



Representations of Chinese People in Hollywood Martial Arts films



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Examiner:

Bachelor's thesis in Social Science 15 ECTS

Department of Economics and Informatics

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Spring Term 2013

Abstract

This thesis aims to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and how these have changed between the late 1960s and late 1990s in Hollywood martial arts films. There is much literature about the stereotypical images of Chinese people in certain time periods, however, among the existing scholarship so far few have investigated changes in the time period we analyze. This thesis uses social constructivism and representation as main theories and combines these with the central concept of racialization and stereotypes. Moreover, this thesis is constructed as comparative design that applies qualitative discourse analysis in order to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people. We analyze the characteristics of Chinese characters and relationships between Chinese and American characters in three Hollywood martial arts films. The findings show that the images of Chinese people change over time, from an earlier negative image to a subsequent positive image. The Chinese characters also gradually become leading parts and take more and more place in Hollywood martial arts films. Our thesis contributes to the existing literature on stereotypes and film research.

Key words: Stereotypes, Images of Chinese people, Hollywood martial arts films, Representations of Chinese people, Kung Fu.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our supervisor Fredrik Sunnemark for the initial inspiration to the topic and for all the valuable help and support he has given us during the whole process of writing this thesis. We would also like to thank Ann Towns for the detailed comments, advices and guidance. Last but not least we would like to thank our parents and friends for constant support during such long days of writing.

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1. Introduction

Film often provides rich visual effects and has emotional features, which make deep impressions on audiences. It “has the unique ability to capture visible phenomena seemingly objectively-yet always from perspective of the filmmaker” (Marshall and Rossman 2006, p. 120). Therefore, the images and descriptions of people from different countries in films have always been quite controversial.

As for Hollywood films, they are an important medium of the United States and Western mainstream ideology. Hollywood films provide a kaleidoscope that shows American culture and American ideas about the reception and exclusion of different cultures. The hundred years’ film gallery of Hollywood shows a lot of characters with different national characteristics, including Chinese people. Hollywood has certain used narrative methods to present many stories about Chinese. However, many of these films have been permeated by racial prejudices and orientalist thinking (Fuller 2010, Feng 2002). For example, in the earliest Hollywood films the Chinese people appeared in the form of clowns and villains. Furthermore, the images of Chinese people in Hollywood films are constructed by a set of stereotypes and these stereotypes are constantly changing. These different stereotypes of the Chinese in each era together constitute a gallery which mirrors American cultural attitudes toward China.

Hollywood films have adopted a number of genres, such as action-adventure, comedy, gangster films, war films, westerns and so on (Neale 2000). In Hollywood, each genre seems to have certain common characteristics which cohere with audience expectations of narrative structure, the way a plot or story is told (Paltridge 2006, p. 1-55). In addition, many Hollywood genres are hybrid and multi-generic, that is they often lean toward alternating comedy and drama, excitement and pathos, reflection and action and so on (Neale 2000).

From the earliest silent film *Broken Blossoms* (1919) to the end of 20th century, different stereotypical images of Chinese people have appeared in Hollywood martial arts films. During this period, the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films have undergone changes. Especially in the late 1960s, as Bruce Lee's martial arts films caused great repercussions in the American public. And Lee became a popular and famous star in the western world.

Kung Fu is a typical sign in Hollywood martial arts films. It has become a symbol of Chinese people and a common feature of Chinese images on the Hollywood screen. Over time, a growing number of Chinese actors have emerged in Hollywood martial arts films, portraying more different types of Chinese images, which has led to that these images have a lot more diversity. For example, the actor Jackie Chan who appears in Hollywood martial arts film in 1980s acquires great success in 1990s, and becomes the most famous Chinese martial arts actor in the world.

During the time from Bruce Lee to Jackie Chan, there have been a series of changes of the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films. Without doubt these changes are huge because of sensitive and complex political background. But how have these stereotypes changed between the late 1960s and late 1990s? This is the main motivation of our research. Thus the aim of this thesis is to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and how these changed between the late 1960s and late 1990s in Hollywood martial arts films.

The rest of this thesis consists of seven chapters. Firstly, the thesis starts with discussion of previous literature about the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood films. In this chapter the main purpose is to provide comprehensive overview of research that has been done, and then according to the existing literature to find a scientific gap in the field of study. The following theory chapter outlines the theories of social constructivism and representation, along with the racialization and stereotypes concepts. These theories and concepts are then mapped out in the

analytical framework. Then we state our specified aim and research questions. Thereafter a chapter on research design and method follows in which design and cases are chosen as well as the method gathering and method for analyzing the data. Then qualitative discourse analysis of film is used to analyze stereotypical images of Chinese people in three Hollywood martial arts films in order to deal with our research questions. This chapter is divided into two parts according to the analytical framework. Comparison of changes of the stereotypical images of Chinese people is presented in the end of analysis part. Finally, a brief conclusion is drawn regarding answer to our research questions, and implications of the findings are discussed as well as suggestions for future research.

2. Literature Review: Stereotypes of Chinese People in Hollywood Films

Our topic speaks to already existing literature on stereotypes about images of Chinese people in Hollywood films. The literature is based on timeline that has focused on the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during 1940s, from the 1950s to the mid 1960s, and between the late 1960s and 1990s these four time periods, as we show below. However, hardly any of scholarship has analyzed changes in stereotypes on images of Chinese people between the late 1960s and late 1990s in Hollywood martial arts films.

Regarding the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there is a lot literature on the depictions of stereotypes of East-Asians in Hollywood films (Isaacs 1972, Fuller 2010, Chung 2006 etc.). Much of this scholarship has looked at the stereotypes concerning mysterious and horrifying images of East-Asians in Hollywood films. In this period China was for many Americans associated with East-Asia as a whole (Isaacs 1972, p. 67). From silent films to television programs, Hollywood films employed white actors as “yellow faces” rather than Asians themselves in order to signify mystery and horror (Fuller 2010). These characters acted as “yellow faces” with a theatrical makeup, such as long fingernails, full-body coloring and half-bald hairstyle. Additionally, Hollywood combined to orientalize these Caucasian stars with impassive expressions and inherent duplicity in an oriental masquerade (Fuller 2010, Chung 2006).

That is to say, Hollywood had not offered very positive images of East-Asians in the films (Richardson 2010, p. 51-68). Especially after Fu Manchu began appearing in a series of films starting in 1929, Fu Manchu was rapidly established as a public character and typical stereotype in that time. He was described in Hollywood films like “menace in every twitch of his finger, a threat in every twitch of his eyebrow, terror in each split-second of his slanted eyes” (Isaacs 1972, p. 116-117). Furthermore,

designed to create a repellent and frightening appearance, Fu Manchu was dressed as a person who had “long mustache, darkly painted and upwardly sloped eyebrows, heavy eyeliner, and long fingernails” (Fuller 2010, p. 36). All of this revealed that he was revengeful, merciless, frightening and evil. Fu Manchu’s character is positioned not only as a sociopathic extremist, but also representative of the latent voice of thousands of East-Asians who wanted to follow his lead (Fuller 2010, p. 38). For instance, the film *Daughter of the Dragon* (1931) is a typical Fu Manchu tale, a strange hybrid of Caucasians playing East-Asians and real East-Asian characters, and features the worst of Hollywood stereotypes (Hodges 2004).

At the same time, there is another typical stereotype, namely Charlie Chan. In a series of films, he appeared as a detective and portrayed as modest, law-abiding in contrast to the adverse depictions of evil. But he was a calculative, dull, bloated and effeminate person as well, who reinforced certain East-Asian stereotypes, for instance, so-called incapacity to speak fluent English, an overly tradition-bound and subservient nature (Feng 2002, Fuller 2010). As for the character of Charlie Chan, it has been the subject of much controversy. Some argued that the character was a positive role model, while some others claimed that Charlie Chan is an offensive stereotype. Soister (2004) suggests that Charlie Chan is both, a dual character who offers a unique alternative to stereotypical evil Chinamen (Soister 2004).

Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan were all the visual portrayal of East-Asians, which were the most common stereotypes in Hollywood films. And these two stereotypes were constructed by orientalist thinking (Richardson 2010, p. 51-68). In short, in Hollywood films during that period East-Asian was a symbol of ignorant and decadent images, which is as a “Yellow Peril” (Feng 2002, Fuller 2010). The idea of the “yellow peril” is a racial stereotype that has been constructed in the west. And “yellow peril” is the archetype of Fu Manchu. Charlie Chan represents an alternative to “yellow peril” stereotypes, but still retains certain East-Asian stereotypes.

There is some scholarship on stereotypes of the Chinese people in Hollywood films of the 1940s (Richardson 2010, Fuller 2010, Isaacs 1972). This scholarship shows that stereotypes tend to follow geopolitical trends: enemies are stereotyped in negative ways, whereas allies are portrayed in positive ways. In this period, Americans is sensitive to the threat of Japan, so that in films the images of “oriental cruelty” were specifically transferred into the Japanese. They were regarded as an incontrovertible representative of the “yellow peril” (Richardson 2010, p. 51-68, Isaacs 1972). However, in films the images of Chinese people were relative not cruel (Isaacs 1972). Chinese people were portrayed with some degree of complexity that is relatively better than the inane images of Japanese. For instance, the film *Dragon Seed* (1944) describes good Chinese people fighting for democratic ideal and evil Japanese who torture and humiliate them (Fuller 2010).

There is some literature on stereotypes of Chinese people in Hollywood films from the 1950s to the mid 1960s (Kawai 2005, Fuller 2010, Lee 1999). This literature shows that stereotypes are influenced by geopolitical factor as well. Chinese people replaced Japanese as the embodiment of the “yellow peril” (Kawai 2005, p. 113). During this time, Chinese people were represented as chaotic, brutal and dangerous, which the film *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1957) clearly demonstrates. In other films of this period set in Asia, Chinese people was generally referred to with a mixture of dread and disdain. For example, the film *Flower Drum Song* (1961) provided the mainland China returned back to prewar images of the Orient and had the dangerous hordes. In film Chinese people are depicted as stowaway from China who are the pathetic refugees (Fuller 2010, p. 192-193, Lee 1999, p. 173-179).

