

# Redefinition of Masculinity based on the Aims of Education

Ruijia Shi

University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom

ruijia.shi.20@ucl.ac.uk

**Abstract.** The recent phenomenon of feminization in Chinese adolescent boys, characterized by concerns related to qualities like inferiority, cowardice, and weakness, has gained widespread attention. In response, there have been proposals to bolster the masculinity of young males, chiefly through strategies such as increasing the presence of male educators and emphasizing physical education. This paper engages with the intricate landscape of this issue by investigating the evolving concept of masculinity in contemporary society and the burgeoning acceptance of gender diversity. Furthermore, it conducts a critical examination of the stigmatization of femininity and the contentious use of physical education as a determinant of masculinity. Rooted in the educational aims theory of Michael Reiss and John White, this study analyzes the educational objectives associated with nurturing masculinity among adolescent males. Ultimately, it contends that reducing masculinity to mere physical strength is overly simplistic and advocates for a more nuanced and inclusive approach to promote masculinity among Chinese boys. The study underscores the need for comprehensive deliberation and dialogue among government authorities and educators regarding the delineation and enhancement of masculinity in the context of modern Chinese society.

**Keywords:** Adolescent Masculinity; Feminization; Gender Diversity; Physical Education Policy.

## 1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing focus on the issue of the feminization of adolescent boys in China. In 2020, Si Zefu, a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, emphasized in the proposal that the characteristics of inferiority, cowardice, and weakness are widespread among Chinese teenagers, which are considered to be "feminine" problems for boys (Allen, 2021)[1]. Affected by both the educational environment and the living environment, Si Zefu believes that the Chinese government should improve the masculinity of male adolescents by increasing the proportion of male teachers and strengthen physical education (Allen, 2021).

Since the 21st century, the Chinese government has directed extensive attention towards the perceived "lack of masculinity" among young men (Louie, 2014)[2]. Chinese men have been given higher expectations by their families and society since ancient times. Male teens are expected to demonstrate strong leadership skills, athletic achievements, and academic excellence in subjects such as science and mathematics (Wen, 2021)[3]. In contrast, women in traditional Chinese society have a subterranean status. Girls are often regarded as less intelligent than their male counterparts, with their ability to compete with boys seen as limited (Changying, 2013)[4]. Traditional Chinese philosophy reinforced the perception that women should embody passive, softer attributes, while men should embody more active and robust characteristics (Changying, 2013). However, in contemporary Chinese society, girls have been shown to be more capable than men in many ways. For example, since 2010, more girls than boys have entered university in China, and girls often perform better than boys on many standardized tests (Yang, 2020)[5]. This series of circumstances has sparked debate in Chinese society about whether boys' masculinity is waning.

In fact, the discussion of masculinity and femininity has sparked widespread debate since the last century. However, the concept of masculinity in contemporary society has changed, and people's tolerance for gender diversity is increasing (Kachel, Steffens & Niedlich, 2016)[6]. Contemporary young people are not only pursuing unique personality, but also seeking the expression of their true



self. Whether the pursuit of androgynous style is a loss of masculinity or an expression of individuality still deserves further consideration. The claim to "prevent the feminization of male adolescents" is in fact a stigma against women. Not only this, but the use of physical education as a key measure of masculinity is controversial (Kachel, Steffens & Niedlich, 2016). Therefore, this study will explore the rationale for preventing the feminization of adolescent boys from the aims of education and the rationale for achieving this goal through physical education. To response whether schools should foster masculinity in male adolescents through physical education, this study attempts to introduce Michael Reiss and John White's theory about the aims of education that the education should enable each person to live a life of personal prosperity, and to help others do the same (Reiss & White, 2014) [7]. The essay will start with the definition of masculinity, femininity and feminization, and analyze the relationship between gender temperament and physical education to critique this proposal and policy. Not only that, but it will also provide suggestions for improving the masculinity of male adolescents in school based on the current situation of Chinese society.

