

性別研究資訊

目錄：

編者語	第一頁
蔡寶瓊 大學生的婚姻和性道德觀念	第二頁
曾嘉燕 女子行動—— 抗議電視廣告歧視女性	第四頁
蔡寶瓊 一九九一兩性角色交流會報告	第五頁
葉順興 新界婦女在九七過渡期意向 問卷調查報告	第五頁
熊景明 新書評介—— 〈中國婦女統計資料, 1949-1989〉	第六頁
胡露茜 九一選舉與婦女	第六頁
譚少薇 性別與文化—— 一個人類學的觀點(英文)	第七頁
葉漢明 施其樂牧師及其研究簡介(英文)	第八頁
徐慶豐 本地學界對性侵犯的漠然態度(英文)	第十頁
亞洲歷史學者國際聯會第十二屆會議：	第十一頁
葉瑪麗 婦女研究小組討論報告(英文)	
葉漢明 亞洲婦女	
葉瑪麗 研究計劃介紹——香港婦女列傳， 1841-1991(英文)	第十二頁
沈玉儀 書評—— 〈舊日香港西方婦女的 私人生活1841-1941〉(英文)	第十三頁
史德莎 書評—— 〈喜樂會〉(英文)	第十四頁
張妙清 記〈性別與社會——亞太區的經驗〉 國際研討會(英文)	第十五頁
編者語 (英文)	第十六頁

徵稿

〈性別研究資訊〉是一份中英文的雙語通訊刊物，園地公開，歡迎有關性別問題的稿件如短文、報告、評論及消息等。來稿請寄香港中文大學香港亞太研究所性別研究計劃收。稿件請盡量以電腦磁碟形式投寄，並附上打印稿。本刊下期截稿日期為九一年十二月一日，請踴躍支持。

哺育與冒險： 性別的分野——編者語

蔡寶瓊

在一個後工業化的社會如香港，一個普遍的現象是行為規範較寬鬆而人際關係較隨和。因此，為人父者也漸漸放下嚴厲的面孔而較樂於幫忙照顧孩子。也許是為了補償工作上的激烈競爭和人際疏離的緣故，男性一般也較多參與核心家庭的生活。可是，父親幫忙照顧孩子並不一定能減輕母親的重擔。不少家務研究發現，父親大多只陪伴兒女或與他們玩耍；至於母親，則仍然負擔傳統的勞動，諸如洗燙，清潔和喂食等等。有人甚至說：父親參與照顧孩子，反而奪去母親一些較有樂趣和具滿足感的育兒工作。

撇開育兒任務分配這問題不說，我們可以看到親密的、深刻的、反覆進行的親子關係如何從一開始就在孩子腦中不斷重造社會文化層面的性別分野。通過與孩子一起進行玩耍、探索、和冒險性質的活動，父親不知不覺間向他們傳送一個自由的、外向的男性形象。母親的形像則比較平淡（可能是家務所累之故）却又穩實而易於估計。他是困在家裡的女性哺育者，也是孩子不舒服、痛苦或者遇麻煩時尋求安慰的對象。是以一般母親都知道，幼兒通常在精力充沛和想玩耍時找爸爸，但當他們疲倦和有病時就會尋覓母親安全的懷抱。通過這親子關係的差異，性別的分野在孩子社化過程中很早就建立了實在的、植根於生活體驗的基礎。

性別的分野和關係是我們這份刊物處理的主題。今期的稿件包括：一篇討論人類學如何幫助理解性別作為社會文化建構的文章、一篇訪問本地著名歷史學者的報告、一個在本校進行的關於性道德的調查報告，和一篇關於性侵犯和呼籲在校園裡正視這問題的討論。另外，還有一篇文章解釋本地婦運團體所採取的一些抗爭策略。除此之外，本期還有書評和有關社團活動的報告。

一如我們刊物的名稱顯示，我們出版的目的是促進關於性別課題的資訊交流和討論，故此大學內外的個人或團體投稿都無任歡迎。

從今期始，本刊將列出文章目錄，以方便不諳中文或英文的讀者知悉全部文章的題目。我們期望有一天可以擴大篇幅，每篇文章都分別以中英文版登出，但如此則非有更多的資源不可。要增加資源，首先就要提高性別研究的地位，這後者就是我們最終的目的。

大學生的婚姻和性道德觀念

蔡寶瓊

本文曾於〈崇基牧箋〉第三期（一九九一年四月廿六日）刊登

前言

本文基於崇基學院月前在本院學生中所做的問卷調查所得，作一個簡單的分析。不過，首先要弄清楚的，是這類關於道德，尤其是比較敏感的有關性道德的調查，其可信度會受到一定的影響，主要是因為作答者傾向選擇一個被認為是社會可接受的（socially acceptable）答案。再者，這是一項意見調查，不能看成為實際行為的指標。調查結果只可以顯示香港的大學生關於婚姻及性道德的大致趨向，閱讀者對個別數字不必太執著。

填報問卷者之基本特性（表一）

崇基學院輔導處，校牧室及明華堂宿生會於今年三月廿二日進行一項「婚姻和性道德指標」的問卷調查。調查的對象是崇基學院該年度的本科生。完成的有效問卷共516份，佔全校學生（1,745人）的29.6%，其中男填報者佔43.2%（223人），為全校男生（823人）之27.1%；女填報者佔56.8%（293人），為全校女生（917人）之31.9%。在大一至大四的組別中，大二及大一的學生佔最多數，有31.9及29.3%，大三及大四的學生則佔23.3及15.5%。另外，在信仰組別方面，有宗教信仰的人數佔填報者的45.5%（235人），其中超過98%為基督教及天主教的信徒。

表一 填報問卷者資料						
級別	人數	%	性 別	%	宗教信仰	%
大一	151	29.3	男	44.4	有	39.1
			女	55.6	無	60.9
大二	165	31.9	男	47.3	有	47.3
			女	52.7	無	52.7
大三	120	23.3	男	45.0	有	49.2
			女	55.0	無	50.8
大四	80	15.5	男	30.0	有	48.7
			女	70.0	無	51.3
總數	516	100.0	男	43.2	有	45.5
			女	56.8	無	54.5

對婚姻制度的看法：男女差異（表二）

大部分男女同學（男73%；女76.5%）都認為一夫一妻終老是最理想的婚姻模式，這是切合現代社會普遍規範的。與此配合的，是大部分男女同學都不接受影響婚姻制度的婚外情。不過，對男同學來說，男性婚外情是比較可以接受的（14.7%男同學認為男性婚外情可以接受，而只有8.5%男同學認為可以接受女性婚外情）。女同學對婚外情的接受程度較低，顯示出他們更認同社會一般的規範。但是，他們一如男同學一樣，比較容易接受同性的婚外情（6.8%接受女性婚外情，4.9%接受男性婚外情）。

同學們一方面認同現行的婚姻制度，但是另一方面却接受離婚這個事實，恰好引證了離婚率上升與婚姻制度的穩定性並行不悖的社會學觀察。再者，對一夫一妻終老的理想認同較深和更大程度上反對婚外情的女同學，對離婚却採取更同情的態度（相對於67.7%的男同學，有74.3%女同學接受男性離婚；相對於69%的男同學，有73%女同學接受女性離婚）。我們不能够單憑這些數字去理解背後的原因。不過，從過往社會學的觀察，我們知道當社會關係及婚姻法例轉變的時候（例如一九五零年中國大陸通過的婚姻法），率先掌握離婚機會的以女性居多。這是因為普遍來說，婚姻制度給予男性的“優惠”較多，而女性受婚姻束縛的程度較大，故此這次調查發現女同學較同情離婚，也是可以理解的。

表二 對婚姻制度的看法：男女差異						
	是		不是		其他（註一）	
	男	女	男	女	男	女
一夫一妻終老是理想婚姻模式	73.0	76.5	11.2	2.7	15.3	20.8
	不接受		接受		其他	
	男	女	男	女	男	女
男性婚外情	73.2	87.9	14.7	4.9	12.1	7.2
女性婚外情	80.7	85.6	8.5	6.8	10.8	7.6
男性離婚	10.7	6.1	67.7	74.3	21.6	19.6
女性離婚	8.6	5.1	69.0	73.0	22.4	21.9

