性別研究資訊

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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九二年六月一日，請踴躍支持。

編·者·語

同與異的取捨──探討婦運的目標

麥肖玲

女性主義最終為了甚麼？這問題顯得越來越迫切了。在一般人眼中，答案很清楚：女性希望進入男性世界，分一杯羹。在女性主義者眼中，答案卻不那麼明確。婦運已有多年歷史，我們卻仍在摸索。我們所作的努力，究竟是為了擴展渠道，以進入男性的權力架構，還是為了發揚一種不同的、看來更富人道的人生觀，並使之成為另類制度？這是女性主義者要好好弄清的。

不少有關婦女地位的文章指出，制度性的障礙使女性未能與男性一樣有同等機會參與經濟、政治等事務。在商界，「玻璃天花板」更擋著女主管的去路，使她們不能更上層樓。這些文獻隱含的訊息是，女性認同了男性的架構。她們看不到問題，反而視這架構為可取的；而她們所追求者，只是成為架構的一份子。Carol Gilligan等學者提出了另一觀點。她們重新發掘女性道德取向的價值。女性與人相處的能力，特別表現在關懷別人及容忍方面，是另一種社會組織的方式。在一個以關懷他人福祉為首務的世界裡，少數人統治多數人的模式自然受到淘汰；這將會是一個較為人道的世界。但是，堅持與男性架構相異亦不無危險。歧視性的性別定型及婦女的邊緣地位會乘機延續下去，稍一不慎，希望之光會轉而引向深淵；另一方面，如果追求平等是為了分享男性權力的話，女性爭取進入男性世界的同時，也認同了男性架構。諷刺的是，她們爭取進入的是一個本來就不完美的世界。這確是一個進退兩難的局面。那麼，究竟女性主義者追求甚麼？與男性一樣，還是不一樣？

本期兩組主要文章正說明了上述的矛盾。它們分屬表面看來關係不大的主題──婦女與宗教及婦女地位。有關香港及北歐婦女地位的兩篇文章隱含的平等的標準是與男性看齊。部份有關宗教的文章卻反映出，婦女在權力階梯上的較低地位是一種選擇。其中一篇文章裡的三位女牧師強調她們的理想是服務世人。與這崇高的理想相比，權位顯得黯然無光。表面看來，婦女處於從屬地位；實際上她們不一定力有不逮。她們自願退讓，是經過對人生價值思考之後所作的抉擇。在另一篇文章中，永明法師指出早期香港的尼姑甘作開荒牛，為貧苦眾生謀福利，功成之後卻退居二線。這些佛教與基督教婦女的做法差不多，或者並非湊巧的：兩組婦女寧取精神滿足，不求高位。她們或獨身、或已婚，但都沒有俗世婦女的兒女之累，也就是沒有絆腳石阻礙她們發展事業。但她們仍然選擇不與男性爭權，實際就是以行動反對並且嘗試再界定遊戲規則。

那麼，從事婦女學研究的人得到甚麼啟示呢？我們究竟在找尋美麗新世界，還是如本期一位作者所言，是否在男性統治的領域內建立新地盤？女性主義學者走過一段漫長的路，豐富了有關女性現實的知識。我們面對的任務是，一方面朝著這方向繼續努力，另一方面，在至今仍是父權主義的社會裡，為女性主義──包括性別研究──定位。

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基督教與婦女——三位女牧師專訪

麥肖玲、蔡寶瓊、李紫霞

十九世紀中，西教東漸。此後百多年，基督教在香港及中國產生了很大的影響。關於基督教事業的功與過，意見不一，難下定論。一些文獻指出，很多時傳教士與殖民者同一陣線，在殖民地各取所需。但是亦有無數傳教士遠赴貧困地區，辦教育、辦醫院，建立現代社會服務機構的雛型。在香港及中國，教會曾為本來沒有出路的清貧子弟及婦女帶來生機。今日中、港不少傑出婦女，都曾藉教會提供機會得以脫離傳統社會的桎梏。在中國男尊女卑的社會，西方基督教在某些時機下率先推動性別平等，成了社會運動先驅；不過，另一方面，教會也囿於本身男性為中心的結構，對這運動的進一步開展構成了障礙。