## **2. Critique of Policy**

Si Zefu's proposal was widely discussed on Chinese social media. Some social media users believe the proposal stigmatizes women by associating "femininity" with negative traits such as cowardice, timidity, and low self-esteem. At the same time, there are also users who believe that being gentle and emotional is a common human trait, and that it is a stereotype to associate these traits with a specific gender. On the other hand, proponents of this view argue that the feminization of boys has become a social trend, which should be intervened in a timely manner. It is necessary to explore the definitions of masculinity and feminization mentioned in his proposal. Besides, "femininities, masculinities and sexualities" is a key issue in gender and physical education (Flintoff & Scraton, 2016)[8]. The discussion on the relationship between sexual temperament and physical education can provide ideas to whether physical education can increase the masculinity of adolescent boys.

### **2.1. Feminization and Masculinity**

In sociological definitions, feminization refers to the transformation of a social role in an organization, group, or society toward a typical "female" (Rudman, Mescher & Moss-Racusin, 2013) [9]. At the same time, feminization is also used to describe the transformation of something or someone through the adoption of femininity, which is a process of becoming more feminine (Rudman, Mescher & Moss-Racusin, 2013). It can be seen from this that when Si Zefu emphasizes that the appearance of boys' cowardice, inferiority complex and timidity is the "feminization of boys". It actually reflects the discrimination and stigma against women, which means that these negative traits that occur in boys are considered to be typical of women.

Mulvey (1981)[10] argues that both masculinity and femininity can be central to defining others, but should not be an indisputable construct. As fashion marketing campaigns have grown in influence around the world, a single expression of masculinity has even sparked criticism (Patterson & Elliott, 2002)[11]. Men have been given more ways to present themselves. Since the beginning of the century, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and other Asian regions have gradually become popular to show new masculinity through non-traditional dress (Aizura, 2006)[12]. The younger generation of men has undergone significant changes in the form of dress. For example, they started wearing pink shirts, white trousers and even floral ties. Research on gender roles suggests that concepts of masculinity change gradually with social trends and history (Kimmel, 1987)[13].

Cockburn and Clarke (2002)[14] argued that in physical education, girls are required to learn female physical qualities which can be regard as ideal femininity including appearance, presentation and control, while boys are encouraged to develop ideal masculinity like physical strength, aggression and confidence. Historically, western societies have closely integrated orthodox masculinity with sports, which attempted to construct a system of constant struggle (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005)[15]. Fighting to be kings, kings continually defeat boys who try to fight for their place

(Anderson, 2009)[16]. However, as society develops, perceptions of both sexuality and gender have changed dramatically (Clements & Field, 2014)[17]. There has also been a shift in the relationship between sports, education and masculinity (Clements & Field, 2014). Boys today engage in activities and behaviours that were popularity and masculinity. People born in the 1950s to 1980s, especially those in sports-related professions, are more concerned about masculinity and diverse behaviours than contemporary young people view is more orthodox (Anderson & McGuire, 2010)[18].

## **2.2. Hegemonic Masculinity and Chinese Masculinity**

Since the 1990s, feminists have attempted to explore definitions of masculinity (Jackson, 1996)[19]. However, these studies have focused broadly on white working-class or upper-middle classes, which almost never involve Asian boys. Rice et.al (2017)[20] argued that boys' perceptions of masculinity are often shaped by gender, culture and race. Feminists and some research considered that society and history construct masculinity. In a culture, the forms practiced by dominant groups constitute "hegemonic masculinity".

At the same time, other forms of masculinity should be able to coexist with "hegemonic masculinity". This also means that it should be permissible to exploit the diversity of masculinity to develop boys' masculine and personal identities. However, in North America, for example, male heterosexuality, social, economic power, and physicality constitute masculinity. This reflected that women and minorities are dominated by men with hegemonic masculinity. In the study of Wang (2000)[21], it is pointed out that white boys are more dominant than girls or other marginalized masculine men and show their masculinity with aggressive words and actions.

It can be seen that the meaning of masculinity should be diverse, which is often affected by social and cultural differences. Feminist poststructuralism suggests that young people can determine their perceptions and expressions of masculinity in part based on the cultural options available to them (Itulua-Abumere, 2013)[22]. However, in both Asian and Western societies, dominant masculinity will be somewhat men are portrayed as having power over women or other men (Skelton, 2002)[23]. This masculine power is also often seen as manifested in a man's strength and physique.

