

Stevens, G., Mckillip, M. E. & Ishizawa, H. (2006) Intermarriage in the Second Generation: Choosing between Newcomers and Natives, available at https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/intermarriage-second-generation-choosing-between-newcomers-and-natives, retrieved June 2017

Stroessner, S. J., Hamilton, D. & Mackie, D. (1992) The Influence of Affect on Stereotyping: The Case of Illusory Correlations, in D. Mackie and D. Hamilton (Edi) *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, pp: 39-61

Stubbs, M. (1997) Whorf's Children: Critical Comments on Critical Discourse Analysis, In A. Ryan & A. Wray (eds.), *Evolving models of language*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp: 100-116

Tachiki, A. (1971) *Roots: An Asian American Reader,* LA: University of California Press

Tajima, R. E. (1989) Lotus Blossoms Don't Bleed: Images of Asian Women, in D. Y. Wong (ed.) *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and About Asian American Women*, pp: 308-317, Boston: Beacon

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979) An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, in W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33-47), Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1986) The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behaviour, in S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7-24), Chicago, IL: Nelson

Tajfel, H. & Wilkes, A. L. (1963) Classification and Quantitative Judgement, in *British Journal of Psychology*, 54 (2): 101-114

Takaki, S., Tominaga, A., Hitoshi, Y., Mita, S., Sonoda, E., Yamaguchi, N. & Takatsu, K., (1990) Molecular Cloning and Expression of the Murine Interleukin Receptor, in *The EMBO Journal*, 9(13): 4367-4374

Tang, M. (2007) Psychological Effects on Being Perceived as a 'Model Minority' for Asian Americans, *New Waves Journal of Educational Research and Development*, 11(3): 11-16

Teasley, A. B. & Wilder, A. (1996) *Reel Conversations: Reading Films with Young Adults*, Portsmouth, NH: Boynton Cook Publishers

Tenorio, E. H. (2011) Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview, in *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 10(1): 183-207

The Great Wall (2016), Box Office Mojo, available at http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=greatwall.htm, retrieved April 2017

The Great Wall Reviews (2017), Metacritic, available at http://www.metacritic.com/movie/the-great-wall, retrieved March 2017

The Great Wall Reviews (2017), Rotten Tomatoes, available at https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/ the_great_wall_2017, retrieved March 2017

Tolenino, K. (1999) Lucy Liu: My Girl from *Ally McBeal*, in *RealizAsian: Journal of Umass AASA*, 5(3)

Toupin, E. S. W. & Son, L., (1991) Preliminary Findings on Asian Americans: 'The Model Minority' in a Small Private East Coast College, in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 22(3): 403-417

Thompson, J. B. (1995) *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media,* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press

Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture*, London: Sage

Tsui, C. (2017) The Great Wall (Chang Cheng): Film Review, *The Hollywood Reporter*, available at http:// www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/great-wall-review-956341, retrieved April 2017

Tung, L. L. (2006) Images of Asians and Asian-Americans: The Under-representation and Misrepresentation of Asians and Asian-American on American Television, in *Intercultural Communication Studies*, XV: 1

Turner, J. C. (1981) The Experimental Social Psychology of Intergroup Behavior, In J. Turner & H. Giles (eds.), *Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 66-101), Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Turner, J. C. & Oaks, P. J. (1986) The Significance of the Social Identity Concept for Social Psychology with Reference to Individualism, Interactionism, and Social Influence, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25: 237-252

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D. & Wetherell, M. S. (1987) *Rediscovering the Social group: A Self-categorization theory*, Basil Blackwell

Turner, J. C. & Reynolds, K. J. (2003) The Social Identity Perspective in Intergroup Relations: Theories, Themes, and Controversies, in R. Brown & S. Gaertner (eds.), *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes* (pp. 133-152), Malden, MA: Blackwell

Ty, E. (1996) Exoticism Repositioned: Old and New World Pleasures in Wang's Joy Luck Club and Lee's Eat Drink Man Woman, in Smith, L. & Rieder, J. (eds.) *Literary Studies East and West: Changing Representations of Minorities East and West*, Vol. 11, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp: 59-74

Tylor, P. (2014) *The Next America: Boomers, Millennials, and the Looming Generational Showdown,* Published by Public Affairs, New York