There is some scholarship on the description of Chinese people in Hollywood films of the late 1960s to the late 1990s (Fuller 2010, Thomas 2008, Rovin and Tracy 1997). This scholarship often focuses on two actors.

One is Bruce Lee, who was an undisputed pivotal figure on the “yellow face”

portrayals in Hollywood martial arts films between the late 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, Lee embodied the volatile culture of his time, which represented the positive image of Chinese people who was skilled in Kung Fu (Fuller 2010). In the film *Enter the Dragon* (1973), Lee plays as an author and Kung Fu artist who is the top student of a Shaolin temple and represents justice (Thomas 2008).

The other actor is Jackie Chan, who created a mania of Kung Fu between 1980s and 1990s. And he was known for performing his own jaw-dropping stunts. He looked like the dare-devil dynamo in films (Rovin and Tracy 1997). This time period is a turning point for the images of Chinese people. That is to say, the images of Chinese people went into a new era and a new stereotype appeared in Hollywood martial arts films, like Chinese people were good at Kung Fu.

From the above literature, it is clear that the construction of stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood films is affected by orientalist thinking and geopolitical factor. These images in Hollywood films are changing over time. We have also found that most of the existing literature on stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood films pays attention to specific periods. Especially four time periods are central: the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during 1940s, and from the 1950s to the mid 1960s, and between the late 1960s and 1990s. However, in the last time period, the literature only looks at two specific actors in Hollywood martial arts films, and thus there is a lack of scholarship in changes on the stereotypical images of Chinese people over time.

In addition, according to Keller and Ryan (1988), film can be interpreted as a struggle of representation over how to construct a social world and everyday life and film as a form of presentation of ideology impacts images of people to a certain extent (Keller and Ryan 1988). Thus, there is a link between film and real world. On this basis, there is an interesting gap in the literature that is how the stereotypical images of Chinese people changed in Hollywood martial arts films between the late 1960s and late 1990s.

Especially when Bruce Lee aroused the craze of Kung Fu in the late 1960s, it leads to a transition of the stereotypical images. In order to bridge the gap, the aim of this thesis is to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and how these changed between the late 1960s and late 1990s in Hollywood martial arts films. And it is contributed to the existing literature on stereotypes and film research.

3. Theoretical Approach

In this thesis, theory is an important chapter because it is an explanation of observed regularities. Also it provides a backcloth and rationale for our research that is being conducted, as well as provides a framework within which social phenomena can be understood and the research findings can be interpreted (Bryman 2008, p. 6).

The foundation of this study rests with theories and ideas of social constructivism and representation. This involves examining the central concepts racialization and stereotypes. Finally, these theories are applied into an analytical framework.

3.1 Social constructivism

In this thesis, we apply social constructivism as our ontological assumption. Social constructivism is dependent on particular assumptions about knowledge, learning and reality. And social constructivism relating to the knowledge of the social world emphasizes that knowledge can be constructed. According to the Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy (1999), there are different forms of social constructivism, a common view is about some areas of knowledge are a product of our social practices and social systems, or are an outcome of interaction and consultation of related social groups (Audi 1999, p. 855). Furthermore, social phenomena and their meaning are constantly being accomplished by social actors. Meaning is constructed through the reciprocity between different persons and their relevant objects and other persons (Bryman 2008, p. 19).

In this thesis, social constructivism is the overarching theoretical approach. Furthermore, as we want to interpret how meaning is constructed by social actors, representation theory as a version of discourse theory is relevant. In this thesis, Hollywood film is a medium which can be seen as a social actor. Thus, in the following paragraphs, representation and media representation theory are presented in

order to know how media (Hollywood martial arts films) works, how images of Chinese people are constructed by media (Hollywood martial arts films) especially in the aspect of change and transformation.

3.2 Representation and media representation

Language is a medium that has a certain privilege. It is the way we encounter the world, we understand the world by means of language, and language expresses all the relations between humans and the world. On the one hand, the world is independently existing so that it needs to be presented through language; on the other hand, language is a way to express the world, in order to obtain its ontological status. We acquire meaning through language, and it has become the most important carrier of cultural value and significance (Hall 1997).

However, what is representation? The concept of representation concerns how some object or phenomenon is depicted. Generally speaking, “representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the ‘real’ world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and event ” (Hall 1997, p. 17).

In order to explain how representation of meaning through language works, there are three approaches: reflective, intentional and constructivist. The reflective approach holds that meaning reflects the objects, people or events in the real world. Language is seen as a mirror which reflects the true meaning of an objectively existing reality. The intentional approach’s ideological path is completely different from the reflection approach. It states that the speaker or the author attempt to show meaning through their own language. Words mean what the author tries to express. Hall (1997) prefers the third, constructivist, approach. It takes into account the public and social

characteristics of language and stresses the generation of meaning through language (Saussure 2011). What's more, constructionists argue that we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Language can not only use signs to symbolize, stand for or refer to objects and describe the real world's people and events, but also can reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds or abstract ideas (Hall 1997, p. 28).

Media representation is the way that the media portrays and constructs reality. Media is a transmission channel but also a generator of ideas about reality. In other words, media may look like a mirror that reflects social phenomena and reality, while here the reality may not be reality itself, but rather an interpretation or distortion of that reality. For example, "when experiential knowledge does not exist, we often assume that images we see in film reflect reality" (Tooke and Baker 1996, p. 261).

In this thesis, language is seen as a medium permeating film, which means it plays a significant role in film. Using different language reflects different meaning. Film is a constructor of stereotypes and also is constructed by stereotypes. Hence, in many Hollywood films the images of Chinese people are often created by a stereotypical representation, at the same time as the specific stereotypes affect the images of Chinese people. Representation theory is used to find the characteristics of Chinese characters and relationships between Chinese and American characters through language in Hollywood martial arts films.

3.3 Racialization and stereotypes

The idea of race is a cognitive category that is a way of dividing and classifying the world, often leading to oppressive ways that people of one "race" treat those of another (Dalal 2002, p. 3). Race is based on racial classification of people. Obviously, race is unscientific which restricts the biological significance, even if this concept is socially meaningful.

Racism has been defined as “an application of ‘race’ categories in social contexts with an accompanying attribution of invariable characteristics to category members” (Husband 1982, p. 19). It can also be seen as an ideological set of practices and discourse embedded in the project of modernity. Racism can also be linked to racialization (Darder and Torres 2004, p. 13).

Racialization is process of social construction of race (Miles and Brown 2003). The concept of racialization is developed over time and similar to the definition of racial categorization, which is a representational process of defining the other (Miles and Brown 2003, p. 100-101).

A stereotype is an oversimplified belief regarding a social group and the characteristics they presumably share. It is the tendency of humans to categorize a person based on a narrow range of perceived characteristics. Based on race or ethnicity, stereotypes are called racial-ethnic stereotypes. That is to say, “stereotyping is the use of categories such as race, ethnicity or religion to gain process and remember information about others”(The Human Rights and Equity Office 2007, p. 3). Race is used to refer to distinctions drawn from physical appearance, like skin color, eye shape and physiognomy (Zuckerman 1990).

So the racialization and stereotypes are also used to observe the characteristics of characters and relationships between Chinese and American characters. Racial reasons may have a certain effect on the stereotypical images of Chinese characters in films, because Hollywood often constructs images of Chinese characters with help of racial stereotypes.

3.4 Film characters and stereotypes

Orientalism is a way of thinking. It is based on understanding East and West as the

different and as opposites. There is a fixed oriental image in Western consciousness (Said 2003). Actually this image is a typical stereotype, for example Chinese people are always regarded as “yellow face” in Hollywood films.

Some studies show how characters are constructed through in Hollywood films all the time (Ginneken 2007). Just like in the early 20th century Hollywood films use white actor as “yellow face” rather than Chinese themselves, it is because of a racial stereotype that Chinese people are not good at speaking English. They highlight the white character’s facial expression and exaggerated performance style to strengthen characteristic features (Fuller 2010). They depict Chinese people as cruel, callous, devious, untrustworthy, and inscrutable impression which is a certain racial stereotype, such as the representation of villains like Fu Manchu (Isaacs 1972, p. 88). In fact, they are fantasy images of Chinese people which are constructed by orientalist thinking.

At the same time, they also provide relative positive representations of Chinese people like Charlie Chan. His characteristics are tending to intelligent, benevolent and honorable (Soister 2004). However, when the film *the Good Earth* appears in public in 1937, it replaces fantasy images of Chinese people which emerge in early period. This film provides more realistic picture of Chinese people. The representation of the characteristics of Chinese characters are hardworking, persevering, respectful, and warm (Isaacs 1972, p. 156-157). In the following time, there are a series of Hollywood films that continually depict the characteristics of Chinese characters are cruel, callous, devious, such as *Retreat, Hell!* (1952), *Dr. No* (1962), *Year of The Dragon* (1985). These characters look like a replica of the Fu Manchu racialized stereotype (Isaacs 1972).

In sum, above characters as the representation of Chinese people, their characteristics are constructed by Hollywood films which distinctly show in different time periods. That is to say, the images of Chinese people have changed over time. The stereotypes of cruel, callous, devious, untrustworthy, and inscrutable Chinese people begin to

disappear. And the stereotypes of hardworking, persevering, respectful, and warm Chinese people seem to emerge (Isaacs 1972, p. 217). Nevertheless, the stereotypes of cruel, callous and devious Chinese people appear again and again, which means these stereotypes are ineradicable in Hollywood films. Based on this, we combine all of these stereotypes about characters' characteristics in our analytical framework.