Not only that, for Chinese men, male responsibility for the family is a major feature of masculinity in Asian cultures. Chinese men tend to think that they should take the main duty for supporting the family. The wife should take care of the family and children at home (Louie, 2002)[24]. Although with the improvement of women's social status, more and more women have the ability to work and earn income. The sense of security, status and pride of the traditional Chinese male group of workers is gradually collapsing in the family (Louie, 2002). But many boys still try to show their masculinity with sexism and aggressive actions towards the opposite sex (Louie, 2002).

## **2.3. Physical Education and Masculinity**

There has long been a very strong link between sports and hegemonic masculinity. In Connell's (1990)[25] definition, hegemonic masculinity is a culturally idealized form of male character that emphasizes competitiveness and tenacity in masculinity, the marginalization of gay men and the subordination of women. Leonard (1998)[26] indicated that movement is a male coming-of-age ritual. Sports can teach boys and men what the dominant concept of masculinity is. At the same time, the historical exclusion of women from sports is widely documented. On the other hand, this series of views only represents the public view of sports and masculinity in Western society.

As mentioned in the Boyd's (2003)[27] study, when Asian boys are asked what kind of men they want to be, their ambitions usually focus on non-sports pursuits. "I want to be more confident; I want to be stronger mentally than physically. I want to have some skills like being a chef." Survey shows Asian boys tend to think strong academic or work skills is a key factor in attaining masculinity, while white boys perceive popularity as a reflection of their masculinity (Boyd, 2003). In research on racial masculinity, the authors emphasize that work ethic and cultural education occupy considerable

proportions in Asian cultures important status, Asian cultures attach less importance to the concept of sports than Western cultures (Shek, 2007)[28].

In fact, Si Zefu's proposal reflects that boys' bodies are gradually becoming as much of a concern as girls', which is a positive transformation. However, the acceptance of athletic ability as a recognized marker of masculinity in Western culture has had an impact on the masculinity of Chinese boys. Boys' participation in sports is influenced by their perceptions of their bodies. This trend will have considerable negative effects on boys who underperform in sports (Tischler & McCaughtry, 2011)[29].

Masculinity should not be defined as a single set of traits or even a specific body type, which should be constructed as a multi-level structure including dominant, subordinate, etc. (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). At the same time, research on masculinity has found, in diverse sports cultures from all over the world, there is not a single definition of what it means to be masculine, nor is there a single way of life for men in gender relations (Connell, 2008)[30]. Different characteristics, constitutions and practices constitutes the masculinity that attains hegemony in any sports culture. Hargreaves and Vertinsky (2007)[31] indicated that, sports or physical education itself may lead to the marginalization of some boys, but the concept of sports culture as a localized discourse and cultural practice, and encouraging students to participate in sports recreation and physical exercise can avoid this marginalization. Exposure to different sports cultures can help young people construct different interpretations and images of masculinity.

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

To explore whether schools should foster masculinity in adolescent boys through physical education, this study attempts to introduce a discussion of the goals of education. There have been various interpretations of the goals of education. According to Wade and Donis (2007) [32], the goal of education is to develop people who are for the benefit and development of the individual, as well as to enable these people to collectively contribute to making the world a better place. McKay et. al (2001) [33] believes that the goal of education is to “lead out the individual nature in every man and woman to its true fullness”. Based on previous discussions on the goal of education, Michael Reiss and John White (2014) argue that the aims can be summed up in two areas, which are to enable each learner to live a life of personal prosperity, and to help others do the same.

#### **3.1. Live a Prosperous Life**

According to Michael et.al (2014), a prosperous life means wholehearted participation in more valuable pursuit of life, including meaningful work, important relationships, enjoying hobbies, and academic research. Everyone should have the autonomy to choose a life that is satisfying to them. Therefore, helping students to participate whole-heartedly, autonomously and successfully in valuable activities, relationships and lives is a core aim of schooling (Michael et.al, 2014).