Van Dijk, T.A. & Kintsch, W. (1983), *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*, New York: Academic Press

Van Dijk, T.A. (1984) *Prejudice in Discourse*, Amsterdam: Benjamins

Van Dijk, T.A. (1987a) *Communicating Racism*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Van Dijk, T.A. (1987b) Episodic Models in Discourse Processing, in R. Horowitz & S. J. Samuels (eds.) *Comprehending Oral and Written Language*, pp: 161-96, New York: Academic Press

Van Dijk, T.A. (1989a) Social Cognition and Discourse, in H. Giles & R.P. Robinson (eds.) *Handbook of Social Psychology and Language*, pp: 163-83, Chichester: Wiley

Van Dijk, T.A. (1989b) Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power, in J.A. Anderson (ed.) *Communication Yearbook 12*, pp: 18-59, Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991) *Racism and the Press*, London: Routledge

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993a) *Elite Discourse and Racism*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993b) Discourse, Power and Access, in C.R. Caldas (ed.) *Studies in Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Routledge

Van Dijk, T. A. (2000) New Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach, in Cottle, S. (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, Buckingham: Open University Press, pp: 33-49

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis, In Tannen, D., et al. (ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, pp: 352-371, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Van Leeuwen, T. & Jewitt, T. (2001) *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London: Sage

Van Leeuwen, T. & Kress, G. R. (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, London: Routledge

Van Newkirk, R. H. (2006) *Third Wave Feminist History and the Politics of Being Visible and Being Real*, Thesis, Georgia State University, available at http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/wsi_theses/1, retrieved January 2018

Verschueren, J. (2001) Predicaments of criticism, in *Critique of Anthropology*,21.1: 59-81

Verschueren, J. (2011) *Ideology in Language Use: Pragmatic Guidelines for Empirical Eesearch*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Villapando, B. (1989) The Business of Selling Mail-order Brides, in Asian Women United of California (ed.) *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and About Asian American Women* (pp. 318-326), Boston: Beacon

Viviano, F. (1989) When Success is a Family Prize, *San Francisco Examiner, This World Section*, Oct 8, pp: 7-8

Vukovich, D. F., (2012) China and Orientalism: Western knowledge production and the P. R. C., London: Routlege

Walker, R. (1992) Becoming the Third Wave, in *Ms. January* 1992, pp: 39-41

Wang, Y. (2004) Performing Race, Negotiating Identity: Asian American Professional Actors in Hollywood, in Lee & Zhou (eds.) *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity,* NY: Routledge, pp: 251-268

Weitzer, R. & Kubrin, C.E. (2004) Breaking news: How Local TV News and Real World Conditions Affect Fear of Crime, in *Justice Quarterly,* 21: 497-520

Widdowson, H.G. (1995) Norman Fairclough: "Discourse and Social Change" (Book Review), *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 510-516

Widdowson, H.G. (2004) *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis.* London: Blackwell Publishing

Wheeler, S. C. & Petty, R. E. (2001) The Effects of Stereotype Activation on Behavior: A Review of Possible Mechanisms, in *Psychol Bull*, Nov, 127 (6): 797-826

Whitley, B. E. & Kite, M. E. (2010) The Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination, 2nd edition, Belmont: Wadsworth

White, M. (1992) Ideological Analysis and Television, in Allen, R. (ed.) *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled*, London: Routledge

White, P., White M. & Young, P. (1988) *Australia's Relations with Asia*, McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Widdowson, H. (1998) The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis, in *Applied Linguistics* 19.1: 136-151.

Widdowson, H. (1996) Reply to Fairclough. Discourse and Interpretation, Conjectures and Refutations. in *Language and Literature*,5.1: 57-69

Widdowson, H. (2004) *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis,* Oxford: Blackwell

Williams, R. (1989) *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings,* Toronto: Between the Lines Press

Wilson, C. C., Gutierrez, F. & Chao, L. (2012) *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: Multicultural Issues Into the New Communications Age*, London: Sage

Wilson, E. (2005) A Quick Reminder: The Beauty Myth, in *The Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/books/2005/oct/18/classics.shopping, retrieved January 2018.