註一：“其他”一項，包括問卷中選擇“無既定標準”及“無答案”者。

性道德：男女差異（表三）

在男女婚前性行為和與異性同居兩個項目裡，我們都發現女同學傾向比男同學保守，即不接受的比率較高。更有意思的，是男女同學都顯示雙重的道德標準，對男性婚前性行為及與異性同居的尺度較寬鬆（44.3%男同學及28.4%女同學接受男性婚前性行為；56.9%男同學及47.5%女同學接受男性與異性同居），對女性則較嚴厲（只有34.5%男同學及25.6%女同學接受女性婚前性行為；53.4%男同學及44.4%女同學接受女性與異性同居），而男同學所持雙重標準的差距較大。這發現是意料之中的，因為社會本身有一種矛盾的要求，一方面要求男性扮演“侵略者”的角色，假設性慾是男性的專利，而另一方面却要求女性監守自己的“貞操”。正因為如此，雖然男女同學都有近半數要求結婚對象是處男或者處女，顯示出他們認為性行為的合法性質（legitimacy）是由婚姻制度賦予的，但是男同學要求對方是處女的比率稍大（46.2%相對於43.4%）。不過，較難解釋的，是同學們，不論男女，對婚前性行為的尺度都比同居的較嚴。此外，雖然女同學對異性性行為的態度較保守，但是對同性戀的容忍度却較高，顯示出異性戀傾向（heterosexuality）及其附帶的男女特定關係，如“主動”相對於“被動”，“征服”相對於“奉獻”，是男性認同（masculinity）的根源，故此男性是較不容易接受同性戀的。

表三 性道德：男女差異						
	要求		不要求		其他（註一）	
	男	女	男	女	男	女
結婚時對象是處男／女	46.2	43.4	29.2	29.3	24.7	27.3
	不接受		接受		其他	
	男	女	男	女	男	女
男性有婚前性行為	34.0	48.1	44.3	28.7	21.7	23.2
女性有婚前性行為	46.6	54.6	34.5	25.6	18.9	19.8
未婚男性與異性同居	29.6	35.8	56.9	47.5	13.5	16.7
未婚女性與異性同居	37.7	39.3	53.4	44.4	8.9	16.3
男同性戀	62.8	54.9	24.2	37.3	13.0	7.8
女同性戀	61.2	55.0	26.7	36.8	12.1	8.2

註一：“其他”一項，包括問卷中選擇“無既定標準”及“無答案”者。

宗教的影響（表四及表五）

參與這次問卷調查的，有宗教信仰的同學佔45.5%，而其中絕大部分（98%）是基督或者是天主教徒。比較

表四 對婚姻制度的看法：有宗教與無宗教的差異						
	是		不是		其他（註一）	
	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教
一夫一妻終老是理想婚姻模式	87.7	69.0	1.8	9.6	10.5	21.4
	不接受		接受		其他	
	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教
男性婚外情	84.3	72.5	7.6	14.0	8.1	13.5
女性婚外情	85.0	78.0	8.9	8.1	6.1	13.9
男性離婚	12.3	4.6	58.8	79.4	28.9	16.0
女性離婚	12.0	4.3	56.2	77.6	31.7	18.1

註一：“其他”一項，包括問卷中選擇“無既定標準”及“無答案”者。

表四和表五可見，教徒較非教徒保守，而同時他們也與非教徒一樣，對男女性道德採取雙重的標準，和維護婚姻制度；只是其保守程度較高而已。至於對同性戀的接納程度，教徒比非教徒只是稍低，這與社會上某些宗教代表對同性戀（男性同性戀）口誅筆伐的情況是不大吻合的。

表五 性道德：有宗教與無宗教的差異						
	要求		不要求		其他（註一）	
	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教
結婚時對象是處男／女	51.0	39.9	25.6	33.0	23.4	27.1
	不接受		接受		其他	
	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教	有宗教	無宗教
男性有婚前性行為	58.2	28.9	22.9	46.2	18.9	24.9
女性有婚前性行為	65.2	38.0	19.4	37.4	15.4	24.6
未婚男性與異性同居	46.8	20.5	35.3	63.9	17.9	15.6
未婚女性與異性同居	51.0	28.0	32.2	56.0	16.8	16.0
男同性戀	66.8	52.4	20.5	35.0	12.7	12.6
女同性戀	63.8	49.9	23.0	38.5	13.2	11.6

註一：“其他”一項，包括問卷中選擇“無既定標準”及“無答案”者。

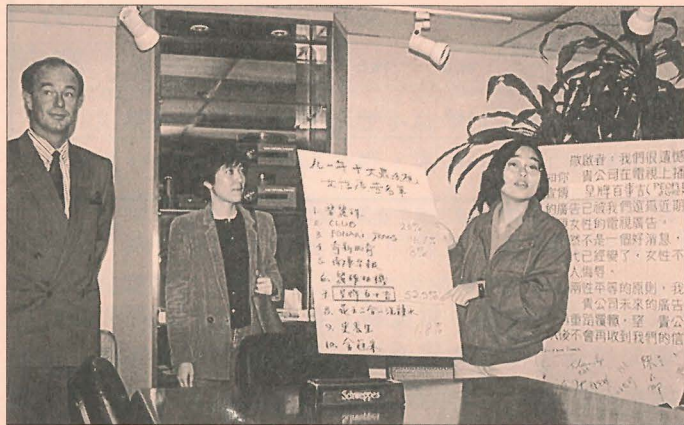
後話

這只是一個很簡單的，初步的調查。雖然大部分的發現大致上都可以理解，但是也有不能理解的地方（如同居比婚前性行為較易接受）。再者，這種量化的調查不能深入探討被訪者的主觀世界，尤其是性、婚姻、同性戀等等對個人的意義。我們期待在性道德，婚姻觀方面有更全面，更深入的研究。

蔡寶瓊為香港中文大學教育學院講師

女子行動—— 抗議電視廣告歧視女性

曾嘉燕



今年三月十三日，新婦女協進會（以下簡稱「婦進」）十多名代表到精英廣告製作公司及旗昌洋行遞交抗議信，抗議它們製作的皇牌百事吉洋酒廣告含有強烈歧視女性的訊息，廣告把女性視為男性玩物，其地位與車、酒等商品無異。婦進認為這些訊息不單貶抑女性的人格尊嚴，而且繼續鞏固一套扭曲的兩性觀念。

婦女運動一向關心爭取社會制度的改變，為女性製造平等發展與社會參與的空間及條件。而同時，婦女運動亦是一場文化意識的戰爭，向一套沿襲下來、習以為常的男性中心意識提出質疑、挑戰，並尋求建立一套新的價值系統。

婦進過去七年的工作，一直都在這兩方面努力不懈。傳播媒介對女性形象的模塑，是婦進一直關心的課題。例如八六年婦進與其他婦女團體組成「婦女關注色情及暴力傳媒聯合委員會」，就政府的「管制暴力及不雅物品條例草案」及當年的選美活動等發表意見及聲明。八七年婦進完成一份「婦女與傳媒」的研究報告，探討本地主流傳媒中的女性形象，及在現存條件下開闢殊途媒介的可能性。今年的三八婦女節，婦進舉辦了一個座談會，探討市面湧現一批新的女性雜誌的現象，及它們對女性形象的建構，會上亦同時舉辦了「最歧視女性電視廣告選舉」，皇牌百事吉就是在當日選舉中「奪魁」的廣告。

本地廣告中的女性形象離不開幾大典型：主婦、性對象、只關心外表的女性，這是廣告世界裡的「現實」，但絕對不是社會中的現實。廣告界一般對婦進的抗議行動均報以「自以為是」或「不以為然」的態度。理由主要可歸入幾類：廣告只是反映社會現實、

廣告人有「專業自由」去發揮創作、香港女性地位已經很高，根本不存在性別歧視的問題。在整個香港社會一般對女性處境缺乏反省的環境底下，這些反應並沒有令人覺得意外。

不過，今次的行動却得到傳媒高度的關注，熱烈的報導。電台、雜誌、報章的專題訪問絡繹不絕，從這個角度去衡量，這是一次非常成功的行動，亦切合婦進設計這個行動的原來的目的：引起社會人士關注討論，進行意識推廣工作。

婦進除了向廣告商抗議，亦去信向廣播事務管理局投訴這類廣告歧視女性，和要求檢討現時電視廣告條例，研究訂定製作守則，提高有關人士的警覺，避免生產具性別歧視內容的廣告。廣播事務管理局的回覆並無新意，一方面審訂了婦進投訴的廣告「並無超逾現行之電視廣告條例中之任何條款」，另外對於我們要求檢討現行條例，則答謂會紀錄在案，以備參考。

下一步可以做甚麼呢？一個有效的監察系統肯定是必要的，婦進會繼續搜集各個國家有關廣播製作守則的資料作為參考，繼續與政府對話，尋求在架構內的突破。架構以外，婦進會繼續擔上傳媒監察的角色，從行動言論上進行意識推廣。已定的計劃包括製作一套探討廣告中女性形象的影視教材；待定的計劃則包括每年進行最歧視女性電視廣告選舉，和在會內進行研習討論，深化看法。