3.5 Stereotypes in the construction of relationships with American characters

On the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the west feared the yellow race as a menace, because Chinese and Japanese potential military and economic power would threaten the domination of white race (e.g. Okihiro 1994, Thompson 1978, Wu 1982). So the relationship between the Chinese and the Americans are quite nervous. In many Hollywood films, Americans and Chinese people are always shown as hostile to each other, and that they have conflict of interests.

During 1940s, the Chinese people and Americans have a same enemy in Japan (Fuller 2010, Kawai 2005). At this time period, the racial stereotype "yellow face" gradually disappears, and thus Hollywood films in this stage mostly focus on illustrating how friendly the relationship between the Chinese and the Americans is.

However, from 1950s to the mid 1960s, China becomes stronger which threatens the U.S.. Hence Chinese people become a new yellow peril (Kawai 2005). Under the effect of that strong racial stereotype, the relationship between the Chinese and the Americans become more and more hostile. The relationships represented in Hollywood films are no exception.

Therefore, we can conclude that the trend of relationship between Chinese and Americans characters are from the stereotypes of a hostile relationship to stereotypes

of a friendly relationship then back to stereotypes of a hostile relationship again.

The theories and concepts can be qualitatively applied as our analytical framework, as follow:

Table 1 Analytical Framework: The Stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood films

Characters' characteristics	cruel, callous, devious, untrustworthy, inscrutable, intelligent, benevolent, honorable, hardworking, persevering, respectful, warm, other
Relationships with American characters	hostile or friendly, other

4. Specified Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and how these have changed in Hollywood martial arts films between the late 1960s and late 1990s. We apply theories of stereotypical representations to address the following research questions: 1) How are Chinese characters' characteristics represented in the films? 2) How are the relationships between Chinese and American characters portrayed in the films? 3) Have stereotypical representations of the Chinese people changed over time, and if so, how?

5. Research Design and Methods: A Qualitative Comparison Over Time

Methodology is a required discussion to systematically deal with the research questions (Kumar 2008, p. 5). We start at a discussion of research design. A comparative design is used to offer a framework for collection and analysis of data. Then we explain the reasons why the discourse analysis for gathering and analyzing data is suitable for our study.

5.1 Design: comparison over time

Our research questions are centered on analyzing how something is, not explaining why something is (Vaus 2001, p. 1-5). It is descriptive study rather than an explanatory study. Our thesis is a representative qualitative research that compares three films from different periods in order to explore whether and how the stereotyping images of Chinese people change.

The choice of research design is a comparative design. As Bryman (2008) states, comparative design is studying two or more cases using identical methods, and it incarnates the logic of comparison in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations (Bryman 2008, p. 58-61).

In this thesis, we choose three films as our analysis materials: *Marlowe* (1969), *The Big Brawl* (1980) and *Rush Hour* (1998). These three Hollywood films represent three different periods in order to show the stereotypical images of Chinese people, and their similar feature is Kung Fu. That is to say, those three films can be seen as three contrasting cases which are useful for us to analyze the changes of stereotypical images of Chinese people over time especially from two aspects, the characteristics of the characters and the relationships with Americans characters.

Marlowe is a typical hybrid genre film that combines detective with martial arts. The Chinese character (Winslow Wong played by Bruce Lee) is a dangerous mob henchman in this film. He is not the main actor and only appears two scenes, but his exaggerated body language (Kung Fu) and deterrent language style are distinctive in the film. There are some reasons as to why we have chosen this film. Firstly, in that period Hollywood films rarely use Chinese actors, so that few films can be chosen. Secondly, Bruce Lee is the first Chinese actor who has major success in Hollywood. He became a Chinese icon in Hollywood can therefore be regarded as a representative of Chinese people. Thus his first film is important for images of Chinese people, which can reflect the images of Chinese people between 1960s and 1970s.

The Big Brawl is also a hybrid genre film that mixes martial arts and comedy features. The Chinese character (Jerry Kwan played by Jackie Chan) is a Kung Fu guy. In this film, Kung fu is used as a comedy tool. This effectually alleviates the impact of violence. The film is Jackie Chan's first attempt at breaking into the American film market. It is a relay baton that he gets from Bruce Lee, which means the arrival of the era of Jackie Chan. That is to say, Jackie Chan becomes a new Chinese icon in Hollywood, and thus this film can represent images of Chinese people in 1980s.

Rush Hour is a hybrid genre film as well. It is a fusion of martial arts and comedy. The main Chinese actor (Lee played by Jackie Chan) is a detective inspector. During the 1990s this film became hugely popular in the world. It had great box office returns, and was screened in nearly twenty countries. The success of this film catapulted Jackie Chan into the pinnacle of his career, and he became an international film star and a representative Chinese people in Hollywood. We have chosen these three Chinese characters as our major analysis objects, since their influence is large and their films can represent each time period and be generalized to other martial arts films.

5.2 Discourse analysis of films as primary data

Film analysis records nonverbal behavior and communication such as facial expression, gestures, emotions and so on (Marshall and Rossman 2006, p. 121). Thus, to investigate the two specific aspects from three different films, the easiest way to collect data is directly from the films. Data from newspapers or magazines are based on the author's subjective view of films. If using others' subjective sources as our data could influence our interpretation and lead to the argument being more subjective and less credible. So we use the films themselves as our data.

Generally, people express or create meaning by language. As a consequence, we connect this thesis with discourse analysis. It focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence which is required for successful communication (Paltridge 2006, p. 19). And it stresses language as constituting or producing the social world, which is used in social contexts, and in specific with interaction or dialogue between speakers (Bryman 2008, p. 499-500, Stubbs 1983, p. 1). In media study, discourse analysis pays more attention on analyzing media language, which is also an essential method in the social study of media (Fairclough 1995, p. 2-33). In this thesis, we apply the discourse analysis to investigate the stereotypes on images of the Chinese characters in Hollywood martial arts films from three different time periods. Then we want to look whether these stereotypes have changed over time.

In our thesis we can collect many suitable data directly from the three films. In order to improve the reliability and validity, we have to gather data through watching the films again and again, taking notes of language and meaningful scenes. Then chosen samples are selected for analysis from our analytical framework's two specific aspects.

In general, all scenes fall within three categories, that is dialogue without action,

dialogue with action, and actions without dialogue (Arijon 1991, p. 14). Here the dialogue must have language that may have various language styles and expresses different meaning by speakers, for instance humorous language, facial expression and speaking speed. And action is another kind of body language in scenes which can also express different meaning. For instance, Kung Fu is a body action as well as a body language, which may show threatening meaning. From these relevant samples, we can analyze the different meaning concerning our framework's two specific aspects in detail, the Chinese characters' characteristics and the relationships between Chinese and American characters.

In our analysis we begin with a summary of the plot in the three films one by one. And then we pay more attention to discussing the characteristics of Chinese characters. Each character's characteristics are analyzed regarding scenes including actions and dialogues. Firstly, in order to see in what way the speakers expressed and what the effect of that way is on character talk, we analyze different actions in scenes. Secondly, we analyze various dialogues to see different meaning what speakers express by languages. Through this analysis is to observe what characteristics of different characters have.

There are three kinds of acts that appear in films: the locutionary act, the perlocutionary act, and the illocutionary act. The locutionary act is the act of saying something that is producing a battery of sounds which mean something. It has distinct phonetic, syntactic and semantic features (Stubbs 1983). The perlocutionary act produces some effect of language on the audience. The illocutionary act is preformed in saying something which includes promising, denying and ordering (Paltridge 2006, p. 1-55). For example, a mom tells his son that it is cold outside as it is really cold outside. Hence it is surface utterance and may have deeper meaning which is called the locutionary act. When the mom wants to express that son needs to wear thicker clothes since it is cold outside, it is actual utterance called the illocutionary act. When, as a result, the son listens to his mother. And wears thicker clothes it is a

perlocutionary act because mom's language has effect on his son. These three acts can be used to analyze the different meanings of language in order to find the characteristics of Chinese characters in films.

The above three acts can reflect the relationships between the Chinese and American characters as well. For example, if two speakers have a friendly relationship, they may use actual utterance. If the relationship is hostile, they may use surface utterance rather than actual utterance, which has deeper meaning. Hence we analyze the relationship through one of them.

Furthermore, verbal interaction can be understood as any situation of talk that is a microcosm of basic and personal relationships. Speakers use kinds of languages that can reflect who is talking to whom, and what the point of the talks is (Stubbs 1983, p. 60). That is to say, if it is friendly relationship, the speakers may have active verbal interaction with each other. On the contrary, the hostile relationship may lead to passive or indifferent attitude on verbal interaction. In this way verbal interaction is another indicator to estimate the relationships between Chinese and American characters.

In general, the analytical framework is also used for analyzing the data gathered. Connect to theoretical background and the three research questions, two aspects on the stereotypical images of Chinese people have been generalized. As for each of film, there are a few related examples and an open idea "other". The listed examples are the stereotypical images of Chinese people which we discussed in theory part. Additionally, according to the existing literature, there is a change from some of the stereotypes to some other stereotypes. In order to increase the transparency, reliability and validity, we list these stereotypes according to this change. The open idea "other" means that we might find new images of Chinese people in films.

To sum up, we analyze the sample gathered by discourse analysis in order to find the

characteristics of Chinese characters and relationships between the Chinese and American characters. These samples qualify as examples of stereotypical images of Chinese people. Reasons as to why we choose these samples as showing the stereotypical images of Chinese people is described on a case-by-case basis in analysis. The arguments as for why we conclude some things to be certain stereotypical images of Chinese people are explained in the analysis as well.