Wodak, R. & Ludwig, C. (1999) *Challenges in a Changing World: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*, Wien: Passagen-Verl

Wing, J. Y. (2007) Beyond Black and White: The Model Minority Myth and the Invisibility of Asian American Students, in *The Urban Review*, 39: 455-487

Wodak, R. & Ludwig, C. (1999) Challenges in a Changing World: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis, Wien: Passagen-Verl

Wodak, R. (1986) *Language Behavior in Therapy Groups*, Los Angeles: University of California Press

Wodak, R. (1996) *Disorders of Discourse*, London: Longman

Wodak, R. (2001) The Discourse-historical Approach, in R. Wodak & M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage, pp: 63-95

Wodak, R. (2007) Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis: A Cross-disciplinary Enquiry. *Prag-

matics and Cognition, 15.1: 203-225

Wodak, R. (2011) Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, in J. Östman, P. Ledin, & J. Verschueren (eds.), *Discursive Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp: 50- 69

Wodak, R. & Chilton, P. (ed.) (2005) *A New Agenda in Critical Discourse Analysis: Discourse Approaches to Politics*, Society and Culture Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Wolf, N. (1991) *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used Against Women*, London: Vintage Books

Wolf, N. (1993) *Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How it Will Change the 21st Century*, New York: Random House

Wolf, N. (1997) *Promiscuities: A Secret Sistory of Female Desire*, London: Chatto & Windus

Woll, A. L. & Miller, R. M. (1987) *Ethnic and Racial Images in American Film and Television: Historical Essays and Bibliography*, New York: Garland

Wooffitt, R. (2005) *Conversation Analysis & Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*, London: Sage

Wong, E. F. (1978) *On Visual Media Racism: Asians in the American Motion Pictures,* New York: Arno Press

Wong, F. & Halgin, R. (2006) The 'Model Minority': Bane or Blessing for Asian Americans? in *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*, 34(1): 38-49

Wong, K. S. & Chan, S. (1998) *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities During the Exclusion Era*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Wong, J. C. (2016) Asian Americans Decry 'Whitewashed' Great Wall film starring Matt Damon, The Guardian, available at https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jul/29/the-great-wall-china-film-matt-damonwhitewashed, retrieved Feb 2017.

Wong, P. & Nagasawa, R. (1991) Asian American Scientists and Engineers: Is There a Glass Ceiling for Career Advancement? *Chinese American Forum*, 6: 307-338.

Wong, P, Lai C.F., Nagasawa, R. & Lin, T. (1998) Asian Americans as a Model Minority: Self- Perceptions and Perceptions by Other Racial Groups, *Sociological Perspectives*, 41(1): 95-118

Wu, W. F. (1982) *The Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Fiction 1850-1940*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books

Wu, H. D. (1996) An Enduring Schema: The Image of the Chinese in American Prime Time Television Dramas, in *Gazzette,* 58:69-86

Wu, F. (2002) *Yellow: Race in America beyond Black and White*, New York: Basic Books

Xie, X., J. DeFrain, W. Meredith & R. Combs. (1996) Family Strengths as Perceived by University Students and Government Employees in the People's Republic of China, *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 26: 17-27

Xing, J. (2009) Cinematic Asian Representation, in Friedman, J. C. (ed.) *Performing Difference: Representations of 'The Other' in Film and Theatre*, Lanham: University Press of America

Yang, K. Y. (2004) Southeast Asian American Children: Not the 'Model Minority', in *Future of Children*, 14(2): 127-133

Ying, Y. W., Lee, P. A. & Tsai, J. L. (2001) Cultural Predictors of Self-esteem: A Study of Chinese American Female and Male Young Adults, in *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol*, 7(3): 284-297

Young, L. & Harrison, C. (2003) *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Studies in Social Change,* London: Continuum

Yzerbyt, V., Schadron, G. Leyens, J. & Rocher, S. (1994) Social Judgeability: The Impact of Meta-information Cues on the Use of Stereotypes, in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 66: 48-55

Ziegert, S. (2006) *Global Spaces of Chinese Culture: Diasporic Chinese Communities in the United States and Germany*, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis

Zhang, Q. (2010) Asian Americans Beyond the Model Minority Stereotype: The Nerdy and the Left out, Journal of *International and Intercultural Communication*, 3: 20-37