曾嘉燕為新婦女協進會執行秘書



一九九一兩性角色交流會報告

〈九十年代香港家庭——矛盾與出路〉

蔡寶瓊

香港中文大學香港亞太研究所屬下的性別研究計劃，於本年五月二十五日舉辦了以《九十年代香港家庭——矛盾與出路》為題的交流會。

這類交流會是性別研究計劃的首次嘗試，目的是邀請代表不同崗位和觀點的人士，環繞着一個有關兩性角色的題目互相交流意見；而大學主辦人就負責界定交流會的主題，提供交流和辯論的空間，和扮演聯繫各方面人士的“橋樑”角色。

今年選擇家庭作為交流的主題，是考慮到現行社會政策以家庭為基本單位，而政策所本的家庭概念與實際狀況有一段距離，因而產生了種種的不滿和矛盾；再者，家庭也是探索兩性關係的現況及其改變路向的焦點，故在社會早已引起不少爭論。

交流會在衛生福利司黃錢其濂致開幕詞、性別研究計劃主任張妙清作簡介後正式開始，主要分兩部分：先是四個專題演講，然後有一個多小時的台下發言及討論。專題演講由四位代表不同立場和意見的講者擔任，包括：（一）社會福利署朱楊珀瑜談“九十年代的家庭福利服務”，羅列政府家庭服務的各個範疇及服務所本的原則；（二）基督教家庭服務中心吳國棟談“今日婦女：傳統角色與自我成長”，說現時女性往往要面對個人成長與傳統家庭角色這兩個矛盾的要求，主張女性要以家庭穩定為大前提，然後嘗試在個人層面作適當的安排，例如改善自己的質素，俾能擺脫困境；（三）婦運團體代表嚴月蓮，以“從家庭勞動看婦女解放的困境與出路”為題，批評無論社會福利政策或者是社會一般人的看法，都假定女性是家庭的“後勤基地”，完全漠視女性自我成長的需要，故此主張通過女性的自主運動，擴張他們個人成長的空間；（四）香港大學社會學系講師吳俊雄，則以“香港婦女就業與家庭變遷”為題，抨擊六、七十年代關於香港家庭的社會科學研究，以至社會福利政策，都從一個結構功能主義的角度出發，只考慮所謂社會及家庭整體的功能和需要，而忽視整體與個人之間，以及個人與個人之間的矛盾，尤其忽視女性在現行制度下所受的壓抑；因此他主張社科研究應該加入一個婦女的角度，以便達致一個更全面的理解。

在公開討論的環節中，台下發言十分踴躍，有提出對不同講者的質疑和回應，也有發表對婦運路向的見解。總的來說，激烈的辯論都環繞着女性個人成長的權利與保持現存家庭結構及分工的相對價值。因為發言的人太多，結果原定下午十二時半的完場時間，要延長至差不多一時。

從各參加者之間激烈的辯論可見，是次大會可說是達到了交流的目的，也肯定了有關兩性角色及社會結構關係的辯論是十分適切的。大會除了編輯是次交流會專題演講及台下討論的內容外，還會準備籌辦下年度的交流會，期望對兩性問題的討論，起一點點推進的作用。

《新界婦女在九七過渡期意向 問卷調查報告》

葉順興

新界社團聯會婦女中心，於九一年初與八個新界婦女團體：屯門區婦女會、沙田婦女會、北區婦女互助會、荃灣區婦女會、西貢婦女會、長洲婦女會、元朗區婦女會、香港離島婦女聯誼會等，進行一項有關九七過渡的意向問卷調查。調查地點包括新界九個地區，訪問了963名婦女，調查內容涉及（1）移民問題；（2）對香港前途的信心；（3）中、英、港政府及社團在過渡期應分別扮演的角色。

總結調查結果，有以下四項：

- （一）調查中有61.6%婦女沒有移民打算，有移民打算的只佔13.8%。另外，有近乎兩成半沒有答案，顯示有些婦女對前途還未有確定的打算。
- （二）打算移民的婦女，對移民外國的生活感到將有多方面的壓力。最顯著的，為語言隔膜、就業困難、種族歧視及對環境不適應等。
- （三）有36.9%婦女對“一國兩制”沒有信心。另外有19.4%沒有提供答案。
- （四）在過渡期間，婦女較為關心的，是如何保持香港的穩定繁榮。他們期望中、英、港三方面政府，以及民間團體，都能分別扮演積極的角色，以減少港人的憂慮。

葉順興為新界社團聯會婦女中心主任

新書評介

熊景明

《中國婦女統計資料（1949—1989）》
中華全國婦女聯合會婦女研究所，
陝西省婦女聯合會研究室編；
北京：中國統計出版社，1991年3月；599頁。

近年大陸出版的各類統計資料，形形色式的年鑑層出不窮。但除了極少數幾種外，涉及人的指標都不分性別，而82年以前分性別的數據更為罕見。故此看到這厚厚的一本49-89的婦女統計資料，令人覺得如獲至寶。

該書共有統計表七百餘，分為人口；教育；勞動；婚姻家庭；生育；衛生；科研、文化、體育；社會參與；時間分配等九大部份。第一至第八部份的資料主要來自1953、64及82年的三次全國人口普查，國家統計局80年代主持的幾項大型人口生育率調查，以及兒童情況抽樣調查。第九部份“時間分配”的資料則來自個別省分及全國婦聯組織的調查。

全書最難得的，是做中國婦女研究的人苦苦找尋而不可得的某些統計資料第一次在該書中出現。例如：“1949—1984年全民所有制各部門女職工人年來人數（241頁，但仍缺66-76文革期間的數字），“1978、86，88年7月按性別、年齡、職務綜合分類的企業職工工資情況”（320頁），“1978-85年婚姻變動情況”（339頁），“主要年份分城鄉婦女結婚年齡情況”（345頁）以及教育方面的

歷年各級學校在校女生數及比重。此外還有不少有趣的統計，例如88年全國有337個婦女理論研究會，213個婚姻家庭研究會，1,554個家庭教育研究會。相信對婦女研究有興趣者，都可在書中找到不少耐人玩味的數字。

資料偏重於80年代以後不足為奇，但顯著地缺乏農村婦女的資料，則反映出大陸官方及民間的研究對人的觀注之偏向。

本書也像大陸許多統計資料一樣，缺乏必要的說明。例如按文化程度分類的女職工時間分配情況一表顯示，文化程度最低者每天用於個人衛生的時間比文化程度高的人多，這倒不見得文化低的人更愛乾淨，也許是她們住房的衛生設備較差。此外無子女的婦女每天用於照看孩子的時間和子女12歲以上的婦女同是一分鐘，實在令人費解。

本書最後一個表是中、美、蘇、法、西德、波蘭職工每天勞動時間的比較，以家務勞動計，其他各國男性均每天做1.2小時左右，女性3.6小時，中國男性做3.9小時，而女性5.2小時，大致說明當今大陸婦女的狀況，相對於男性而言，地位是提高了，但總的負擔則仍然沉重。

熊景明為香港中文大學大學服務中心副主任

九一選舉與婦女

胡露茜

為配合九一年度之三級議會選舉，本港五個婦女團體包括新婦女協進會、香港婦女基督徒協會、香港婦女協會婦女中心、香港婦女勞工協會及筲箕灣婦女聯會特別於去年十月組成「女選民培育計劃聯委會」，藉此呼籲各界人士關注婦女的需要，並聯結廣大基層婦女及關心婦女權益的社會人士，共同為婦女爭取合理權益。

由成立至今，該會曾舉辦多項活動，包括去年十月在尖沙咀碼頭發起「女選民登記活動」，呼籲女性踴躍登記為選民；十一月底發表「婦女政綱」，呼籲各級參選人士關注婦女問題；九一年五月發表區議員政綱評估報告，發現僅二成區議會候選人之政綱當中有提及婦女權益。此外，九一年初至今，該會亦在港九新界各區舉辦「女選民培育」講座，反

應理想。而該會為九月立法局直選籌辦之活動則包括於八月十七日舉行之「婦女政綱交流會」、「三大婦女政綱選舉」及「標語創作比賽」。被邀請出席交流會之人士包括全港立法局候選議員、各界別之婦女代表（家庭、勞工、雙職、單親）及學術界代表，希望透過分享討論，能加深候選人對婦女問題的認識和關注。

根據九〇年十一月選民登記數字顯示，在一百八十萬選民當中，女選民佔47%；而八八年區議會選舉及八九年市政局及區域市政局選舉之投票率亦可見，在三十歲至五十歲年齡組別到選民當中，女性的投票率甚至比男性為高。上述數字均顯示女性選票實不容忽視。

胡露茜為香港中文大學崇基學院助理校牧

Gender and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective

Tam Siu-mi

Females and males in all known cultures behave differently and are treated differently by society. Anthropologists, however, are divided as to how the corpus of ethnographic description of this universal sex difference should be interpreted. Some argue that sexual dimorphism in the human species and genetical predispositions in temperament lead to a division of labour by sex. Cross-culturally women give birth and men cannot; women are found to be more nurturant while men are more aggressive. Thus women are assigned to a child bearer-rearer role and men a protector-provider role, and productive and reproductive activities in human groups are organized along the line of public-men vs. private-women. This results in men being rewarded with more political power, more prestige as well as a greater chance to inherit property. Supporters of this view that a universal sexual stratification exists in favour of men cite hunting-gathering groups as examples, claiming that even in these relatively egalitarian societies where no formal political hierarchy exists, men have more advantages than women, such as the access to extramarital sex; or, in matrilineal societies in which descent is traced through the female line, it is actually the maternal uncles who exercise authority in the kin group.