時至今日，教會婦女角色擴大了。她們不單是信眾，其中少數也當上了牧師。可是，女牧師往往像其他行業女主管一樣，面對角色矛盾。在家庭或在社會上，她們被視為服從者，在教堂她們卻領導信眾。別人界定的性別角色如何影響她們界定自己的職業角色？這矛盾關係又如何體現在信眾及教堂內的人事架構？社會平等包括了性別平等。在這方面，香港基督教會是先行者還是保守者？

我們分別訪問了三位女牧師，嘗試了解她們入教、入職的經歷、在職遭遇、及教會的婦女觀。她們是聖公會的黃羨雲牧師（七十五歲，一九七一年按立）、中華基督教會的李清詞牧師（五十多六十歲，一九六六年按立）、及循道衛理會張美珍牧師（三十多歲，一九八九年按立）。三位按立的時間雖然隔得不那麼遠，但在年齡來說則分屬老、中、青三代。當然，不能說三人的經歷代表了所有女牧師，但至少可以讓我們對這問題有了初步認識。我們就幾個主題作了如下整理。文章未經被訪者過目，如有錯誤，是我們的責任。

神職歷程

李清詞牧師出身於非基督教家庭，在基督教女校讀書時受到薰陶。「當時（40年代末、50年代初）許多西方傳教士離鄉別井來到香港……。他們與其他外國人不同，很刻苦，這促使我對基督教有興趣。這宗教一定很特別，不是迷信，不是求福，我便開始追尋。」李牧師後來進了師範，因為她相信教育可改變社會甚至世界。畢業後教學期間，她也研究神學。她的同事，也就是外國傳教士，推薦她到外國鑽研。結果，她於一九五八年往英國Selly Oak College 修讀一年神學，歸港後不久，學院又來信邀請她當tutor（助教），因為他們需要一位來自第三世界的教師。第二次留英期間，香港中華基督教會邀請她返港當牧師。「一般人是自己提出想當牧師，這次他們來找我，我覺得很突然，與我尊敬的牧師、傳道人商量。一來香港未有女牧師，這是一件大事，而且我喜歡教書，於是他們說我可選擇按立後，在堂會工作或繼續教書。」一九六六年，李牧師返港後不久便被按立了。那是一件轟動當時香港的事情。按立後她在英華女校當校牧，全盤處理宗教工作，減少教學的節數。不久英國的世界傳道會(Council for World Mission) 改組，聘請她當高級行政人員。她說：「我來自第三世界，又是女人，這種人對他們來說很難找。但我已屆中年。這次我經過很大掙扎，一去要四年，結果一九七七年我答應前往英國。」在英國期間，中華基督教會總幹事邀請她返港當副總幹事，她想在中國人圈子工作，便決定歸港，一直至今，已經十年了。