Zhou, M. (1997) Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation, in *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 975-1008

Zuckerman, D. M., Singer, D. G. & Singer, J. L. (1980) Children's Television Viewing, Racial and Sex−Role Attitudes, in J*ournal of Applied Social Psychology*, 10(4): 281-294

FILMOGRAPHY

Bones, 2005 – 2017, [television series] FOX

Fresh Off the Boat, 2015–today, [television series] ABC

Madam Secretary, 2014–today, [television series] CBS

The Night Shift, 2014–today, [television series] NBC

Elementary, 2012–today, [television series] CBS

The Closer, 2005-2012, [television series] TNT

Major Crimes, 2012–2018, [television series] TNT

Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D., 2013–today, [television series] ABC

Dragon Seed, 1944, [film] Harold S. Bucquet, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

The Inn of the Sixth Happiness, 1958, [film] Mark Robson, 20th Century Fox

Dr. No, 1962, [film] Terence Young, Eon Productions

The World of Susie Wong, 1960, [film] Richard Quine, World Enterprises

The Return of Dr. Fu Manchu, 1930, [film] Rowland V. Lee, Paramount Pictures

The Mask of Dr. Fu Manchu, 1932, [film] Charles Brabin, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

The Drum of Fu Manchu, [film] John English, William Witney, Republic Pictures Corporation

House Without a Key, 1926, [film] Spencer Gordon Bennet, Pathé Exchange

Bachelor *Father,* 1957-1962, [television series] CBS, NBC, & ABC

Bonanza 1959-1973, [television series] NBC

Thirty Seconds in Tokyo, 1944, [film] Mervyn LeRoy, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