Other anthropologists have pointed out that the consistency of behavioural and temperamental differences between the sexes in different cultures cannot be reduced to biological determinism. It is rather a result of learning and the environment in which individuals live. Enculturation starts at very early childhood. Chodorow (1973), for example, points out that the nature and quality of social relationships experienced by a child will be appropriated, internalized and organized by him or her, and come to constitute the individual's personality. As societies require males and females to perform different roles, girls and boys will be brought up accordingly. Along this line, since men are expected to become warriors, they therefore should be brought up to be aggressive; and since they are expected to do heavier labor, they acquire greater physical strength at least partly through training.

Whether we accept the biological or the learning argument, it is important to bear in mind the complexity of cultural systems, how gender interacts with them and whether all the factors vary in the same way. If there is one agreement among anthropologists concerning gender, it is that different cultures have very different ideas about sex differences and hence a whole different set of accompanying social values, norms and behaviour. Among both the Chinese and Tchambuli of New Guinea, for example, exists the most obvious sex typing. But as traditional Chinese women lament their "bitter life" and being a "nameless gender" (a la Watson 1986) relegated to the confines of the household, Tchambuli women are the major economic providers who are confident, managerial and practical. They do all the fishing, go on long canoe trips to do the trading and contribute almost everything to the economy. They are energetic, domineering, impersonal and unadorned. Tchambuli men, in contrast, are delicate, sensitive and emotional. They spend all their time on their appearance and artistic pursuits. They are the reverse of our cultural norms (Mead 1935).

Among two other groups in New Guinea, Mead records great sexual similarities. Both sexes of the Arapesh are gentle and nurturant, oriented towards the growth of all living things and towards the needs of others rather than of the self. Passivity and emotional warmth are ideal personality traits for both sexes. Both women and men are regarded as having the same sex drives, and are equally free and likely to initiate sexual intercourse. Mundugumor men and women, in contrast, are both violently aggressive, acquisitive and rivalrous. The Mundugumor woman does not show any maternal instinct if there is one. She is fearful of pregnancy, nurses her baby unwillingly, and she rejects her daughters. Characterized by distrust and hostility, both sexes in this culture hate openly and love aggressively. For both the Arapesh and the Mundugumor, sex typing is minimal. Mead's study suggests that there is no such thing as an instinctive female or male personality. Rather, personality is highly malleable, and individual societies create their own female and male genders. Although later scholars have questioned Mead's methodology and conclusions, her New Guinea study sheds light on how different cultures conceptualize femininity and masculinity, and forces us to rethink our own concept of gender.

Thus though sex is biologically determined, gender is culturally defined. A more recent study by Wikan (1977) demonstrates that gender is indeed a cultural construct. In coastal Oman, the Arabs institutionalize a gender role system in which female and male roles are reciprocal—men may become women and then men again. Male transsexuals who are anatomically male practise as homosexual prostitutes, but retain their male names and legal male status. In their everyday life, transsexuals imitate women's behavior—they speak in a high-pitch voice, walk with a swaying gait, put on close-fitting garments and, most importantly, they take up a passive role in sexual intercourse. On important social occasions such as weddings where strict rules of sex segregation are particularly imminent, transsexuals sing and eat together with women, thereby publicly declaring a non-male identity. These non-men can move freely among women behind purdah and their appearance is judged with the standards of feminine beauty. But, as prostitutes, transsexuals are distinguished from women who are considered pure and virtuous in the Islamic ideal. Unlike women, they are corrupted and unfaithful in their sexual behavior and hence are not allowed to wear female clothing nor hairstyle in order to protect the purity and respectability of womanhood. Transsexuals are non-female. They are, rather, intermediate between men and women. They do housework, for instance, which is women's job, but, as domestic servants, they earn their own living which all men do. A transsexual, however, can choose to end his career as women and transforms into a man if he proves his sexual potency on wedding night; thereafter all women will have to avoid him as an ordinary man according to the rules of modesty. To the Omanis, then, gender is defined by behavior rather than anatomy. Transsexuals, as social persons, are neither male nor female but a third category in the gender role system. This triad gender construct in Omani culture points to a concept of the person and social identity that is fundamentally different from ours.

The conceptualization of gender and a host of related analytical constructs such as status, rights, value and influence are part and parcel of how we constitute our own cultural environment. In the study of sex differences, cross-cultural comparisons often shed light on the fluidity of gender and personality, and challenge our deep-rooted values and ideas that are taken for granted.

References

Chodorow, Nancy

- 1973 "Family Structure and Feminine Personality", in *Women, Culture and Society*, M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp.43-46.

Mead, Margaret

- 1935 *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, New York: William Morrow & Co.

Watson, Rubie

- 1986 "The Named and the Nameless: Gender and Person in Chinese Society", *American Ethnologist* 13(4): 619-630.

Wikan, Unni

- 1977 "Man becomes Woman: Transsexualism in Oman as a Key to Gender Roles," *Man* 12(2): 304-319.

Tam Siu-Mi is assistant lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Profile of a Local Researcher: The Rev. Carl T. Smith — His Works, Knowledge, and File-Index Research System

Yip Hon-ming

Being generally known for his research on the formation of the Chinese Christian communities in Hong Kong, Chinese social organization, and urban history of the city, the Rev. Carl T. Smith is actually also an inspiration to researchers of Hong Kong women's history. Although he modestly admitted, during my visit to his private library, that he had collected not much material on that specific topic, he has already done some relevant work with originality and pioneer endeavour.



Naturally, his works on women's history are closely related to his general interest in Hong Kong's Christian Church, urban development and genealogical studies. According to his lively self-analysis, he has been obsessed with the studies of local social history ever since he was a teenager in his hometown, Dayton, Ohio. Later when he was dispatched to Hong Kong as a clergyman in the early 1960s, his urge to conduct research soon kept him busy with the copying of gravestone inscriptions, and the reading of church records and Chinese newspapers. At the time when the Public Records Office was open, he must have been its first customer, going through series after series of collections, and handcopying important items on cards. Gradually, he has accumulated thousands of extracts from various source materials—inscriptions, archives, newspapers, land documents, Colonial Office records, court papers, wills, business reports, etc. With these notes which he calls working files, he has set up a finding system that turns out to be of great help to other researchers.

A large part of these files are catalogued by proper name—family names of Chinese people, foreigners, or Eurasians, as well as names of business firms in Hong Kong which appeared in various sources from the 19th century to 1980s. Another part of the files are organized by topics such as cemeteries, child labor, schools, etc. From these topics,

we can get a sense of Smith's broad interests ranging from Christianity, Chinese culture and social institutions, interactions between China, Hong Kong, and the outside world, overseas Chinese, historical anecdotes of the local international community, to the development and change of various districts in urban Hong Kong—a field which he calls "area studies."

From the Rev. Carl Smith's interested subjects, it is not difficult to sense that people and their communities are always his major

concern. Taking one look at the enormous name indices in his finding system would suffice to drive home this point. The building up of biographies, reconstruction of family histories, and recreation of the community setting and social nexus have been made possible through the collection of many isolated items of information about numerous individuals—missionaries, other Westerners in China, Chinese converts as members of Hong Kong's local elite, merchants, compradors, and other aides to foreigners. With strong love for community life himself, Smith is also very active in the local academic circle. He has been the Vice-president of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Now almost 20 years had passed after his retirement from the lecturership in Theology at the Chung Chi College, he is as academically active as ever with even more time devoted to research. With genealogical and local studies still his greatest interested areas, he is now visiting the local Mormon Church four nights a week reading genealogies while making frequent trips to Macao for research into its history.