Clearly, based on Michael et.al (2014), there is a huge gap between the school's mandate to promote masculinity through physical education and the core goals of schooling. The original intention of strengthening physical education in schools is not to help students have fun with physical exercise, but to instill ideological values in them. Exercise has been shown to not be a natural part of human life, which is a reflection of the social institutions that dominate social values and power relations (Messner, 1992) [34]. Since the nineteenth century, the ruling classes in Britain and the United States have used modern sports to control the character development of male children. In Western societies, sports become a means of shaping the character of boys, and boys who are not good at sports are defined as depraved like women, and they are regarded as weak or "nerd".

It can be seen that sports have shown an irreplaceable meaning in the process of adolescent male identity construction. In this environment, students with better academic performance are no longer considered the most respected in campus culture. More and more boys must prove that they are “normal” by achieving better athletic performance. Nixon (2009)[35] has shown in research that when

masculinity is closely related to physical education, the health risks borne by male adolescents during intense sports confrontation are often overlooked. Boys use physical training to make themselves look strong and learn macho moves, manners and speech. But they also admitted that it was a difficult display of their masculinity, involving a deliberate display.

In school education, boys' masculinity should not be judged by their athletic ability. For male teenagers who have no interest in sports or sufficient ability, they might be seen as "abnormal" in physical education that require confrontation (Coakley & Donnelly, 1999)[36]. These teenagers will be labeled as "sissy", "fags" or even "girls" (Messner, 1992). Besides, sports that demonstrate masculinity in boys are usually sports that involve strength and aggression. Therefore, in sports which these features are not obvious, or are mainly characterized by elegance, art, etc., the athletic ability of boys will not be praised (Coakley & Donnelly, 1999). For example, male figure skaters, male dancers, etc. may even become Subject to abuse and ridicule (Mckay et.al, 2000) [37].

It can be seen that, based on Michael et.al (2014)'s interpretation of the aims of education, promoting the masculinity of male adolescents through physical exercise and even specific types of sports violates the educational goal of "helping students pursue a prosperous life". Students should have the right to choose their own hobbies, lifestyles, and things that are meaningful to them. Forcing all adolescent boys to have hegemonic masculinity and requiring them to play specific sports is a denial and neglect of students as autonomous beings.

### **3.2. Helping Others to Personally Flourish with Less Prejudice**

On the other hand, Michael et.al (2014) emphasized that the aim of education is to enable each student to help others to live a fulfilling life, which includes helping students become active citizens of a liberal democratic society and contributing to society through work contribution etc. At the same time, Guisbond and Neill (2004)[38] believes that making people safer, happier, less biased and less neurotic is the goal of education.

However, building the masculinity of male adolescents through physical education partly goes against the aim that education should help children develop virtue and do positive things for society and others on the basis of democracy and equality. In fact, physical education for primary school students originated in the Medieval West. These sports combine with endurance and strength, and even involve physical violence between participants. Contact sports including football, rugby, etc. are thought to help train and build masculinity (Messner, 1992). On the basis of sports hegemony, acceptable masculinity is defined, which is a special kind of masculinity. Masculinity derived from sports shows the superiority of men over women because it is hard, violent and tough. Thus, if physical education is designed to help male adolescents to acquire masculinity as the proposal referred, female adolescents might be excluded from sports.

As mentioned earlier, boys who are not good at or have no interest in sports are labeled as "girls". Not only does this stigmatize these boys, it also highlights the unequal status between women and homosexual men. With age, boys who are prominent in sports may show more pronounced anti-gay and anti-female sentiments. In an analysis of rugby teams by White and Vagi (1990)[39], both individually and group male striptease performances, will lead to condemnation of women and homosexuals. Hardin et.al (2009)[40] believes that the level of homophobia in the sports world is shocking. In such an environment, aggressive and strong men are worshipped as sports heroes, while non-aggressive men are marginalized.