Stage Door Canteen, 1943, [film] Frank Borzage, Sol Lesser Productions

Goldfinger,1964, [film] Guy Hamilton, Eon Productions

You Only Live Twice, 1967, [film] Lewis Gilbert, Eon Productions

Fists of Fury, 1971, [film] Wei Lo, Golden Harvest Company

Way of the Dragon, 1972, [film] Bruce Lee, Golden Harvest Company

Enter the Dragon, 1973, [film] Robert Clouse, Warner Bros

Saturday Night at the Movies, 1961–1978, [television series] NBC

Sunday Night Movies, 1964–1995, [television series] ABC

Will and Grace, 1998 – today, [television series] NBC

Desperate Housewives, 2004-2012, [television series] ABC

Glee, 2009–2015, [television series] FOX

Awkward, 2011–2016, [television series] MTV

The Blacklist, 2013–today, [television series] NBC

Prison Break, 2015–2017, [television series] FOX

24, 2001–2010, [television series] FOX

Grimm, 2011–2017, [television series] NBC

The Mentalist, 2008–2015, [television series] CBS

Unforgettable, 2011-2016, [television series] CBS

CSI Las Vegas, 2000–2015, [television series] CBS

Law & Order: Special Victims Unit, 1999–today, [television series] NBC

Rizzoli & Isles, 2010-2016, [television series] TNT

House of Cards, 2013–2018, [television series] Netflix

Scorpion, 2014-2018, [television series] CBS

Selfie, 2014, [television series] ABC

Cashmere Mafia, 2008, [television series] ABC

The Big Bang Theory, 2007 – today, [television series] CBS

Grey's Anatomy, 2005–today, [television series] ABC

Mr. Robot, 2015–today, [television series] UBS

Seal Team, 2017–today, [television series] CBS

Criminal minds, 2005–today, [television series] CBS

NCIS: Naval Criminal Investigative Service, 2003 today, [television series] CBS

NCIS: Los Angeles, 2009–today, [television series] CBS

Bull, 2016–today, [television series] CBS

NCIS: New Orleans, 2014–today, [television series] CBS

Blue Bloods, 2010–today, [television series] CBS

The Wire, 2002–2008, [television series] HBO

Law & Order, 1990–2010, [television series] NBC

Law & Order: Criminal Intent, 2001– 011, [television series] NBC

Body of Proof, 2011–2013, [television series] ABC

ER, 1994–2009, [television series] NBC

City Hospital, 1951–1953, [television series] CBS

General Hospital, 1963, [television series] ABC

House M.D., 2004–2012, [television series] FOX

Private Practice, 2007–2013, [television series] ABC

Chicago Med, 2015-today, [television series] NBC

Code Black, 2015–today, [television series] CBS

The Walking Dead, 2010–today, [television series] AMC

The Good Doctor, 2017–today, [television series] ABC

Sex and the City, 1998-2004, [television series] HBO

Ally McBeal, 1997-2002, [television series] FOX

Charlie's Angels, 2000, [film] McG, Columbia Pictures Corporation

Kill Bill, 2003, [film] Quentin Tarantino, Miramax

Doctor Strange, 2016, [film] Scott Derrickson, Walt Disney Pictures

Ghost in the Shell, 2017, [film] Rupert Sanders, Paramount Pictures

Monday Morning, 2013, [television series] TNT

Castle, 2010 – 2016, [television series] ABC

The Marvellous Mrs. Maisel, 2017 – today, [television series] Amazon Prime

Mom, 2013-today, [television series] CBS

S.W.A.T, 2017-today, [television series] CBS

Chicago P.D., 2014–today, [television series] NBC

The Mystery of Dr Fu Manchu, 1929, [film] Rowland V. Lee, Paramount Pictures

Charlie Chan Carries On, 1931, [film] Hamilton MacFadden, Fox Film Corporation

Kong Fu, 1972–1975, [television series] ABC

Kubo and the Two Strings, 2016, [film] Travis Knight, Laika Entertainment

Lethal Weapon 4, 1998, [film] Richard Donner, Warner Bros.

The Mummy: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor, 2008, Rob Cohen, Universal Pictures

Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle, 2003, [film] McG, Columbia Pictures Corporation

Payback, 1999, [film] Brian Helgeland, Icon Entertainment International

The Year of the Dragon, 1985, [film] Michael Cimino, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

Come see the Paradise, 1990, [film] Alan Parker, 20th Century Fox

Thousand Pieces of Gold, 1991, [film] Nancy Kelly, American Playhouse

How to Get Away with Murder, 2014-today, [television series] ABC

True Detective, 2014-today, [television series] HBO

Scandal, 2012-today, [television series], ABC

9-1-1, 2017–today, [television series] FOX

APPENDIX DR FU MAN-CHU AND DETECTIVE CHARLIE CHAN FIL-MOGRAPHY

Table 11 Dr Fu Man-chu Filmography

Film Title	Year	Leading Actor	Directed by
The Mystery of Dr. Fu Manchu	1923	Harry Agar Lyons	
The Further Mysteries of Dr. Fu Manchu	1924	Harry Agar Lyons	
The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu	1929	Warner Oland	R. V. Lee
The Return of Dr. Fu Manchu	1931	Warner Oland	R. V. Lee
The Mask of Dr. Fu Manchu	1932	Boris Karloff	C. Brabin, C. Vider
Drum of Fu Manchu	1940		W. Witney, J. English
El Otro Fu Manchu	1946		
The Face of Fu Manchu	1965	Christopher Lee	H. A. Towers
The Brides of Fu Manchu	1966	Christopher Lee	H. A. Towers
The Vengeance of Fu Manchu	1967	Christopher Lee	H. A. Towers
The Blood of Fu Manchu	1968	Christopher Lee	H. A. Towers
The Castle of Fu Manchu	1969	Christopher Lee	H. A. Towers
The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu	1980	Peter Sellers	Haggard, P. Sellers, and R. Quine

Table 12 Dr Fu Man-chu Television Series [1]

Series Title	*The Adventure of Dr. Fu Manchu*
Directed by	Franklin Adreon & William Witney
Starring	Glen Gorden as Dr. Fu Manchu, Lester Mathews as Sir Denis Nayland Smith, Clark Howat as Dr. John Petrie
No. of Season	1
No.of Episodes	13
Running Time (per episode)	30 Minutes
Running From	3 September 1958 - 26 November 1956
Production Company	Republic Production Inc., Studio City Television Productions
Broadcasting by	NBC

Table 13 Charlie Chan Series Filmography [2]