Among Smith's publications including a book entitled *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (1985), and articles in various journals such as *Ching Feng*, *Chung Chi Bulletin*, *Chung Chi Journal*, and *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, there are valuable works, though not in a very large



amount, on women's history. Pertaining issues include church and women, Chinese Christian women and Western woman missionaries, Sino-Western marriage, expatriate women in Hong Kong, the Mui Tsai (bought maid) question, Chinese and Western prostitutes, Chinese women "protected" by foreigners, and even female drama performers. In writing church and missionary history, he came across various items of information on women. In 1970, for example, he published an article on the earliest missionaries in Hong Kong in which he mentioned the first foreign woman in Hong Kong and her contribution as the first person to provide education for Chinese girls in the colony (1976: 26). In a more focused discussion of the Protestant Church and women's status in 19th-century China, he further asserts that the church played a significant role in initiating the effort to improve Chinese women's social position. Making use of missionary archives, especially reports on women's work, he has traced the deeds of the forerunners of unmarried women who came to Hong Kong around 1850 for the purpose of missionary work among the Chinese and for the promotion of female education in the East. These woman missionaries provided a model for a positive female vocation other than that of wife and mother (1977b: 114).

As for Chinese women, they enjoyed improving status in the Christian community as there is a theological foundation, according to Smith, for equality between the sexes before God and thus the liberation of women from a subordinate position (1977b: 115). This argument is loud and clear in both his articles on church and women and his book on Chinese Christians as elites and middlemen. In discussing the impact of the Christian Church on Chinese traditional family patterns, he shows that some Christian converts became agents of social change and advocates of reforms which would always be carried out first at their own homes. Some men would change their wills to provide legacies for their married daughters. They included names of daughters and granddaughters in obituary notices and gravestone inscriptions long before non-Christian Chinese began doing so. Christian families no longer bound their daughters' feet. They sent daughters to schools run by missionaries. Fathers and husbands might have been urged by the church to allow women of their families to attend public worship against the traditional Chinese custom of keeping female members within the private sphere of the household (1977b: 113-114; 1985: 186, 205-207).

In the public sphere, Smith further points out, the improvement of women's status in the Christian community in 19th-century China in a way prepared the ground for campaigns in the 1920s for women's suffrage, appointment to government office and increase of job opportunities. Leaders of these movements were largely returned overseas students who might have received their earlier education at Christian schools in south China (1977b: 114; 1985: 208). This issue of the

Christian church's role in China's woman movement has been well studied and yet is still worth further and deeper exploration. Smith's information gathered from missionary archives in the process of building up biographies and recreating the community setting of the lives of Chinese Christians is certainly an additional asset.

Extended from his study of the Protestant Church's role in the improvement of Chinese women's status is Smith's work on the Mui Tsai question. His article "The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s" (1981) meticulously documents, with information from newspapers, Colonial Office records, etc., the interactions surrounding the Mui Tsai issue between the British Parliament, the Hong Kong government, the Christian community, the Chamber of Commerce, and labour unions during the 1920s. Equally interesting and even more original is his research of Hong Kong's "protected women"—a distinct class of Chinese women who were euphemistically described as "living under the protection of foreigners" in 19th century China's coastal cities. His 1969 article "Ng Akew, one of the Hong Kong's 'protected Women'" tries to reconstruct the life history of one of them based on such sources as old newspapers and memorials preserved in the Hong Kong Land Registry Office, as well as his skilfully-reconstructed biographies and genealogies. In this story, it is revealed that many of these "protected women" were Tanka boat people and their "protectors," merchants. Having usually been sold to the latter, the former then had financial security, if not respectability, and some of them are found to be real estate holders in the Hong Kong Memorials. With information provided by these land documents, Smith maintains that an interesting study can be made on women property owners, especially those called widows, single women, and spinsters in the record. He holds that women so named often had financial provisions made for them by their foreign "protectors". Another group of female property owners is found to be brothel keepers although this part of the picture awaits substantiation with more research work.

However, what is not in Smith's publications is in his working files. He has proposed a scheme of research on prostitutes, Chinese as well as Western, making use of the data about brothels and their owners in numerous land documents which he has come across while working on urban area studies or family histories. In a series of essays collectively entitled "A Sense of History," he provides us with scattered information about women being sold into prostitution in Hong Kong and transported to the US as prostitutes (1988: 184, 198). Although his present study is not focused on prostitution, he has certainly left us with many significant clues, and both his knowledge and his card index system will unquestionably be very helpful to interested scholars. In fact, local and overseas researchers have continuously benefited from his guidance. Writers and historians on women's history such as Susanna Hoe, Maria Jaschok, and Elizabeth Sinn have become Smith's favorite users of his working files. Under their influence, Smith indicated that he is now establishing more specialized files on women. He is also advising them on an compilation of annotated biographies of Hong Kong women. (See Maria Jaschok's article on P.12 of this issue)

Of course, in order to delve deeper into the subject, students of Chinese and Hong Kong women's history have to get access to the original documents concerned. These materials should also be supplemented by other items of information such as interviews and oral-history records. Under the initial direction provided by Smith's collection, it is hoped that researchers can further enter into such rarely-explored areas of studies as the mentality and psychological make-up of early female missionaries in China and Hong Kong when facing

problems of culture shock, difficulties of adaptation, and suspicion by the host community, their sense of mission as well as sense of superiority, their complicated feelings toward the Chinese people, and so on. On the other hand, the state of mind of the early converted Chinese women, psychological impact of their experience in a marginal situation, and problem of cultural identity are all worth investigation. Sources such as personal letters and diaries are the treasure to dig into in this regard. Smith has mentioned in passing in his works the difficulties and limitations of women's missionary work, the problem of cultural adaptation, and the situation where, for instance, a Chinese Christian woman who married a foreigner had a hard time fitting into a European congregation (1977a: 56-57). All these problems of cultural contact and conflict are significant topics for further research, and women as bearers and transmitters of cultural values have recently become an important target of academic inquiry.

As a pioneer researcher of local social history, the Rev. Carl Smith experienced his lonely days especially during the early period of his academic expedition in Hong Kong. Now as local studies and the field of women history are finally developing, his pathfinding works, walking-encyclopaedical knowledge, and long-time accumulation of file indices should be treasured* and his academic undertakings, carried forward – this will probably be the best way to show our everlasting respect for his dedication and achievement.

* The Utah Genealogical Society of the Mormon Church made a microfilm copy and a catalogue of Smith's files.

References cited:

- Smith, Carl T.,
 –, 1969. "Ng Akew, One of Hong Kong's 'Protected Women'," *Chung Chi Bulletin* 46 : 13-17, 27.
 –, 1976. "Notes on the Earliest Missionaries in Hong Kong," *Ching Feng* 19.3 & 4: 24-28.
 –, 1977a. "The Early Hong Kong Church and Traditional Chinese Family Patterns," *Ching Feng* 20.1 : 52 – 60.
 –, 1977b. "The Protestant Church and the Improvement of Women's Status in 19th Century China," *Ching Feng* 20.2: 109-115.
 –, 1981. "The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21 : 91 - 113.
 –, 1985. *Chinese Christians : Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong : Oxford University Press).
 –, 1988. "A Sense of History (Part I)," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (1986): 144-264.

Yip Hon-ming is lecturer in the Department of History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Inertia Towards Sexual Harassment Among Local Academics

Tsui Hing-fung

Sexual harassment is predominantly a form of "domination" of the opposite and less frequently the same sex from usually the male harasser; its manifestations pertain to sex but are more appropriately identified as power perversions. Sexual harassment may occur in many different situations, the workplace, public service organisations, schools and universities, in contexts where the harassers have continual opportunities to exert manipulative control over their targets. However, the obnoxiousness of sexual harassment has not yet occurred to the minds of even the best intentioned administrators and employers here in Hong Kong.

In the United States and Canada, many universities have their codes of ethics and special committees for countering and educating individuals against sexual harassment. None of our colleges and universities have similar structures within their systems. Why its existence and, more importantly, its harmful effects on both organizational and individual levels are not in the cognizance of local educators is a matter for special attention.

Reasons for the tacit condoning of sexual harassment are rooted in the socio-cultural attitudes toward gender difference. In our society, differentiation between what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior towards the female sex is not always clear for even liberally educated men and women. In particular, this is due to the lingering effect from the patriarchal society, where sex roles were rigidly defined with males given predominance and privileges over females. There is a conceptual inertia towards adjusting to the improving social status of women on the part of men. Although women share similar jobs in the workplace, they

are still treated patronisingly by male colleagues and seniors. The implicit assumption is that women do not belong to the "real" competitive working world of men. Patronising behavior towards female colleagues and students is taken for granted by many men; although this kind of behavior is not overt aggression, it lays the bedrock for another form of aggression which is sexual harassment.