Not only that, but promoting masculinity through physical education prompts boys to realize, within a short period of time, that masculinity is manifested by aggressive, tough behavior. They tend to interpret aggressive behavior as a male norm. Although the idea that masculine self-construction through sport may lead to misogyny and homophobia is still widely debated. However, when young boys immerse themselves in the masculine field of sport, they tend to associate themselves with toughness and violence to avoid being labelled "sissy", which may pose a threat to the safety of others

and is not conducive to the development of good interpersonal relations and the construction of a harmonious society.

#### 4. Discussion

With the increasing influence of entertainment stars in East Asia such as Japan and South Korea in mainland China, stars dressed in neutral styles are sought after by a large number of Chinese teenagers (Louie, 2012) [41]. Meanwhile, Chinese male stars known as "Xiao Xian Rou" are also gaining popularity on social media, which refers to young Chinese male idols (Wen, 2021) who are neatly dressed, with delicate features and fair skin. They wear earrings, rings and other jewelry, and put on exquisite makeup to appear on Chinese screens. In response, the Chinese government is concerned that strong, athletic figures like "army heroes" are no longer male role models for teenagers (Louie, 2012). Therefore, in Chinese society, it is necessary to discuss the "loss of masculinity" of male adolescents caused by the pursuit of male stars with neutral styles. However, simply using physical education to reflect the masculinity of adolescent boys is not rational. At the same time, according to Michael et.al (2014) and other researchers' views on the aims of education, it can be found that increasing the investment in physical education in campuses, to some extent, violates the goals of education. In a survey of physical education programs offered on Chinese secondary school campuses, it was found that common sports include football, volleyball, basketball, badminton and table tennis (Brunette et.al, 2011) [42]. Almost all sports involve aggression and strength. When schools associate participation in these sports with boys' masculinity, which leads children to equate boys' performance in the sports with masculinity. Boys who are good at sports may be sought after by other children, while those who are not good at sports may be left out. This clearly defeats the aims of education.

In fact, opposing a single assessment of masculinity is an idea that government and education departments should promote widely on campuses. At the same time, schools should not measure boys' masculinity by sports performance in physical education, but should use sportsmanship and culture to influence their perception of masculinity (Campbell, Bell & Finney, 2006) [43]. Physical education aimed at enhancing masculinity may also hinder the development of youngsters in poor areas. Basketball, football, table tennis and other sports often require the government and schools to invest a lot of money for venue construction and equipment purchases. For teenagers in remote and impoverished areas, they cannot learn and participate in these sports in depth during their teenage years. As a result, the strong association of these sport-specific abilities with masculinity may lead to discrimination and even marginalization of boys in impoverished areas as adults or when they enter college.

In addition to this, promoting masculinity in boys through aggressive and strength-based sports in school can also be harmful to female adolescents. As mentioned earlier, these movements that require body slam and force are often excluded from women. While boys show their masculinity by playing basketball and football, girls feel "less than boys" and "admiring boys". Boys will see men who are less athletic as "girl-like," which in fact demeans girls. The emphasis on physical strength and aggression also blinds teenagers to the pursuit of intelligence and other beautiful qualities. For example, a boy who can win a game of Go is less popular among children than a boy who can win a game of basketball.

It is necessary for the Chinese government and educators to explore what constitutes the masculinity of Chinese male adolescents, which should not be limited only by restricting male attire, requiring, or even forcing boys to participate in specific sports training. In fact, due to the implementation of the one-child policy by the Chinese government in the last century, most Chinese children born after the 1980s are the only children in their families. They are watched and favored by all their families and are called "little emperors" (Zhang, 2017) [44]. Boys who grew up with excessive domestic doting, were seen as lacking in the ability to take responsibility and deal with setbacks, which was feared as not being masculine enough. Therefore, the cultivation of boys' masculinity should include the improvement of their sense of responsibility, strong will and independent ability, including

cultivating male adolescents' responsibility for the family, taking the initiative to undertake housework, and independently completing study tasks. Besides, in the education of male adolescents, gender bias should be abandoned, and boys should learn to respect women and grow into adults with responsibility, independent personality and other good qualities.