Table 2 Analytical Framework: The Stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films

Characters’ characteristics	cruel, callous, devious, untrustworthy, inscrutable, other	<i>Marlowe (1969)</i>
	intelligent, benevolent, honorable, hardworking, persevering, respectful, warm, other	<i>The Big Brawl (1980)</i>
	cruel, callous, devious, other	<i>Rush Hour (1998)</i>
Relationships with Americans	hostile, other	<i>Marlowe (1969)</i>
	friendly, other	<i>The Big Brawl (1980)</i>
	hostile, other	<i>Rush Hour (1998)</i>

6. Analysis: Stereotypes of Chinese Characters in Films

In this chapter, the analysis is conducted through the use of discourse analysis, which requires us to explain the plot of the films. We have done this through watching three different films and extracting relevant scenes, dialogues, language style, and body language. Then we combine this with our analytical framework to do the analysis. In this discourse analysis, we open with the plot summary of three films. Then, we look at the representations of Chinese characters overall and find different characteristics based on our observations. We also analyze the relationships between Chinese and American characters. Through above analysis, we compare and discuss each aspect of those three films based on theoretical support in order to show interesting findings about changes of the stereotypical images of Chinese people between the late 1960s and late 1990s, which is presented in our comparison and discussion part.

6.1 Plot summary of the films

In *Marlowe*, Philip Marlowe is a titular private investigator who tries to find his new client's brother. Marlowe deduces that it is not a simple missing-person case. When Marlowe surveys this case, he gets a serious warning from a toughie named Winslow Wong who is a dangerous mob henchman and good at Kung Fu. Wong tries to offer a bribe to Marlowe and warns him off the case, which is directly rejected by Marlowe. Wong wrecks Marlowe's office in order to threaten him. Afterwards, Marlowe keeps on tracking and gets an important trail. At this moment, a hand-to-hand combat between Wong and Marlowe leads to Wong's plummeting to his death off a balcony. The story ends with a striptease scene, and Marlowe finds the murderer and solves this case.

The Big Brawl takes place in Chicago in 1930s. Jerry Kwan is a Kung Fu guy who has a perfect life with his girlfriend and his family. One day he goes back to his father's restaurant with his girlfriend, and finds that his father is threatened by two mobsters

who want to get protection fee by force. Jerry cannot suffer this threat, and thus fights with these mobsters and wins. However, the victory brings a huge disaster to Jerry's family. Mobsters kidnap Jerry brother's fiancée and force Jerry to take part in the big brawl. Jerry has to beat off the most powerful opponent in order to get the final win. Lastly Jerry conquers all obstacles and becomes a winner, meaning that he successfully saves his brother's fiancée and protects his family.

In *Rush Hour*, detective inspector Lee has a mandate from Chinese consul Solon Han, because Han's daughter is kidnapped by a mysterious criminal gang (lord Juntao), and he hopes Lee can assist in this case. But FBI does not want outsiders to touch this case, so that they only send an ordinary police (James Carter) from Los Angeles police department to half-heartedly assist inspector Lee. Their main purpose is to use Carter to keep Lee out of sight and away from danger. In reality, they do not want Lee to touch this case. At first, Lee and Carter cannot have harmonious cooperation, because they dislike each other. But subsequently, when they come to realize they are exploited and controlled by FBI, they begin to try to solve this case together. In the end of the story, Lee and Carter successfully rescue Han's daughter, and become best partners.

6.2 The characteristics of the three characters

In *Marlowe*, Chinese character Wong appears with devious, cruel and callous characteristics. His position is similar to Fu Manchu who is shaped by Hollywood films in the early 20th century (Isaacs 1972). That is to say, the previous stereotypes still exist in the film. Wong only appears in two scenes and each scene lasts a few minutes, but his characteristics are vividly showed through the dialogue with actions.

The first scene is set in Marlowe's office. Wong walks into the office and uses Kung Fu to destroy office without any warning, such as suddenly side kicking a hole in the wall and splitting coat hanger with bare hands. At that moment, Marlowe points a gun

toward him, but Wong unhesitatingly says:

You won't need that.

Then Wong puts 500 dollars on the desk with a smile in order to bribe Marlowe.

Wong: You are not look for anybody, you cannot find anybody, you do not have time to
work for anybody, you have no heard a nothing not see nothing.

Marlowe: what do I do for non before.

Wong: Nothing Keep on doing nothing for reasonable link of time I will come back and
place 5 more like this on your desk side by side.

Marlowe: And for whom of my doing all this nothing.

Wong: Winslow Wong that is I.

Marlowe: I like man who use good grammar impress me, Mr. Wong.

.....

Marlowe: Our sale would be veracious for inevitably broke.

Wong: OK.

In a matter of seconds Wong uses Kung Fu again to destroy Marlowe's office: smashing a bookshelf, kicking tablet chair and leaping up to shatter a droplight, hitting door, and kicking the desk. After the earthshaking destruction, Wong strikes his fighting pose for a while, then puts on his sunglasses and pushes his way out of the building.

During this dialogue, Wong uses his own language style with a not very euphemistic tone. He speaks English with obvious accent, which sounds like Chinglish. Here the film reflects a racial stereotype on image of Chinese people that Chinese character is not good at speaking English.

When Wong talks with Marlowe, he expresses meaning through spoken language and body language. Wong puts 500 dollars on the desk with a smile that looks like

harmonious, but in actuality he has an underlying motive and sneakily puts his scheme into action in order to bribe and stop Marlowe investigating case. After bribe, he uses language to create another meaning that he wants to threaten Marlowe not to find and work for anybody. Wong does not bribe and threaten in the open which connotes a devious person.

Wong destroys Marlowe's office with Kung Fu. This sign expresses that Wong has horrifying destructive power and intentionally wants to make Marlowe suffer. Especially when Marlowe rejects his bribe, he shows his fighting pose in the end which is a sign as well. This sign expresses that he is a callous people who does not care about Marlowe's suffering and still wants to fight with Marlowe. In this way, Wong's Kung Fu and fighting pose reveal his characteristics, that he is a cruel and callous person. In the first scene, Wong's characteristics inherit the previous stereotypes so that he appears as a devious, cruel and callous character.

Wong's second and last scene is set on the balcony of the Los Angeles Occidental Building, high above the street at night. This scene comes less than ten minutes later, and lasts about two minutes, and includes dialogues as well as actions. Wong lures Marlowe onto the balcony with a charming smile that rapidly gives way to a callous threat. Their dialogue begins:

Marlowe: Winslow, you stuck me out here, you devil?

Wong: Take the money, Marlowe.

Marlowe: Not a chance, any more messages.

Wong: You can hardly refuse this time

Marlowe: You watch me closer.

Wong: Can you remember the alternatives Mr. Marlowe?

Marlowe: You are a paper tailer, Winslow. You can do anything in your boss'
restaurant.

Next, Wong lashes out with a vicious kick, and their dialogue continues:

Wong: Mr. Marlowe I have my instructions.

Marlowe: It just exactly what I am planning on, Winslow.

Now what are you going to do, break another coat hanger?

You are very impressive, Winslow. But I think dog do better on television.

You are lied on your cheek or are u just a little gay, huh?

These dialogues are followed by a series of vicious Kung Fu Kicks. Marlowe is cornered on the ledge of the balcony. When backed into a corner, Marlowe tries to insinuate Wong is just a little gay. At this point, Wong loses his cool, unleashes a demonic scream and flying side kicks toward Marlowe. Marlowe sidesteps it, and Wong goes plummeting to his death.

In general, language has many functions like expression, transfer, exchange of ideas, producing meaning, because language itself has different meaning (Saussure 2011, Hall 1997). In this scene, Wong's language has different meaning. He lures Marlowe onto the balcony with body language which implies that his scheme cannot be carried out in public. He is a devious person who still has an underlying motive that is to let Marlowe take the money and accept his bribe. That is Wong's actual utterance and has no deeper meaning.

When Wong asks Marlowe if he remembers the alternatives, it is illocutionary act which is surface utterance and has deeper meaning. In fact, this language express that if Marlowe does not accept the bribe, Wong will kill him. From this we find that Wong is a callous man who does not care about Marlowe's feeling and just wants to achieve his purpose by fair means or foul.

At the end of the dialogue, Marlowe uses many derogatory terms like dog and gay in order to provoke Wong. And also he wants to show that he hates Wong so much. It is

a form of perlocutionary act. That is to say, Marlowe's irritant words have effect on Wong, which makes Wong angry at this time. He unleashes a demonic scream which seems that his evil nature is aroused by Marlowe. He is a cruel person who tries to kill Marlowe, meaning that he intends to cause pain to Marlowe.

Although Wong only appears in two scenes, his characteristics are repeated again and again. He is depicted as devious, cruel, and callous person in the film. These are the stereotypical images of Chinese characters in early Hollywood films present in this film.

However in *The Big Brawl*, Chinese character Jerry's characteristics are distinctively different from Wong's characteristics in *Marlowe*. He is intelligent, impulsive, warmly, confident, hardworking and persevering. The characteristics of Jerry correspond to the image of the Chinese that was depicted by Hollywood films during 1940s. In this film, Jerry's characteristics have much space to manifest themselves. There are several representative examples of scenes which can specifically highlight his characteristics.

The first scene takes place on back alley which is behind Jerry father's restaurant. This scene only has actions without dialogue. When Jerry finds his father threatened by mobsters, and forced to pay a part of his profits, Jerry can not suffer this threat so that he angrily rushes out to the back alley and fights with these mobsters. His father screams:

Jerry, you must not fight. You must be not hit anybody.

You promised me, Jerry, you promised you dead mother.

But Jerry does not stop fighting with mobsters until they flee. In the meantime, he gives full play to his capacity of Kung Fu. When he fights with the mobsters, he uses his Kung Fu strengths and avoids exposing his weaknesses. And his funny facial expressions seem to say "I'm sorry to hurt you, and it is not on purpose, are you ok?"

Actually, he uses that way to express the opposite meaning.