While it is difficult for men to recognise the peer role of women, it is always too easy for them to see women as sex objects. More seriously, women are blamed entirely for being relegated to this latter role. In sexual harassment, the interplay of these perceptions from men allow the harasser to escape admonition. Sexual harassment is explained away as ordinary sexual ventures instigated by the woman's flirtation or the man's sexual needs. It is not put in the context of violation of human rights, and it is not automatic that women who complain of such treatment from men are granted credibility.

Without a legitimate channel for reporting sexual harassment, what we know of the phenomenon is from informal communication which could be lightly dismissed as imaginary. Still, by studying the serious steps taken by major universities against sexual harassment on campus, we might as well reflect on our own level of mentality as educators toward this issue. Perhaps, we should consider setting up a similar committee against sexual harassment on campus for its important preventive and educational functions.

Tsui Hing-fung is lecturer in the Faculty of Education, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

The 12th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, June 24-28 1991

A Women's Studies Panel Maria H.A. Jaschok

Within the general theme of Conflict and Harmony in Asian Societies, one of a number of themes proposed by the convenors of the Conference, I submitted a proposal for a panel based (however not exclusively so) on work in progress for a book I am editing together with Dr Suzanne Miers, Ohio University (provisional title: Forms of Bondage, Refuge, and Escape Among Chinese Women).

The panel theme was accepted under the title of "Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues: Female Submission, Service, and Strategies in a Male World." Chaired by Dr Yip Hon-ming, Gender Research Program member and lecturer of the Chinese University History Department, the first panel presentation was given by me on "Missionary Causes and Chinese 'Slave' Girls in Yunnan-Fu: Granting a Refuge, Saving (Chinese) Womanhood and (Western) Souls, 1930-1932." However, as the convenor of the panel I first contextualized all of our presentations by exploring some of the implications of current feminist scholarship for crosscultural studies. I then proceeded, briefly, to present preliminary findings from my own empirical work to illustrate the issues raised.

Some of the parameters of the male world within which women lived, endured, and survived were highlighted by Dr. Elizabeth Sinn (Hong Kong University) in a paper entitled "On Patriarchal Concepts of the Protection of Women: The Early History of the Po Leung Kuk." She argues that when the Kuk was founded in 1878 it did not only serve to protect women and children. It protected no less 'legitimate' patriarchal prerogatives over females by seeking to institutionalize distinctions between paternal exercise of authority (or its rightful transfer) and an exercise of power over women acquired by such means as kidnapping, enticement and seduction – the 'illegitimate' dimension to the transfer of females.

The third panelist focused most emphatically on women as agents of their own history. In a paper to which she has given the title "Female Migrants in Singapore: Toward a Strategy of Pragmatism and Coping" Ms Claire Chiang explored women's resourcefulness and capacity to cope with the greatest economic and social odds in an alien and competitive Singapore society.

The second part of the session explored female prostitution in different empirical contexts and from different methodological angles. Aspects of female submission, service, and strategies were explored by Ms Susanna Hoe in her paper on the lives of Western prostitutes in early Hong Kong: "Queen's Women; Western Prostitutes in Hong Kong, 1841-1931." She foregrounded relationships between white women from the 'respectable' segment of the colonial population and white, 'immoral' women, i.e. prostitutes. She compared this relationship (one which was largely characterized by avoidance on the one side, and open flaunting on the other side) with the close attention paid by white

activists to Chinese prostitutes and asked how the differences might be accounted for.

Ms Hoe was followed by Dr Sarah Mason. She presented a fascinating study of "Social Christianity, American Feminism, and Chinese Prostitutes: The History of Cameron House, San Francisco, 1880s-1920." We were given an insight into the relationships within Cameron House among staff and inmates and between Cameron House and its host society. Intriguingly, descendants of former inmates tend to 'glamorize' their ancestresses' lives, according to Dr. Mason.

The act of closure was performed by Dr James Warren in his paper entitled "The Ah Ku and Karayuki-san of Singapore – their Lives: Sources, Method and a Historian's Representation." In discussing his own theoretical and methodological preoccupations, he was at the same time retracing some of the patterns drawn upon by the other panelists and foreshadowed in the introduction. It was an intellectual *tour de force* which may have left some members of the audience aghast, but none untouched.

The very intense (and riveting) discussions which followed the presentations reflected a number of concerns which will no doubt feed into the future work to be done by the contributors to the book. Among the points raised during the general discussion were: (1) the need for an identification of the authorial voice and of the relationship between author and subject/s investigated; (2) the attention to be paid to a feminist methodology which is both conscious of enduring structures as well as subjectivities and intentionality. Particular regard must be paid to the process of 'coming to voice' in documenting the lives of women; (3) the need for an imaginative reconstruction of women's history which makes use of a wide range of sources; (4) the vital role played by oral history sources wherever they are accessible.

Our hope that the Conference would provide timely, stimulating, and challenging feedback was fulfilled. It also proved again the value of workshop-type settings which allow for constructive and open scholarly discourse.

Maria Jaschok is research associate of the Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Women in Asia Yip Hon-ming

Women's history has become an attractive panel topic in conferences during the recent decade. The 12th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia held in June, 1991, vividly demonstrated the popularity of the field. Some 20 papers related to this area were presented in the Conference, including those in two double-session panels on "Women in Asia." While Dr. Jaschok has reported in this issue on the first Panel on "Historical Perspective on Contemporary

Issues: Female Submission, Service, and Historical Strategies in a Male World," papers presented in the second one entitled "Culture, Health, and the Construction of Gender," are listed as follows: S.K. Wong's "Representations of Asian Women in Kipling and Conrad: Imperial 'Boundaries' and the Asian Woman as Other," P. Youngcharoen's "Thienwan and Fukuzawa Yukichi: A Comparative Study of Their Views Concerning Women in Siamese and Japanese Societies," S. T.Patana's "Thai Society's Expectations of Women, 1904-1935: An Approach to Women's History," K. Gernant's "Perception and Practice: The Status of Women on Meizhou Island," D. Martin's "Hong Kong Chinese Women's Recollections of Pregnancy Restrictions from the 1930s to the 1950s," and J. F. Warren's "Chinese Prostitution in Singapore: Recruitment and Brothel Organization."

As an authoritative scholar on the karayukisan, a kind of Japanese prostitutes, Warren also chaired another panel entitled "The Japanese in Pre-War Southeast Asia" which shed light on the relationship between

the karayukisan and Japan's economic expansion in southeast Asia. Presentations of the panel include: H. Shimizu's "Karayuki-san and Japan's Economic Penetration into Southeast Asia: From the Late 19th Century Until the Early 1920s," Y. Akashi's "Prostitution in the Prewar Japanese Community in Singapore," and S. Hayase's "Japanese Laborers in the Philippines and American Colonial Policy."

From the titles of these panel papers, one can easily sense the multiplicity of current research on Asian women's history which can have different dimensions — sex, class, race/ethnicity, etc. It is hoped that some of the papers can be further substantiated, using documents to supplement oral interviews, and digging for first-hand, first-person materials to complement surveys in English. Besides, Asians' views should be taken into consideration as non-Asian investigators have become increasingly critical about themselves being influenced by their intrinsic structure of intellect in the processing of source materials.

Introducing a New Research Project

Maria Jaschok

An Annotated Biographical Dictionary of Hong Kong Women: 1841 - 1991 (in English and Chinese)

Project objectives

Based at the Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, a small group of scholars will embark on the compilation of a dictionary to highlight the roles played, and contributions made, by women throughout the history of Hong Kong. The dictionary will cover cultural, social, and political activities which shaped the public and private worlds of Hong Kong, and it will take note of women considered to have impacted Hong Kong society from all of the varied ethnic communities which constitute this society. It aims to provide a source of reference for students of Hong Kong history and, at the same time, to inspire further research into aspects of its social and cultural history.

Project significance

This Dictionary is to make a contribution to the increasingly dynamic developments taking place in women's studies in Hong Kong (see the activities of the Gender Research Program, CUHK) and also to help lay the foundation for future scholarship in this area by providing a much-needed source of reference where so far there is none. By uncovering the importance of women from various ethnic, economic and cultural backgrounds in the description of their activism and the nature of their involvement, contributions are also made to research in the social history of Hong Kong.

It is anticipated that educational as well as governmental and commercial institutions will find this Dictionary a useful sourcebook on women's history and local social history.

Project parameters

The proposers of this project are Dr Elizabeth Sinn, History Department, recently appointed chairperson of the Hong Kong Studies Program, and Dr Maria Jaschok, Centre of Asian Studies research associate. Together with Ms Susanna Hoe, Women's Historian, they will act as chief coordinating editors in an editorial board comprising local scholars working within different disciplines.