## 5. Conclusion

In the current Chinese society, it is not uncommon for adolescent boys to be influenced by East Asian pop culture and occasionally become somewhat pampered within their families, potentially affecting their perception of masculinity. It is important to note that promoting masculinity in these boys should not be seen as opposing the idea of preventing their feminization. This means that certain negative traits, like low self-esteem and timidity in some boys, should not be solely attributed to the influence of feminine characteristics. In addition, the traditional belief that Chinese men are inherently stronger, wiser, and more suited to leadership compared to women is no longer applicable in today's society. Furthermore, efforts to enhance masculinity in adolescent boys should not rely solely on increasing physical education. Defining masculinity primarily in terms of physical strength and aggression, especially in sports, can hinder broader educational goals and neglect the preferences of boys who are not interested in aggressive sports. This emphasis on physical strength may also lead to gender-based inequalities and negatively affect girls in educational settings. For these reasons, it is our position that Si Zefu's proposal should not be endorsed by the Chinese government. The concept of genuine masculinity and the means to improve it among Chinese boys demand more profound contemplation and discussion. Thus, it is essential for government bodies and educators to engage in comprehensive discourse on this issue.

## References

- [1] Allen, K., (2021). China promotes education drive to make boys more 'manly'. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-55926248>> [Accessed 5 March 2022].
- [2] Louie, K., (2014). Chinese masculinity studies in the twenty-first century: Westernizing, Easternizing and globalizing wen and wu. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(1), pp.18-29.
- [3] Wen, H., (2021). Gentle yet manly: Xiao xian rou, male cosmetic surgery and neoliberal consumer culture in China. *Asian Studies Review*, 45(2), pp.253-271.
- [4] Changying, H.U., (2013). The impact of cultural education on the social status of women in China. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 9(3), pp.1-11.
- [5] Yang, J., (2020). Women in China moving forward: Progress, challenges and reflections. *Social Inclusion*, 8(2), pp.23-35.
- [6] Kachel, S., Steffens, M.C. and Niedlich, C., (2016). Traditional masculinity and femininity: Validation of a new scale assessing gender roles. *Frontiers in psychology*, 7, p.956.
- [7] Reiss, M.J. and White, J., (2014). An aims-based curriculum illustrated by the teaching of science in schools. *Curriculum Journal*, 25(1), pp.76-89.
- [8] Flintoff, A., and Scraton, S., (2005). Gender and physical education. In K. Green, & K. Hardman (Eds.), *Physical education: Essential issues*, pp. 161-179. SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446215876.n10>
- [9] Rudman, L.A., Mescher, K. and Moss-Racusin, C.A., (2013). Reactions to gender egalitarian men: Perceived feminization due to stigma-by-association. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(5), pp.572-599.
- [10] Mulvey, L., (1981). Afterthoughts... inspired by *Duel in the Sun*. *Framework*, (15), p.12.
- [11] Patterson, M. and Elliott, R., (2002). Negotiating masculinities: Advertising and the inversion of the male gaze. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 5(3), pp.231-249.
- [12] Aizura, A.Z., (2006). Of borders and homes: The imaginary community of (trans) sexual citizenship. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 7(2), pp.289-309.
- [13] Kimmel, M.S., (1987). *Changing men: New directions in research on men and masculinity*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- [14] Cockburn, C. and Clarke, G., (2002). 'Everybody is looking at you! Girls negotiating the "femininity deficit" they incur in physical education', *Women Studies International Forum*, 25(6): 651-65.
- [15] Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W., (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), pp.829-859.