From the above scene we discover that Jerry's characteristics are all shown in his actions. Body language can also help us to find Jerry's characteristics. In this scene Kung Fu as an obvious body language shows that Jerry is an intelligent person. Because when he fights with mobsters, he uses his Kung Fu strengths and avoids exposing his weakness, which means he has sound judgment and fighting strategy. Also his funny facial expression is another strategy in order to confuse mobsters.

Furthermore, language can express different meaning, including body language. In this scene, Jerry ignores his father's words, he angrily rushes out to the back alley and fights with the mobsters, and these actions show that he is an impulsive man who acts on instinct, without thinking decisions through. That is to say, Jerry has no consideration of consequences so that it may make his father get into trouble. Hence in this scene Jerry's characteristic can be summarized in two words: intelligent and impulsive.

The second scene has a long dialogue. Jerry meets a guy named Maxim who kidnaps his brother's fiancée, and they stand in a living room which is owned by Maxim. Maxim threatens Jerry to make an agreement with him. This verbal interaction is filled with unacknowledged tensions.

Maxim: I have looked forward to meeting you Jerry. Now I can see that you are worried
and to that end, let me reassure you the young lady is just fine. ..

Jerry: What are you after?

Maxim: I like that straight away no nonsense alright. ...“ I want you” well, that's me
Jerry, I want you, you are a great fighter great. Did you ever hear of Battle
Creek Texas?

Jerry: There is going to be a fight there.

Maxim: A very large and expensive fight, I wanted a man of mine to participate, but

unfortunately he was severely beaten recently.

Jerry: I am not a man of yours.

Maxim: Have you forgotten the young lady so soon? Now my proposal is simple the fight is three weeks away, we will pay your entry fee. And take care of the expenses the young lady remains is my possession until the winner is announced. I am betting it will be you will have to return to Chicago immediately to begin training.

.....

Jerry: If I win, I keep the 15000.

Maxim: Absolutely.

Jerry: And if I win, you keep your men away from my father's restaurant or any place in the neighborhood.

Maxim: How is that for a gentleman! Beautiful, you have got it.

Jerry: Forever.

Maxim: Forever.

As Hall (1997) argues, we acquire meaning through language. Language is a way which we use it to explain ourselves (Hall 1997). Through Jerry's language we can point out his obvious characteristics. Jerry plays as an intelligent person with a warm heart. Maxim seems as a leader in this whole dialogue, and his first sentence is an obvious illocutionary act which is surface utterance and has deeper meaning. Actually Maxim has a very specific plan, which is to induce Jerry to understand his situation and then threats Jerry to participate in Battle Creek Texas. To Jerry, he stays in a passive position, but he still tries to stay in an equal position and make the deal with Maxim. It implies once again that Jerry is constructed as an intelligent man who has quick cognitive capacity and thoughtful interaction.

What's more, when Jerry talks with Maxim, he expresses his meaning clearly. He requests Maxim keep away from his father's restaurant and his neighborhood. It means that Jerry not only takes care of his family, but also is concerned of his

neighborhood. Hence Jerry is constructed as a warm man who is kind to others. Moreover, his words are full of confidence, which expresses that he has no uncertainty about his own abilities and makes sure of the win. Confidence is an obvious sign that expresses his confident characteristic. On this basis, we identify that Jerry appears in this scene as a warm, intelligent and confident man.

The third scene starts at practice room of Jerry's uncle. His uncle is his teacher in Kung Fu. After Jerry is forced by the mobsters' boss to take part in the big brawl, he follows his uncle in order to industriously improve his Kung Fu skill. Jerry's uncle provides a tough training to Jerry for improving his attack and dodge. In the meantime, Jerry needs to fight with a horror human puppet, run in the treadmill, shred from needles, and practice exercises with his uncle. Day by day, after a term of horrible test, Jerry gets ready to participate in the Battle and have much confident to win.

Jerry expresses meaning by language and body language, especially in this scene body language is as a way for Jerry to show himself. In training, Jerry works diligently and for long hours. And he becomes more and more hard-working and his eyes are filled with a strong determination. Moreover, this hard training shows that Jerry is a persevering person, who never gives up in the front of horrible exercise and instead is full of confidence. In fact, Kung Fu is very difficult for people to learn, because practitioners should have hardworking and persevering spirits, then they are able to reach a very high level of Kung Fu. Without doubt Jerry steadfastly goes on training even if it is difficult. In this way, Jerry is constructed as a hardworking and persevering practitioner on Kung Fu. Language itself is a system which consists of various signs (Culler 2002). Here Kung Fu is a sign to identify Jerry's characteristics. Therefore Jerry is characterized by a hardworking and persevering Kung Fu practitioner in this scene

In sum, film is a constructor of stereotypes and also constructed by stereotypes. In this film, the characteristics of Chinese character are depicted as a hardworking and

persevering person. These images are constructed by two stereotypes which appear in previous Hollywood films. But the film also creates some new images of this character like confident and impulsive.

If we to move to *Rush Hour*, the main Chinese character Lee has more positive qualities compare with the above two films. Lee is characterized as a just, responsible, warm, persevering and honorable man. Lee's position is positive. He not only inherits some previous stereotypes, such as warm, persevering and honorable, but also as a positive detective inspector he is a just and responsible character.

At the beginning of this film, Lee steals on the criminal dens, fights with the criminals and cracks down on the criminals with his excellent Kung Fu. He finds out that Sang is the main leader of the criminals. And then asks:

Lee: where is Juntao?

Sang: Juntao? He is everywhere.

Lee's eyes look very deep, he realizes that Juntao is a hard-nut to crack. Sang tries to provoke Lee:

You want a piece of me?

Lee calmly controls his own actions, he holds a handgun, and says:

Don't move!

When Lee finds Sang is running away, Lee tries to catch him, and during this time, he jumps off the cabin which looks more than 10 meters high, dodges bullets and container. In fact, Lee has many opportunities to shoot Sang down, but he does not do that because he wants to catch him alive and pulls Sang in for questioning about the

boss-Juntao.

Here, Lee's body language seems is a sign that can help us to analyze his characteristics. Just as showing in the scene, being a detective inspector, Lee is a just person who is guided by truth so that he bravely fights with the Juntao criminal organization. Additionally, it involves responsibility, namely it is a degree of his accountability on the part of the person concerned. Thus he never gives up tracing Juntao.

In order to catch Sang, Lee takes action alone, drops off from cabin, dodges bullets and container. These dangerous actions all prove that he is responsible detective inspector who leaves life and death out of consideration in order to solve this tough case. When Lee is in danger, he even does not call his partner for help until the possibility of risk is ruled out. It also shows that he is an honorable person who is worthy of honor and high respect. Therefore, this scene reflects that Lee is a representation of justice, so that he plays as an honorable person.

The next scene takes place in America. Lee has taken a mission from Chinese consul Solon Han. For Lee, it is not a simple official mission, Han is his friend and Soo Yung (the kidnapped girl) is his student who learns Kung Fu from Lee. This relationship makes Lee feel more responsible.

FBI arranges an assignment to Carter, namely keeping Lee out of sight and away from danger. The first time Carter meets Lee, Carter is too noisy, and on the contrary Lee is quiet, so that Carter thinks Lee cannot speak English. Lee takes out the Chinese consul Solon Han's calling card and Soo Yung's photo, because he hopes that Carter will bring him to the Chinese consul, but Carter says "That's one place you can't go", Lee soon realizes Carter will never take him to see Han, hence he starts his own plan, which Carter is unprepared for. After long-playing chase, Lee speaks:

I'm policeman, I'm just showing him how to take a gun from a suspect.

Carter's facial expression has full of shock.

Carter: All of a sudden you speaking English.

Lee: A little.

Carter: "a little," my ass. You lied to me.

Lee: I didn't say I didn't. You assumed I didn't.

Carter: "Assume" I kick you Beijing ass. I am not scared of you.

.....

Lee: Not being able to speak is not the same as not speaking. You seem as if you like to talk. I let people talk who like to talk. I make it easier to find out how full of shit they are.

Carter: what the hell did you just say?

This verbal interaction is very funny. Lee's strange pronunciation of English is difficult for others to understand. Especially for Carter, Lee's Chinglish accent always makes Carter confuse his thoughts, which always makes Lee himself feel irritable and helpless. With Carter's misunderstanding, it brings a lot of fun for the audience to have a short break between the nonstop action and tense scenarios. As we mentioned before, media can be regarded as a mirror which reflects stereotype. It once again shows that the Chinese character is not good at speaking English. That is to say, it is already a stereotypical image of Chinese people.

However, another dialogue between Lee and Carter in the film makes a contrary claim. Lee says "not being able to speak is not the ...how full of shit they are". This is a locutionary act. Lee uses the American way of speaking which is often used by Carter. And it implies that Carter is a talkative man with full of shit. This speech not only shocks Carter but also shows Lee's intelligence. What's more, Lee is constructed as a just man who has responsibility and warm heart. The main reason is that he comes to

America to save his friend's daughter. Then leading by his responsibility, no matter how FBI sets the barrier for him, and no matter what dangerous is put in front of him forward, he tries every effort to face the challenge and finds the clue to trace the Juntao crime organization and finishes his mission.

At the end of this film, Lee attracts the audience's eyes again. Lee wears the vests which have six blocks of C-4 bomb to chase Juntao. However, Juntao occupies an advantageous position on the roof and takes a box in which has tens millions of money. Meanwhile, Lee is only supported by a rafter, is without gun and space to use Kung Fu. But Lee dodges the attack of Juntao box again and again, and finally he defeats Juntao.