Film Title	Year	Starring	Directed by
THE HOUSE WITHOUT A KEY	1926	GEORGE KUWA	S. G. BENNET
THE CHINESE PARROT	1927	KAMAYAMA SOJIN	P. LENI
BEHIND THE CURTAIN	1929	E. L. PARK	I. CUMMINGS
CHARLIE CHAN CARRIES ON	1931	WARNER OLAND	H. MACFADDEN
ERAN TRACE *	1931	MANUEL ARBO	D. HOWARD
THE BLACK CAMEL	1931	WARNER OLAND	H. MACFADDEN
CHARLIE CHAN'S CHANCE	1932	WARNER OLAND	J. BKYSTONE
CHARLIE CHAN'S GREATEST CASE	1933	WARNER OLAND	H. MACFADDEN
CHARLIE CHAN'S COURAGE	1934	WARNER OLAND	G. HADDEN, E. FORDE
CHARLIE CHAN IN LONDON	1934	WARNER OLAND	E. FORDE
CHARLIE CHAN IN PARIS	1934	WARNER OLAND	L. SEILER
CHARLIE CHAN IN EGYPT	1935	WARNER OLAND	L.KING
CHARLIE CHAN IN SHANGHAI	1935	WARNER OLAND	J. TINLING

CHARLIE CHAN'S SECRET	1936	WARNER OLAND	G.WILES
CHARLIE CHAN AT THE CIRCUS	1936	WARNER OLAND	H. LACHMAN
CHARLIE CHAN AT THE RACE TRACK	1936	WARNER OLAND	H.B. HUMBERSTONE
CHARLIE CHAN AT THE OPERA	1935	WARNER OLAND	H.B. HUMBERSTONE

CHARLIE CHAN AT THE OLYMPICS	1937	WARNER OLAND	H. B. HUMBERSTONE
CHARLIE CHAN ON BROADWAY	1937	WARNER OLAND	EUGENE FORDE
THE DISAPPEARING CORPSE §	1937	XINYUAN XU	XINFU XU
*LA SERPIENTE ROJA**	1937	ANIBAL DE MAR	E. CAPARROS
CHARLIE CHAN AT MONTE CARLO	1937	WARNER OLAND	E. FORDE
CHARLIE CHAN HONOLULU	1938	SIDNEY TOLER	H. B. HUMBERSTONE
THE PEARL TUNIC §	1938	XINYUAN XU	XINFU XU
CHARLIE CHAN IN RENO	1939	SIDNEY TOLER	N. FOSTER
CHARLIE CHAN AT THE TREASURE IS-LAND	1939	SIDNEY TOLER	N. FOSTER
CITY IN DARKNESS	1939	SIDNEY TOLER	H. I. LEEDS
THE RADIO STATION MURDER§	1939	XINYUAN XU	XINFU XU
CHARLIE CHAN 'S MURDER CRUISE	1940	SIDNEY TOLER	E. FORDE
CHARLIE HAN AT THE WAX MUSEMU	1940	SIDNEY TOLER	L. SHROES
CHARLIE CHAN IN PANAMA	1940	SIDNEY TOLER	N. FOSTER
MURDER OVER NRE YORK	1940	SIDNEY TOLER	H. LACHMAN
DEAD MAN TELL	1941	SIDNEY TOLER	H. LACHMAN
CHARLIE CHAN IN RIO	1941	SIDNEY TOLER	H. LACHMAN
CHARLIE CHAN SMASHES AN EVIL POLT §	1941	XINYUAN XU	XINFU XU
CASTLE IN THE DESERT	1942	SIDNEY TOLER	H. LACHMAN
CHARLIE CHAN IN SECRET SERVICE	1944	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
THE CHINESE CAT	1944	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
BALCK MAGIC	1944	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
THE JADE MASK	1945	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
THE RED DRAGON	1945	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
THE SCARLET CLUE	1945	SIDNEY TOLER	P. ROSEN
THE SHANGHAI COBRA	1945	SIDNEY TOLER	P. KARLSON
DANGEROUS MONEY	1946	SIDNEY TOLER	T. O. MORSE

DARK ALIBI	1946	SIDNEY TOLER	P. KARLSON
SHADOWS OVER CHINATOWN	1946	SIDNEY TOLER	T. O. MORSE
THE RTRAP	1946	SIDNEY TOLER	H. BRETHERYON
THE CHINESE RING	1947	ROLAND WINTERS	W. BEAUDINE
DOCKS OF NEW ORLEANS	1948	ROLAND WINTERS	W. BEAUDINE