Members of the editorial board recruited so far (more will be invited in time): Dr Yip Hon-ming, Department of History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong; Dr Martha Cheung, Department of English, University of Hong Kong; and Rev. Carl T. Smith, Historian. It is hoped that Rev. Smith will act also as our chief advisor.

Prospective members will come from other ethnic communities including the Indian, Parsee, and Portuguese communities in Hong Kong.

Official and private archives will be utilized for background research; the editorial board will develop the criteria for inclusion of women into the Dictionary and the organization of the Dictionary. Other contributors will be invited to add from their knowledge as the project develops. Photographs and relevant illustrations will be collected wherever possible and added to the biographies. As soon as approval is given, coordination of the project may start. It is anticipated that the project can be completed within a two year time frame.

Book Review

Elizabeth Sinn

Susanna Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong Western Women in the British Colony, 1841-1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991)

The idea of a book on the history of Western women in Hong Kong is entirely original. This is partly by default: no one had thought Western women, so few and so insignificant, worth writing about. Moreover there is so little ready-made and easily available material on them that anyone attempting this subject would have to start from scratch.

This Susanna Hoe did, and she made a splendid job of it. The few published books on Hong Kong history, in which women hardly feature, must have been as much a source of frustration as of information. Indeed, she has had to rely heavily on unpublished records scattered in various archives and private holdings — including official records, diaries, letters, photographs — and information provided by descendants in interviews and correspondence. The amount of material she has salvaged in the short span of three years is astounding. Her resourcefulness and the relentlessness with which she pursued her research are equally awe-inspiring. Her bibliography of unpublished and published materials is a most useful guide for historians and students researching and writing on Hong Kong.

But, it must be admitted that the material she has gathered is still far from abundant; it is certainly uneven. Yet she manages to extract much from each source and make creative use of it. An imaginative pen not only makes up for the shortfall in sources, but it also gives cogency to the story by weaving together the history of persons who lived very disparate lives.

The author covers a lot of ground in social terms: the women in the book were from different walks of life and a wide range of backgrounds, from Governors' wives, missionaries and shopkeepers to policemen's wives and prostitutes. They also represented a wide range of human qualities: the foolish, the wise; the flirtatious, the saintly; the mindless, the caring.

The author takes us from the sublime — and the weird and wonderful — to the mundane, and gives meaning to all. It is uplifting to see Emily Bowring, the Governor's daughter, run away from the family and, against her father's will, join the Canossian Mission and finally help to set up three girl schools in Hong Kong — one, the Sacred Heart Canossian College, is still thriving. But the murder of Francesca Berger, American prostitute, is no less significant for its human interest and for the light it throws on the lives of a considerable group of Western women in Hong Kong at the time. Mabel Cantlie

going about quietly caring for the poor, the sick and the friendless is no less a part of Hong Kong history as Stella Benson and Gladys Forster campaigning against slavery at the League of Nations. The lives of this mixed bag of women are the real stuff of social history. Together, they present a full spectrum of social life within the community of Western women, and the author's sensitive and lively presentation successfully conveys the texture of that life, with all the variety and the changes, in Hong Kong over 100 years.

The book deals not only with individuals but, through them, the institutions they were connected with. These include some of the oldest and the best loved institutions today: the Helena May Institute, the YWCA, the Diocesan Girls' School, the Tsan Yuk Hospital and the University of Hong Kong, just to name a few. In the process, the author helps to solve a few mysteries. The early history of the Diocesan Girls' School, for instance, has never been told with such clarity; nor has the role of Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard) in founding the University of Hong Kong ever been fully described and appreciated.

It also touches on some of the central social issues in Hong Kong such as the muitsai system and prostitution when dealing with the work of Mrs Haslewood, Benson and Forster. Though the attempt to abolish these institutions in the early 20th century has been discussed by other historians, here the story is told from a human perspective and assumes a new sense of reality.

Though the book is largely narrative, the author also makes a number of interesting statements. I am particularly touched by one of them. In weighing the contribution Benson and Forster might have made to the abolition of prostitution, she writes: "What Gladys and Stella did, as well as adding their twopenny worth to the spreading pool of twentieth-century social reform, was firstly to be true to themselves and, secondly, to lend some dignity, in both contemporary and historical terms, to a society where women were so confined to the domestic sphere that they thought they were being noble when they played bridge all day for charity." (pp.261-2)

Two things about this book make me uneasy, however. One is the title. In the preface, the author tries to justify using "private life" because most Western women's lives were private. However, this is not compatible with the content of the book. At least half the book is about women who lived public lives: authors, social reformers, teachers, nurses, doctors, founders of public institutions — women whose work affected the lives of contemporaries as well as those well after their own time. To tell their story under the title "private life" does not seem to do justice to their contribution. Nor does such a restrictive title do justice to a book which is so broad in scope.

I also find the abrupt ending disconcerting. It destroys the

symmetry of the book which begins at a leisurely pace, taking in the women in Macao before 1841 to serve as a nice run-up to their transfer to Hong Kong. But she ends the pre-war years very suddenly by writing, "Hong Kong under Japanese occupation and life in the internment camps over three and a half years is another story. All that should be added here to the account of Hong Kong and the private life of its women that came to an abrupt end in December 1941 is that when Red Hilda came out of Stanley in 1945 her hair was white." (p.281)

There might be shock value in such an ending, but historically the break was not so sudden. For Western women life went on, albeit very differently, in the internment camps, and more importantly their lives and work continued and developed after the war. Of course the book has to end somewhere, and 1941 is certainly as appropriate a terminal point as any. However, I feel that a few words on subsequent developments or some retrospective remarks might have rounded the work off more gently and given the reader a greater sense of satisfaction.

But these are diversions and do not detract from the fact that this is one of those rare books which are extremely well researched and yet at the same time delightfully readable. Moreover, for the historian, this pioneer effort is a source of inspiration. My own impulse was to rush off and write a history of Chinese women in Hong Kong, and others may be so inspired as well. By adding one fine piece to the mosaic of Hong Kong history, Ms Hoe shows how much more needs to be done, and can be done.

Elizabeth Sinn is chairperson of the Hong Kong Studies Program, University of Hong Kong

Tessa Stewart

Amy Tan, *The Joy Luck Club*
(London: Minerva, 1990)

About Chinese women who are linked by a mahjong club, and written solely from a woman's point of view, this is a book that deals with cultural dislocation through the framework of mother-daughter relationships. *The Joy Luck Club* is mainly structured around the solo expressions of four Chinese mothers and their four daughters and details the attempts of the mothers to transmit their cultural perspectives and life histories to their daughters, along with the daughters' responses.

The daughters initially perceive all this cultural baggage as something to filter out as they grow up, seeing much of it as peripheral or even debilitating in the context of their American lives. Later, once pursuing one's ethnic roots becomes more fashionable and the mothers become older or die, there is a change of perspective, with moments of shared understanding and a sense of lost opportunities coming through. The ending comes full circle with the central character returning to mainland China for family reunions amidst a glow of cultural identity reassuringly found.

As a novel, *The Joy Luck Club* is only partly successful, following in the footsteps of the 'Real Life Banal' school of American women's authors, headed by such popular writers as Marge Piercy, Marilyn French and Alice Walker. Characterised by earnest intentions, lack of nuance and the use of simple language to accurately convey the reality of women's lives, getting to the end of one of their books can be described as a triumph of content over style. However, Tan's book does deal with something that is worthwhile, and should be of interest to Chinese mothers and daughters encountering similar difficulties, not only in countries where they are surrounded by other cultures, but also in settings where there is a large generation gap due to changes in educational opportunities amidst rapid modernisation.

From the point of view of gender studies, the book focuses on the role of women, through their daughters, as transmitters of cultural lore as well as social and intergenerational connectedness, with the male role here being viewed as peripheral. Though Tan details the process in this context as one which more often goes awry, there is no mistaking the strong sense of the older women's pressing need to influence this aspect of their daughters' consciousness. This leads to questions of why it is so often women who take on this role of communication in human relationships, of sustaining our day to day social fabric, locating it within wider boundaries and rooting it in a past. For better or worse, women as wives or mothers are generally found to be the main communication centre in a family. It is they who organise and make the daily connections that sustain a family - who will pick up who/what, who will come to play when, who will look after the old/sick - a heavy organisational load, but one that is undervalued, or even unnoticed.