From this scene, there is no doubt that Lee is a just man who has persevering and responsible spirit. Under the extraordinary dangerous situation, Lee dodges all of Juntao's attack. His facial expression, like closed eyes, sweat and tense facial muscles, are all obvious symbols to express his perseverance. In such dangerous status, he still holds himself. And his willpower is so strong that he can ignore all attacks from Juntao and keep on tracing. Actually, his responsibility supports him to beat Juntao. Even though he knows the danger, and still wears the bomb vest himself which means he wants others out of the danger and instead does not think his own life. That is to say, Lee cares for others beyond himself, which obviously makes him look like an honorable hero.

Compared to the other two films, we find that Lee as a representative Chinese character still inherits some previous stereotypes in Hollywood film, like warm, persevering and honorable. Furthermore, he is constructed as just and responsible character. It is new individual characteristics of this character which has not appeared before.

6.3 The relationships

6.3.1 Winslow Wong and Phillip Marlowe

In *Marlowe*, there is no doubt that the relationship between Wong and Marlowe is hostile because of their opposite position of characters. Marlowe as a detective has his responsibility to survey the murder case and find truth. And yet Wong is a bad guy and acts as a dangerous mob henchman who takes orders from his boss, his duty drives him to bribe and threaten Marlowe. Actually this hostile relationship can reflect reality. From the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s, due to increasingly powerful China and racial stereotypes, Americans regard Chinese people as imaginary enemy (Isaacs 1972). Hence, the image of Chinese character in *Marlowe* is negative, and relationship with American is hostile as well.

In the first scene, Wong strides into Marlowe's office, he looks cool and laid back in his modish attire. Smiling pleasantly but menacingly, destroying Marlowe's office for the first time seems as a threat. After that he trades with Marlowe and attempts to buy him off with \$500 cash.

Wong: You are not look for anybody, you cannot find anybody you do not have time to
work for anybody, you have no heard a nothing not see nothing.

Marlowe: What do I do for none before?

Wong: Nothing Keep on doing nothing for reasonable link of time I will come back and
place 5 more like this on your desk side by side.

When Marlowe calmly refuses the bribe, Wong pockets his refused money, turns to leave and without warning explodes into dazzling Kung Fu. After destroying the room, Wong stands with a fighting pose, but Marlowe still has no response. Wong puts on a pair of sunglass and leaves.

Actually, when Wong uses Kung Fu to destroy Marlowe's office for the first time, it

lays the basis of their hostile relationship. Because this body language expresses how powerful he is so that he is a threat for Marlowe. Owing to Marlowe's refusal, Wong destroys Marlowe's office again, which means that their relation is completely broken in the first scene. During the sabotage, Marlowe has no reaction, which signifies that Wong's act has no effect on Marlowe. And Marlowe disdains to have verbal interaction with Wong, because he is not afraid of Wong's threat.

Moreover, language is a medium of understanding and interpretation, thus language plays an important role between them (Hall 1997). Just like Wong uses language to interpret why he gives Marlowe \$500 cash, then Marlowe understands his meaning and has a reaction. That is to say, their talk is based on the meaning of language itself, which implies Wong wants to bribe Marlowe. If Marlowe agrees, Wong will pay for more money to him, and their strained relation may naturally ease. Nevertheless Wong's language also hints that if Marlowe rejects, he will come back and give him a second opportunity. From their verbal interaction, we find that their relationship mostly depends on Marlowe, which mirrors that Americans want to dominate over the world and have a power of decision, while the Chinese character can only take orders from the Americans. That is to say, Americans and Chinese character have a different status so that they have hostile relationship in the film.

In the second scene, Wong appears with a charming smile and puts hand into pocket and leads him to the balcony. But when Marlowe rejects Wong's bribe again, Wong rapidly gives way to callous menace. And Wong lashes out wildly with a series of vicious kicks and attempts to kill Marlowe, he is backed into a corner and only tries to provoke Wong, and says:

Now what are you going to do, break another coat hanger?

You are very impressive, Winslow. But I think dog do better on television.

You are lied on your cheek or are u just a little gay, huh?

There is no doubt that Wong is filled with fury and looks crazy. Wong kicks Marlowe and thoroughly wants to kill Marlowe. Unfortunately, he falls from the balcony and dies.

In the beginning, Wong still seems to hope that Marlowe can change his mind and accept bribe, thus he meets Marlowe with a smile. Additionally, his smile looks like a sign which means threat for Marlowe. Then Wong puts hand into pocket, this body language creates meaning that Wong wants to hint at their sale. But when Marlowe rejects the bribe, Wong still uses his Kung Fu and tries to kill Marlowe. Wong's act implies that the relationship between Marlowe and Wong is hostile.

In the last scene, Marlowe's language really stimulates Wong and has a big effect on him. And it also expresses his outrage, because Wong breaks his coat hanger and threatens him again and again. In this manner, Wong kicks Marlowe to express his anger, even though he has no language. In fact, the relationship between Wong and Marlowe becomes out of control at this moment, either you die or I live. Finally, Wong's death is logical, because he is an opposite character. That is to say, there is a truth that evil can never prevail over good. It also implies that victory always belongs to the Americans, and Chinese character as a threat will be defeated in the end.

In this film, the relationship between Chinese and American character is absolutely hostile. Connected to reality, American regards Chinese people as a threat because of racial stereotypes. Hence Hollywood film describes Chinese character as a threat as well and faces to defeat. In a word, this film is constructed by racial stereotypes.

6.3.2 Jerry Kwan and Nancy

In *The Big Brawl*, we divide the relationship of the main characters into two categories, because it is a bit complex. Considering the real world, from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s, the tendency of the China-US relation is from confrontation

to collaboration (Harding 1992, p. 6). That is to say, the real relationship still has effect on this film.

The first relationship is between Jerry and Nancy. As the film shows, Jerry is a Chinaman who has an American girlfriend named Nancy, and they are getting along with each other. Relationship between them is very nice. And there are many scenes that show how sweet they are.

In Nancy's first sense, she sits in the car and mends clothes. She speaks to Jerry with a sweet voice and her eyes are full of love. At that moment, Jerry is standing on top of the bridge and playing the steel frame that likes a gymnast, and these dangerous steel frames like a balance beam and horizontal bar. Through those equipments Jerry can relax. Nancy sees Jerry flying like batman and then asks some detailed questions to Jerry about Jerry's brother and his fiancée.

Nancy: Hey, batman! Come on. We have to go see your brother about the money. It's time.

Jerry: In a minute.

Nancy: Ten more of those and you won't be able to go tonight. Hey! Is your brother still gonna marry that girl from China?

Jerry: pretty soon.

Nancy: Even though they're never met?

Jerry: That's not unusual...for Chinese.

Nancy: but they've only written to each other.

Jerry: Ten thousand times.

Nancy: Well it's a pretty strange way to fall in love. Licking stamps!

At the end of this sense, Jerry comes back to the car and kisses Nancy with a sweet smile, and then Nancy kisses Jerry's face again.

Obviously, from this verbal interaction, we can find that the relationship between Jerry and Nancy is sweet and friendly. Nancy's eyes gaze at Jerry all the time and are full of love. Here the language is a way which to interpret meaning. When Nancy calls Jerry batman, it looks like an endearment, which shows Nancy accepts Jerry to do some dangerous actions and appreciates Jerry's actions. When they talk about Jerry's brother and his fiancée, first, it shows that Nancy has a very unusual relationship with Jerry and his family, so that she can take care of Jerry's whole family. Second, although Nancy feels strange about the relationship between Jerry's brother and his fiancée, she does not say anything that suggest this, it seems that she accepts the Chinese love mode. At the end, Jerry and Nancy kiss each other, this kiss is body language which expresses that their relationship is equal and deeply in love with each other.

In another sense that takes place in the Battle Creek Texas, Jerry gets hurt in the day fight, Nancy takes care of him in his room. When Herbert (Jerry's uncle) comes to find Jerry,

Herbert: what are you (Nancy) doing in there?

Nancy: I am playing nurse, Jerry in the shower

Herbert: let me in

Nancy: I can't, Jerry said nobody could come in, but nobody.

Herbert: He must get to bed, he must sleep.

Nancy: Don't worry that's exactly what he's going to do, as soon as I put some
bandages on him (Jerry).

In a matter of seconds, Jerry and Nancy have sex with each other.

During this scene, Nancy's tone sounds like Jerry's mother, and she plays as a nurse in order to take care of Jerry, like putting some bandages on his leg. Actually Nancy is the unique person who can come into Jerry's room. Jerry believes Nancy, and he

needs Nancy to help him put some bandages on his leg. In Jerry's heart, Nancy is a very important person, because no one can replace her. And their sexual relationship shows that they deeply accept each other. They are not just male and female friends, but also lover.

6.3.3 Jerry Kwan and the evildoers

On the contrary, Jerry has a hostile relationship with Maxim (the boss of Mobsters) and his group. Although China-US relation starts to be better, but they still have some conflicting interests, they stand on different groups. Therefore, the hostile relationship can reflect reality, and there is an obvious racial stereotype, "Chinaman".

The mobsters do a lot of bad things to Jerry, such as threaten Jerry's father, hurt his good friend, kidnap Jerry brother's fiancée, and force Jerry to participate in the Battle Creek Texas. In a scene that takes place in Maxim's home, Jerry wants to steal on and find his brother's fiancée. Unfortunately, he fails and is caught into Maxim's living room. Jerry is very upset so that his face shows atrocious expression, and his words have full irritable emotion.

Maxim: You'd have disappointed, if you hadn't tried.

Jerry: I know she's here, I want to see her.

Maxim: I honestly believed that we'd reached an agreement, and here you are trying to change everything.

Herbert: My nephew doesn't know, if she's dead or alive. He's very upset.

Maxim: Well, that's terrible. Jerry shouldn't have to worry like this. His mind should be free to train, his opponents are going to be quite formidable.... In Jerry's ability to win this thing in Texas. I'm sorry gentlemen, I can't grant your request.