SHANGHAI CHEST	1948	ROLAND WINTERS	W. BEAUDINE
THE GOLDEN EYE	1948	ROLAND WINTERS	W. BEAUDINE
THE FEATHERED SERPENT	1948	ROLAND WINTERS	W. BEAUDINE
CHARLIE CHAN MATCHES WITS WITH THE PRINCE OF DARKNESS §	1948	XINYUAN XU	XINFU XU
SKY DRAGON	1949	ROLAND WINTERS	L. SELANDER
MYSTERY OF JADE FISH §	1950	YING LEE	YING LEE
EL MONSTRUO EN LA SOMBRA*	1955	ORLANDO RODRIGUEZ	Z. URQUIZA
THE RETURN OF CHARLIE CHAN	1973	ROSS MARTIN	D. DUKE
CHARLIE CHAN AND THE CURSE OF THE FRAGON QUEEN	1981	PETER USTINOV	C. DONNER

* in Spanish

§ in Chinese

Table 14 Charlie Chan Television Series

Series Title	*The New Adventure of Dr. Charlie Chan*
Directed by	Leslie Arliss, Charles Bennet, Don Chaffey, Charles Haas, Alvin Rakoff
Starring	J. Carrol Naish as Charlie Chan
No. of Season	1
No.of Episodes	39
Running Time	25 Minutes
Running From	June 1957 - 26 November 1958
Production Company	Television Programs America
Broadcasting by	Syndication

Notes

[1] Episode List: *The Prisoner of Dr. Fu Manchu* (03/09/1956), *The Golden God of Dr. Fu Manchu* (10/09/1956), *The Secret of Dr. Fu Manchu* (17/09/1956), *The Vengeance of Dr. Fu Manchu* (24/09/1956), *Dr. Fu Manchu, Incorporated* (01/10/1956), *The Plague of Dr. Fu Manchu* (08/10/1956), *The Slave of Dr. Fu Manchu* (15/10/1956), *Dr. Fu Manchu's Raid* (22/10/1956), *The Death Ships of Dr. Fu Manchu* (22/10/1956), *The Counterfeiters of Dr. Fu Manchu* (12/11/1956), *The Satellites of Dr. Fu Manchu* (19/11/1956), and *The Assassins of Dr. Fu Manchu* (26/11/1956). List retrieved from IMDb official website in March 2015.

[2] Information is taken from Charles P. Mitchell's *A Guide to Charlie Chan Films* (1999).

APPENDIX C MAJOR LEGISLATIVE MILESTONES IN U.S. IMMIGRATION HISTORY

Chinese Exclusion Act (1882): Suspends immigration of Chinese labourers for ten years; provides for deportation of Chinese illegally in United States.

Immigration Act of 1891: As first comprehensive law for national control of immigration, establishes Bureau of Immigration under Treasury; directs deportation of aliens unlawfully in country.

Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1924: Imposes first permanent numerical limit on immigrations; establishes national-origin quota system, resulting in bliased admissions favouring northern and western Europeans.

Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1952: Continues national-origins quota and imposes quota for skilled aliens whose services are urgently needed.

Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1965: Repeals national-origins quota system; establishes seven category preference system based on family unification and skills, sets 20,000-per-country limit for Eastern Hemisphere.

Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1976: Extends 20,000-per-country limit immigration to Western Hemisphere.

Refugee Act of 1980: Sets up first permanent and systematic procedure of admitting refugees; removes refugees as a category from preference system; defines refugees according to international, versus ideological, standards; establishes process of domestic resettlement; codifies asylum status.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986: Institutes employer sanctions for knowingly hiring illegal aliens; creates legislation programmes; tightens border enforcement.

Immigration Act of 1990: Increases legal immigration ceilings by 40 percent; triples employment-based immigration, emphasising skills; creates diversity admissions category; establishes temporary protected status for those in the U.S. jeopardised by armed conflict or natural disasters in their native country.

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996: Adversely affects legal and illegal immigrants and refugees; makes legal immigrants ineligible for SSI and food stamps until becoming citizens.

Adapted from M. Fix and J. S. Passel (1995), *Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight*, Washington, DC: Urban Institutes, pp 11