- [16] Anderson, E.D., (2009). The maintenance of masculinity among the stakeholders of sport. *Sport management review*, 12(1), pp.3-14.
- [17] Clements, B. and Field, C.D., (2014). Public opinion toward homosexuality and gay rights in Great Britain. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 78(2), pp.523-547.
- [18] Anderson, E. and McGuire, R., (2010). Inclusive masculinity theory and the gendered politics of men's rugby. *Journal of gender studies*, 19(3), pp.249-261.
- [19] Jackson, D., 1996. Why should secondary schools take working with boys seriously?. *Gender and Education*, 8(1), pp.103-116.
- [20] Rice, A., Kim, J.Y.C., Nguyen, C., Liu, W.M., Fall, K. and Galligan, P., (2017). Perceptions of masculinity and fatherhood among men experiencing homelessness. *Psychological Services*, 14(2), p.257.
- [21] Wang, A., (2000). Asian and white boys' competing discourses about masculinity: implications for secondary education. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, pp.113-125.
- [22] Itulua-Abumere, F., (2013). Understanding men and masculinity in modern society. *Open journal of social science research*, 1(2), pp.42-45.
- [23] Skelton, C., (2002). Constructing dominant masculinity and negotiating the'male gaze'. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 6(1), pp.17-31.
- [24] Louie, K., (2002). *Theorising Chinese masculinity: Society and gender in China*. Cambridge University Press.
- [25] Connell, R.W., (1990). An iron man: The body and some contradictions of hegemonic masculinity. *Sociological perspective on sport: The games outside the games*, pp.141-149.
- [26] Leonard, P., (1998). Gendering change? Management, masculinity and the dynamics of incorporation. *Gender and education*, 10(1), pp.70-83.
- [27] Boyd, K., (2003). 'Manhood Achieved': Imperialism, Racism and Manliness. In *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940* (pp. 123-152). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- [28] Shek, Y.L., (2007). Asian American masculinity: A review of the literature. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 14(3), pp.379-391.
- [29] Tischler, A. and McCaughtry, N., (2011). PE is not for me: when boys' masculinities are threatened. *Research quarterly for exercise and sport*, 82(1), pp.37-48.
- [30] Connell, R., (2008). Masculinity construction and sports in boys' education: A framework for thinking about the issue. *Sport, education and society*, 13(2), pp.131-145.
- [31] Hargreaves, J. and Vertinsky, P.A. eds., (2007). *Physical culture, power, and the body* (p. 1). London: Routledge.
- [32] Wade, J.C. and Donis, E., (2007). Masculinity ideology, male identity, and romantic relationship quality among heterosexual and gay men. *Sex Roles*, 57(9), pp.775-786.
- [33] McKay, J., Lawrence, G., Miller, T. and Rowe, D., (2001). *Gender equity, hegemonic masculinity and the governmentalisation of Australian amateur sport*. Cambridge University Press.
- [34] Messner, M.A., (1992). Reflection: White men misbehaving: Feminism, Afrocentrism, and the promise of a critical standpoint. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 16(2), pp.136-144.
- [35] Nixon, D., (2009). I can't put a smiley face on': Working-class masculinity, emotional labour and service work in the 'New Economy. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 16(3), pp.300-322.
- [36] Coakley, J.J. and Donnelly, P. eds., (1999). *Inside sports*. London: Routledge.
- [37] McKay, J., Messner, M.A., Messner, M.A. and Sabo, D. eds., (2000). *Masculinities, gender relations, and sport* (Vol. 13). Sage.
- [38] Guisbond, L. and Neill, M., (2004). Failing our children: No Child Left Behind undermines quality and equity in education. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 78(1), pp.12-16.
- [39] White, P.G. and Vagi, A.B., (1990). Rugby in the 19th-century British boarding-school system: A feminist psychoanalytic perspective. *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*, pp.67-78.
- [40] Hardin, M., Kuehn, K.M., Jones, H., Genovese, J. and Balaji, M., (2009). 'Have you got game?' Hegemonic masculinity and neo-homophobia in US newspaper sports columns. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2(2), pp.182-200.
- [41] Louie, K., (2012). Popular culture and masculinity ideals in East Asia, with special reference to China. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 71(4), pp.929-943.
- [42] Brunette, M.K., Lariviere, M., Schinke, R.J., Xing, X. and Pickard, P., (2011). Fit to belong: activity and acculturation of Chinese students. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 34(3).
- [43] Campbell, H., Bell, M.M. and Finney, M., (2006). *Country boys: Masculinity and rural life*. Penn State Press.
- [44] Zhang, J., (2017). The evolution of China's one-child policy and its effects on family outcomes. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(1), pp.141-60.