When Jerry brother's fiancée is kidnapped by Maxim the first time, Jerry is

completely passive and loses all his dominance. Whatever he does, he must consider the girl's safety. Especially in this dialogue, Jerry and Maxim are not equal in position, in their verbal interaction, Maxim leads the direction. Here the language seems to show that Americans still want to control the world and use some unscrupulous ways in order to reach their aim. Jerry is a captive man who can't change Maxim's decision, although Herbert says that Jerry is upset, but it is useless. Maxim rejects their request and reaffirms that Jerry's opponents are strong so that Jerry has to be ready for that battle. Maxim and Jerry are not friends, and their relationship looks like a boss and his subordinate. Under this hostile relationship, Jerry is forced by Maxim.

Another scene is just dialogue between two white mobsters. They are discussing the Battle Creek Texas.

David: Mr. Morgan.

Morgan: Senor Leggetti. Come in kid, sit down. How are you doing.

David: Fine.

Morgan: You know David pittsburg's not far away. We hear things, rumors

David: Like what?

Morgan: A "Chinaman".

David: Lot's of "Chinks" which one?

.....

Morgan: I don't like that, it worries me. And worry puts wrinkles in my forehead

David: I could take him.

These evildoers call Jerry Chinaman and Chinks, which is a racial stereotype. When the evildoer (Morgan) talks about his fears, it means he thinks that Jerry is a threat. So he wants another evildoer (David) to help him to take Jerry out. David answers this in a simple way: "I could take him". This means that he believes that Jerry is someone who can be easily dealt with. The evildoers' attitude shows racial discrimination in their attitudes toward Jerry although he is not part of the scene.

6.3.4 Lee and James Carter

In *Rush Hour* the relationship between Lee and Carter is gradually changing, from unfriendly to friendly. On the whole, their relationship is friendly. However, this fluctuant relationship may be affected by real China-US relation. From the mid 1980s to the 1990s, China-US relation fluctuates all the time, sometimes friendly and sometimes unfriendly (Harding 1992). However, China-US relation has a turning point in 1998, because President Clinton visits China this year and expresses a sense of American ideas and values (Clinton Urged to Meet Top China Dissident, Eckholm, 20 June 1998). Hence in this film the Chinese character appears as a hero, but has a fluctuant relationship with the American character. That is to say, film can reflect reality and also be affected by reality.

In the film, the relationship between Lee and Carter begins with a strange combination of circumstances. A 10-year-old daughter of a Chinese council is kidnapped, and council Han would like one of his people to help, namely Lee who is a detective inspector in Hong Kong. But FBI does not need help from other people, and then sends over a rookie named Carter. Carter's special assignment is to keep Lee out of sight and away from danger. Carter does not want to accept the assignment but no other choices. Based on this discontent, Carter's attitude is not very friendly for Lee in the first scene. It takes place in the American airport, and has actions without dialogue. When Lee gets off the plane, Carter superciliously steps forward and says:

Please, tell me you speak English.

I'm detective Carter. Do you speak any English?

Do you understand the words that are coming out of my mouth?

Lee just has a smile and does not say anything. At this moment, Carter looks impatient, and then mutters against Lee:

I cannot believe this shit.

First I get a bullshit assignment.

Now. Mr. Rice-A-Roni...

...doesn't even speak American.

When Carter says the above words in a whisper, Lee turns round and says thank you (in Chinese) to the cabin crew then stands there and still has no response.

These words are all from Carter. Lee says nothing. When Carter first meets Lee, Carter's attitude is not very friendly, because Carter repeatedly asks Lee whether if he can speak English. Actually his language has a little contemptuous meaning, which reflects a racial stereotype again, namely that Chinese characters are not good at speaking English. Carter says it is a bullshit assignment, because he wants to express that he cannot endure together with a non-English person. And he continually emphasizes speaking English, which implies that Americans may potentially think English has dominant position which is better than Chinese. Also they are both in America, Carter has a home field advantage so that he has no manners.

In addition, Lee has no verbal interaction which seems that he may feel not very good as well as Carter, because Carter's language produces the contemptuous meaning and then convey it to Lee. Maybe Lee does not like Carter at this moment, because Lee politely says thank you to cabin crew, only ignores Carter. But Lee faces Carter with a smile that conveys the meaning that he still hopes to get along with Carter. And this smile also shows that Lee is very polite to others. Hence, from this scene it can be concluded that when they meet in first time, their relationship is not very friendly.

Also because of the exclusion of FBI, they have common goal, namely they want to use their own strength to rescue the little girl. Then they start to look for the clues in order to solve that case as soon as possible. In their leisure time, they begin to discuss

music and their fathers so that they have more understanding with each other. This scene is set in China Town and has dialogues with actions. When they are waiting for a guy who has a big suspicion, Carter finds that guy come into a restaurant. Then they follow up:

Carter: I better go in first. Nobody going to recognize me.

Lee: I'll wait five minutes.

Carter: Hey, take my ID. If anything go wrong, you bust in like you LAPD.

Lee: This won't work. I'm not 6' 1".

Carter: Yes, it will. It's all about attitude, all right? Flip it open. Flip it closed. Do it fast.

You'll get it. Look. Take this.

We can easily discover that their relationship has a subtle change. They have a common goal so that they have to get along with each other. It lays the foundation for a friendly relationship. Then they talk about music and their fathers, which means that they want to know each other through verbal interaction. When they intend to come into restaurant where may have danger, Carter volunteers to stand in front of Lee. This act is a body language that means that Carter wants to protect Lee. What's more, Carter gives his ID to Lee and shows how to use it, which means Carter becomes increasingly concerned about Lee. Carter seems to regard Lee as his friend.

Similarly, Lee tries to accept this friend as well. Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language (Hall 1997). When Carter wants to go in first, Lee says he just waits five minutes. This language implies that Lee likewise worries about Carter. Carter conveys his worry which is received by Lee. Then Lee conveys his feelings to Carter. Moreover, Lee looks at Carter's ID and has a doubt about his height. On the surface, Lee considers that the ID cannot work. Actually, Lee may think ID is more important for Carter and he worries about Carter beyond himself. As for Chinese height, it is racial stereotype. Due to the different race, the height between Chinese and American character has a big difference. Here film as

media reflects reality that the height of Chinese people is lower than Americans. From this scene, they look like friends.

Finally, with occurrence of crises over and over again, they gradually cultivate a tacit understanding, and also become partners. This scene appears in the end of film, Lee fights side by side with Carter. When Lee duels with Juntao and is in danger, he wants to ask Carter for help.

Lee: Carter. Help! Do something!

Carter: Be cool, man! Hang on!

Lee: I can't hold on anymore!

Carter: Hang on for about a hour! I'll get the ambulance! I'll be back!

Lee: What the hell are you doing?

Carter: Just hang on! I'll be right back!

Lee: Carter.

Carter: I was just playing.

As a result, Carter successfully saves Lee.

In the end of the film, their relationship is absolutely friendly. They fight with evildoers side by side. This act implies that they are of one mind and have a tacit understanding. In the vital moment, Lee asks Carter for help which shows that Lee trusts his friend who will help him. While Carter still not forgets to joke with Lee, so that his language is not an actual utterance, just a joke. In fact, Carter wants to relieve Lee's tension and is certain to help him. Because their friends, they can say everything. But when Lee feels anxious, only shouts Carter's name which means that he knows that is joke and still trusts his partner will help him. Then Carter tells Lee it is just a joke, which signifies that he will save Lee as soon as possible. Especially, Lee is saved by Carter, which means they are really friends and will be good friends and partners forever. Hence, we can conclude that in this film the relationship between

Chinese and American character is friendly.

6.4 Comparison of the films

The findings in the above analysis accords with the theories described in the theoretical approach chapter, where each concept has also to be clearly explained and a special relation with our two aspects is drawn. That is to say, the basic concept of representation, media representation, racialization and stereotypes links with the character's characteristics and the relationship between Chinese and American characters, which adequately supports our analysis

At first, language can be seen as a way to understand various forms of meaning. Within the scope of the language, meaning is generated by representation system (Hall 1997). That is to say, each film expresses meaning by creating certain characteristics and relationships of certain characters based on their spoken language, body language and so on.

Furthermore, language itself is a system which is a collection of a variety of signs. These signs can be called linguistic signs only in the dissemination of ideas (Culler 2002). The meaning of language can cause the generation of emotional responses, namely experiential images (Russell 1912). For instance, Hollywood films use Kung Fu as an obvious sign in order to express meaning. This is a body language that also shows a recognizable image of Chinese people, namely Chinese people are good at Kung Fu. Actually it is a stereotype.

Media functions like a mirror that reflects social phenomena and reality, and sometimes they are the stereotypes. Just like Hollywood film, media always mirrors certain stereotypes. However, Hollywood film is also a constructor of stereotypes, and constructed by stereotypes. They often use those stereotypes to construct images of the Chinese characters.

What's more, there is no doubt that the state of language is a projection of historical reality in a given period (Saussure 2011). That is to say, the meaning of language generally changes with other changes over periods of time. Hence the characteristics of Chinese characters are usually presented in diverse stereotypes in different periods of Hollywood films. Likewise, the relationships between Chinese and American characters in Hollywood film also change with historical reality.

Last but not least, we find that racial reasons may have a certain effect on the stereotypical images of Chinese people. That is to say, each film describes images of the Chinese characters with the help of racial stereotypes. Thus racial impact can be observed through characteristics of Chinese characters and through relationships between Chinese and American characters. Just as Chinese characters are not good at speaking English in the minds of Americans, which to them sounds like Chinglish. It is for this reason that American characters often have negative perceptions of Chinese characters in film. In fact, it is a racial stereotype.