Regarding transmitting knowledge of the family's links with the wider world outside it, many must remember their mother and grandmother 'placing' relationships as within or not within the family, or examining links with friends and acquaintances - talking 'connections' as it was called in the Irish setting of my youth. "Yes, he must be a second-cousin once removed," or "No, we're not actually related to Auntie Norah, just by marriage," or "Remember the Longs, I heard they moved to Australia, and the daughter married an Englishman..." Most males in my family did not know what a second cousin once-removed even was, and this talk was generally passed off as gossip, and now with the pace of life growing ever faster there is no time for it anyway. As in Tan's book, it often gets filtered out, along with rich place or culture-specific lore, and remnants of religious and other traditional observances.

Men may be as interested in the transmission of perceived wisdom as women, but are more inclined to save such efforts for their sons, though where sons are problematic or nonexistent females may be designated as proxies. It has been shown that Western marriages have a noticeably smaller chance of breakup if there are sons, and the fathers spend more time with their children if they are male. Men are also likely to pass on a

different version of essential information, continuing the gender split. The power of such parental exchanges over us is not to be underestimated, operating as they do at a deep emotional level.

Though relatively balanced philosophical frontispieces to each section in the book are offered by Tan, including a wish by one mother hoping her daughter will have the benefits of the East and West, the mothers' anxiety about their daughters' inability to receive vital cultural knowledge comes across clearly. Thus in one section, a mother's early hopes for her daughter are contrasted with the final outcome:

"In America I will have a daughter just like me. But over there nobody will say her worth is measured by the loudness of her husband's belch. Over there nobody will look down on her, because I will make her speak only American English. And over there she will be too full to swallow any sorrow!...Now the woman was old. And she had a daughter who grew up speaking only English and swallowing more Coca Cola than sorrow."

There is in fact much pain on both sides, caused by the different sets of agendas and expectations that the younger and older women have, these being present in any cross-generational split, but compounded here by the fact that all the older women were born and brought up in the first half of this century in mainland China, worlds away from California with its emphasis on individual fulfillment and lifestyles that include relationships without marriage.

The relationship of the women across this divide of the two cultures remains then the focal point, with the books's contrapuntal design of solo confidences and flashbacks from the eight women leaving a feeling of echoes from a collection of case histories, along with an impression of awkwardly connected human lives.

Tessa Stewart is a personal, marriage and family counsellor resident in Hong Kong

International Conference on Gender and Society: The Pacific Rim Experience

Fanny M. Cheung

The conference was organized by the Gender Research Programme of the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, and it took place on 21st and 22nd March 1991 at the Cho Yiu Conference Hall, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. It was an outcome of a collaborative research project between the Gender Research Programme and the Centre for Pacific Rim Studies (University of California, Los Angeles) to review research on women's issues in Hong Kong. Apart from Professor Lucie Cheng from the UCLA, the conference was attended by researchers from Taiwan, Malaysia and Philippines.

Professor Ambrose King, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Chinese University, delivered a welcome speech at the first day of the conference. The conference started with a roundtable session on 'Social Milieu and Economic Reality of Gender Studies in the Asia-Pacific Region' and concluded with an action planning workshop on 'Identifying Strategies on Gender Studies in the Asia-Pacific Region'. Presentation and discussion was made in six thematic sessions: 'Continuity and Change', 'Woman and the State', 'Sex-Role Attitudes', 'Gender Stereotypes in the Mass Media', 'Education: Labour Force participation and Economic Attainment' and 'Sexual Division of Labour at Work and at

Home'. All together nine papers were presented during the two-day conference.

The two-day conference blended research ideas and reflections. It was pointed out that the field of gender studies is relatively new in many Asian countries. These studies have grown in response to many factors: changes in social, economic, and political status of women vis-a-vis men; an increasing consciousness among women regarding their own roles and condition; the convergence of different academic disciplines in reviewing their own blind spots and in filling the gaps in traditional theories by postulating feminist perspectives and an interdisciplinary approach. Given the historical context and present social milieu of the countries in the Asia-Pacific Region, different stages of development in gender studies have been noted in these countries. The conference called for a more focused concern on women's issues in the Asia-Pacific Region, and explored areas for collaborative studies.

Fanny M. Cheung is co-ordinator of the Gender Role Research Programme, HKIAPS

GENDER STUDIES: NEWS AND VIEWS

Table of Contents

Editorial (Chinese)		P.1
Choi Po-king	Conjugal and Sexual Mores Among University Students (in Chinese)	P.2
Tsang Kar-yin	Feminist Strategy: A Protest Against Discriminatory TV Commercials (in Chinese)	P.4
Choi Po-king	Report on the 1991 Gender Workshop (in Chinese)	P.5
Yip Shun-hing	Questionnaire survey of women in the New Territories on the 1997 transition (in Chinese)	P.5
Jean Hung	Book Review: Statistics on Chinese Women, 1949-1989 (in Chinese)	P.6
Rose Wu	Women and the 1991 Elections	P.6
Tam Siu-mi	Gender and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective	P.7
Yip Hon-ming	Profile of A Local Researcher: Rev. Carl T. Smith-His Works, Knowledge and File-Index Research System	P.8
Tsui Hing-fung	Inertia Towards Sexual Harassment Among Local Academics	P.10
The 12th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, June 24-28 1991		P.11
Maria Jaschok	A Woman's Studies panel	
Yip Hon-ming	Women in Asia	
Maria Jaschok	Introducing a New Research Project: An Annotated Biographical Dictionary of Hong Kong Women: 1841-1991	P.12
Elizabeth Sinn	Book Review: The Private Life of Old Hong Kong Western Women in The British Colony, 1841-1941, by Susanna Hoe	P.13
Tessa Stewart	Book Review: The Joy Luck Club, by Amy Tan	P.14
Fanny M. Cheung	International Conference on Gender and Society: The Pacific Rim Experience	P.15
Editorial		P.16

CALLING FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The Editorial Board of Gender Studies: News and Views welcomes the submission of essays, reports, reviews as well as information on gender issues. Please send your contributions (Chinese or English) to us, preferably in the form of floppy disk (indicate word-processing programme) plus a hard copy, to the Gender Research Programme, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong. Deadline of submission for the coming issue is 1st Dec, 1991.

Chief Editor: Choi Po King
Editorial Board: Choi Po King, Yip Hon Ming, Kwok Pui Lan, Tessa Stewart
Publisher: Gender Research Programme, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Co-ordinator: Fanny M. Cheung)

Nurturance and Adventure: The Gender Divide – Editorial

Choi Po-king

Hong Kong, like other post-industrial societies, is characterised by a higher level of permissiveness and informality than before. Fathers, instead of being the stern patriarch, now tend to get more involved in childcare and in the life of the nuclear family generally, perhaps as a sort of compensation for the intense competition and individuation in the world of work. Greater concern of the father for children, however, does not necessarily mean that the mother's burden is reduced in any significant way. Studies of domestic labour have found that fathers are engaged more with keeping company or playing with their children, while mothers perform their traditional share of chores, such as cleaning and feeding them. Indeed, it has been remarked that fathers, by participating more in childcare, might have taken away from the mother the more enjoyable tasks of playing with children.

The distribution of childcare tasks apart, it is interesting to note the reproduction of gender differences in children through the recurrent, intense and intimate parent-child interactions from a very early age onwards. Fathers, by enlisting their children in activities of a playful, exploratory, and adventurous nature, are transmitting to their children the image of the free-moving, extrovert male. Less interesting (perhaps because she is more tied down by household chores) and yet more stable and predictable, are the mothers -- the homebound female nurturers who are always the ones to go to when in discomfort, pain or trouble. It is, therefore, a common observation among mothers that young children actively seek their fathers' company when they are energetic and playful, but invariably look for the mother's comforting lap as night closes in or when they feel ill or tired. Through this differential adult-child relationship, the gender division acquires its concrete, experiential basis early on in the child's socialisation.

Gender differences and relationships are what we are dealing with primarily in this bulletin. This issue offers an article on how anthropological findings help to enlighten us on gender as a social-cultural construct, an interview with a prominent local historian, a report on a survey of sexual mores held by students of this University, as well as a discussion of the nature of sexual harassment. There is also a brief description of a recent strategy used by a local feminist group in their quest to redress the inequity in gender relationships in our society. Apart from these, there are also book reviews, as well as reports on activities of various groups concerned with gender issues.

As our title indicates, this bulletin aims at facilitating exchange of news and views concerning gender issues, and contributions from groups and individuals both inside and outside the campus are welcome. Starting from this issue, a table of contents would be added in order to ensure that readers who are not conversant in either Chinese or English would still be able to know the titles of all the articles that are included. We look forward to a time when we could offer full translations of all articles into the language other than that in which they are written. But this would have to await a greater command of resources on our part, which, we understand, would only come when the significance of gender studies is more widely acknowledged.

No.2 (9/1991)