In order to show more interesting findings, we want to explain in detail. First of all, we pick out some representative scenes including dialogues and actions, the aim being, through these, to discover each actor's characteristics. In the film *Marlowe*, Wong only has two scenes, but it is enough for us to identify his main characteristics. We carry out a very detailed description and analysis of these two senses. Because of Wong's negative role, his image appears as cruel, callous and as having devious characteristics. And we find that in this film the Chinese character's position is similar to Fu Manchu who is a stereotypical image of Chinese people in early Hollywood film. That is to say, Hollywood film creates images of Chinese characters with the help of previous stereotypes. In Hollywood, the stereotypical image of Chinese characters is still of a group who are cruel, callous and devious.

This can be compared with the first film, Jerry as main actor in *The Big Brawl* has

relatively different characteristics. His characteristics can also be summarized in a few of words: intelligent, impulsive, warm, confident, hardworking and persevering. Jerry is a young guy who has a mostly positive attitude, like he trains hard in order to fight with evildoers. Wong, on the other hand, is a dangerous mob henchman who takes orders from his boss, so he has a totally negative role. We can easily find in these two films Chinese characters have no common characteristics. However, based on the stereotypes which have been constructed by Hollywood films before, the second film inherits some previous stereotypes such as Chinese character being intelligent, persevering and warm. That is to say, the images of Chinese characters are still depicted by previous stereotypes in Hollywood film. Additionally, Hollywood film is a constructor of new images so that it constructs Chinese character as an impulsive and confident person.

However, when we compare the film *Rush Hour* with the above two films, we discover that the third film provides a most positive character in Lee so that his all characteristics are positive. As we summarized before, Lee's characteristics are just, responsible, warm, persevering and honorable. He is a detective inspector who represents justice so that his all scenes are filled with a sense of justice. Hence, this Chinese character's characteristics are completely different from the first film. But there are some common characteristics with the second film, in that he is warm and persevering. Similar to the second film, those characteristics all belong to the previous stereotypes. Besides, the third film has another previous stereotype, namely the honorable person. On this basis, from the characteristics of Chinese character some new images emerge which are constructed by Hollywood film, namely as someone who is just and responsible.

Through above comparison of three particular films, we can conclude that characteristics of Chinese characters in Hollywood martial arts films have undergone many dramatic changes. The stereotypes of cruel, callous and devious Chinese characters begin to disappear. Instead the new images of intelligent, impulsive,

confident, just and responsible Chinese characters seem to emerge. It is a good trend which means that the characteristics of Chinese characters are beginning to have a growing number of positive qualities in Hollywood martial arts films.

As for the relationship with Americans, it is also an important aspect when we talk about the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films. We choose some specific scenes to explain how the relationships between Chinese and American characters portrayed in the films. In the first film, the main Chinese character Wong has an absolute hostile relationship with the main American character, because they are in different position and severally represent good and evil. As we said above, history reality in a given period may have effect on images of Chinese characters in films, and the relationships with American characters are no exception. Just like from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, Americans regard Chinese people as a threat. Then we find the relationship between Chinese and American character is hostile and Chinese character is seen as threat as well. Hence the hostile relationship can mirror the history reality.

However, in the second film, the relationships between Chinese and American characters can be divided into two categories, and the representations of those relationships may be affected by the real China-US relation and racial stereotypes as well. From mid-1970s to mid-1980s, the China and the US start to collaborate, but they represent two great powers and still have international conflict. The first relationship between Jerry and his girlfriend looks like in their collaboration, so that their relationship is pretty good, and they fall in love with each other. Their language and verbal interaction is not affected by racial stereotypes, and is friendly as in the 1940s. Another relationship between Jerry and evildoers is hostile. And this relationship shows although a part of American characters start to accept Chinese character, racism is still alive in Americans. In the film, evildoers call Jerry “Chinaman” or “Chinks” so that Jerry hates them and fights with them. Jerry and the evildoers are absolutely incompatible.

In the last film, we focus on two main characters, Lee and Carter. However, compared with the above two films, we find their relationship is relatively friendly with a gradual change. At beginning, they are unfriendly, but with the development of story, they become more and more trusting each other so that they are partners forever in the end. As we said before, this fluctuant relationship seems like real China-US relation during mid-1980s to 1990s, namely sometimes friendly and sometimes unfriendly. Especially in 1998, the China-US relation is absolutely friendly. Hence, Chinese character becomes a hero in the film *Rush Hour*, and the relationship with American character is friendly as well.

From the above three films, we discover that the trend of relationship between Chinese and American characters goes from hostile to friendly. And their changes in the films speak of the real China-US relation. In this way, film is like a mirror which can reflect history. Similarly, historical realities in any given period may affect images of Chinese characters in Hollywood films.

All in all, from evil to hero, images of Chinese characters tend to become more positive. From supporting role to leading role, Chinese characters gradually have new places in Hollywood martial arts films. But to a certain degree they are still limited to Kung Fu. In addition, the images of Chinese characters are often affected by some previous stereotypes. These stereotypes become signs which imprinted in the minds of people. Hence Hollywood films construct images of Chinese characters with the aid of previous stereotypes in general. Here these stereotypes can be seen as experiential images. Meanwhile, Hollywood films usually construct new images of Chinese characters, which are influenced by history reality and racial stereotypes.

As a result, our findings concerning the characteristics of characters and the relationships concordant with the items presented before in the analytical framework. Whereas, some items are kind of difference. The Chinese character is not

characterized as untrustworthy and inscrutable person, but cruel, callous and devious person in *Marlowe*. And Chinese character has no benevolent, respectful, and honorable characteristics in *The Big Brawl*, instead the open item ‘other’ can be filled with that they have impulsive, confident characteristics. Beside, in *Rush Hour* Chinese character has no cruel, callous and devious characteristics, and the open “other” can be added some words that are just, responsible, warm, persevering and honorable. As for the relationship with Americans is friendly and hostile in *The Big Brawl*, and in *Rush Hour* is not hostile, instead it is friendly. Hence, it appears a new analytical framework, as follow:

Table 3 Analytical Framework: The Stereotypical Images of Chinese People in Hollywood martial arts films

Characters’ characteristics	cruel, callous, devious	<i>Marlowe</i> (1969)
	intelligent, impulsive, warm, confident, hardworking, persevering.	<i>The Big Brawl</i> (1980)
	just, responsible, warm, persevering, honorable	<i>Rush Hour</i> (1998)
Relationships with Americans	hostile	<i>Marlowe</i> (1969)
	friendly and hostile	<i>The Big Brawl</i> (1980)
	friendly	<i>Rush Hour</i> (1998)

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and how these have changed between the late 1960s and late 1990s in Hollywood martial arts films. More specifically, we asked the questions 1) How are Chinese characters' characteristics represented in the films? 2) How are the relationships between Chinese and American characters portrayed in the films? 3) Have stereotypical representations of the Chinese people changed over time, and if so, how?

Our conclusion with respect to the first question shows that, in Hollywood martial arts films, Chinese characters tend to have positive quality characteristics. And we argue that the characteristics of Chinese characters are relatively positive in films, though it mentions some negative characteristics such as cruel, callous, and devious. Just like in film *Marlowe*, Chinese character is treated as a threat for American character so that he is characterized as a cruel, callous and devious person. However, in the film *The Big Brawl* and *Rush Hour*, Chinese characters are mostly represented as good guys and hero who have warm, persevering, intelligent and honorable characteristics. Hence we can conclude that the characteristics of Chinese characters are comparatively upward in the films.

Additionally, the relationships between Chinese and American characters in film are mostly friendly. As for the most American characters, they regard Chinese characters as friends so that their relationship is absolutely good. Although in *Marlowe* the Chinese character has an opposite relationship with American character. And in *The Big Brawl*, it also has a hostile relationship with a few American characters, but the relationship between Chinese and most American characters is friendly. Likewise, the Chinese character and the American character in *Rush Hour* are friends as well as partners so that their relationship is friendly too. As a whole, all these three films indicate Chinese and American characters have friendly relationship.

The last question is answered by that the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films have undergone tremendous changes over time. Especially from previous negative images like cruel, callous and devious, to become gradually to appear some positive images, namely just, responsible, warm, persevering and honorable. And the role orientation is from supporting role to leading role which means Chinese people have more and more place in Hollywood martial arts films. That is to say, stereotypical representations of the Chinese people have always changed from the late 1960s to late 1990s.

As seen in the literature review, the previous scholarship about the stereotypical images of Chinese people mostly pay attention to four different time periods, such as between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during 1940s, and from 1940s to mid-1960s, and between the late 1960s and late 1990s. However there is a gap on changes of stereotypical images of Chinese people between the late 1960s and late 1990s, especially when the Bruce Lee appears in Hollywood martial arts films. Hence our study adequately fills this gap, and explores the stereotypical images of Chinese people in different time periods' Hollywood martial arts films as well its transformations. We have filled the gap through analyzing three representative films, and making a specific research on the characteristics of characters and the relationships with American characters. We believe that our thesis contributes to the existing literature on the stereotype and film research — changes on the stereotypical images of Chinese people in Hollywood martial arts films between the late 1960s and late 1990s.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this study has certain limitations. Discourse analysis relies on subjective judgment, which involves potential bias. Additionally, the generalizability of this study is limited for several reasons. Firstly, the aim of current study is to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people and specifically focuses time period from the late 1960s to late 1990s. Actually, the time period can be selected from the late 1960s to present. It will show more diverse images of Chinese

people. Secondly, we only choose three films from different time periods in order to analyze the stereotypical images of Chinese people, which may not look representative and convincing. Besides, the scenes we chosen are not from random sample of films. Therefore, the images described in this study may not fully represent all the Chinese people. In the future, researchers can extend the time period and choose more films to increase reliability, namely getting completed understanding about the stereotypical images of Chinese people.

All in all, Hollywood films are both a producer and product of stereotypes in the world. Through the impact Hollywood films have throughout the world it is important to study them. It is a way of understanding not only Hollywood, but also to understand the role that stereotypical understandings play in the way we try to make sense of the world.

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