李清詞牧師

黃羨雲牧師出身一個富裕而重男輕女的家庭。在教會小學畢業後，家人叫她像一般女子般去學手藝、結婚，但老師同學鼓勵她繼續進修，於是她在教會女校唸至初中畢業，並在中一時受洗，當時有一位老師希望她能擺脫家庭束縛，建議她進入廣州真光接受新婦女教育，但遭到家庭反對。「家裡人甚麼都不贊成，但我受了基督教影響，對不合理事情會反抗，我一生人都在反抗，對中國及家庭的古老事物反抗……基督教最大幫助是聖經教師教我們選擇，不是聽人話，而是聽上帝話。」高中畢業後，她直接進廣州協和神學院，當時讀神學女生很少，只有三幾位，男女生比例約三比一至四比一。年半後日軍攻進廣州，協和神學院遷至雲南，與華中大學聯合繼續辦學，因此她在神學以外，也修教育學、中國歷史及心理輔導等學科。黃牧師說當時一心做宣道工作，她指出當時女性無機會做牧師，但「我時常反對性別分離，不用依從舊規矩，有能力便可改變，無能力當然無法改變」。畢業後學校替她找到小學教師職位，並在學校做志願的傳道工作。後來受推荐往哥倫比亞大學修讀教育碩士學位，回國後一度在武昌某中學當宗教主任，一年多後共黨執政，知道無機會做宗教工作，便返港與一位老師開辦九龍真光，一共七年。其時何明華會督當主教，一直邀請她返聖公會做傳道工作，她說她知道何會督心裡有按立女牧師的打算（註）。她後來便在聖多馬小學當校長，一兩年後任教會會吏，一九七一年十一月廿八日與班佐時(Joyce Bennett)同時受封牧師。她說：「傳統沒有女牧師，現在英國聖公會也好像沒有，我當時不多理會（有關女牧師的爭論），這是他們爭，不是我爭。」教會為何選她與班佐時呢？她答道：「東南亞聖公會通過這規矩，教會（信眾）多數是女人，女人能鼓勵婦女，又可幫忙她們教導子女，影響很大……。這不單是香港的需要，世界情況也如此……女人的影響實在大過男人。」當時沒有反對聲音，原因是「何明華會督已做了相當多準備工夫，我在教會也做了相當多義務工作，同時很多謝上帝，當時與我共事的人都很合作。」黃牧師封牧師後一直從事教育工作，但也有參予傳道、演講、教會會議等工作。

黃羨雲牧師

張美珍牧師自幼參予教會活動，貧困境況，加上父母重男輕女，使她家庭生活不愉快，因此經常到教會活動，而基督信仰使她積極，覺得雖然環境困難，人生仍有意義。預科畢業後，她選擇了當社工，希望可以幫助別人。但她後來發覺有很多制肘，是社工不能改變的。她這樣考慮：「既然昔日我讓基督教改變了自己……社工工作上又得不到滿足，會否當神職人員可以幫助人有更徹底的改變？」在教會推荐下她於一九八零年進崇基神學院修讀五年神學，取得由東南亞神學院研究院頒發的學位。畢業後她當了兩年預任會吏（後改名為宣教師），又兩年會吏，第五年便按立牧師。她形容這四年是一段觀察期，讓個人和教會都考慮是否適合，因為牧師是終身制的。工作影響了張牧師的思想，她說自己從前思想很單純，相信信仰能改變人的思想，無論環境如何，思想能改變便行了。但現在她體會到改變環境的重要，所以她現在參予更多教會的行政工作的時候，她會放更多心思在教區參予和改變制度的工作上，而不像當初加入教會工作時只做直接與人接觸的工作。

從三位牧師的經歷，我們可以發現各人有著不同信仰和入職歷程。黃牧師和張牧師入教不純粹因宗教的吸引力，而同時是和個人家庭背景有關，可以說是兩者互為結果。家庭重男輕女或貧困，限制了她們的發展，教會提供了出路。相對來說，李牧師入教似乎直接受宗教精神的感染，多於視宗教為擺脫家庭桎梏的途徑。李牧師和黃牧師的入職可說是教會學校薰陶的延伸，而張牧師是因與教會的長期關係而入職。她們覺得被按立為牧師是因為她們有能力勝任，與她們的性別無關。不過，值得注意的是三位牧師都是得到男性長者提拔鼓勵才當上牧師的。

張美珍牧師

在職遭遇

談到在職遭遇，三位牧師均表示在個人方面沒有感受到性別歧視，信眾也很接受她們。黃牧師和李牧師認為按立前長期在教會工作，故此大家早已接受了她們；張牧師覺得原因是循道衛理是一個較開明的教會。她說教會在法制上男女是有別的，但慢慢已修改。她舉出一個例子：教會的規例是牧師去世，其妻子可獲取撫恤金，但女牧師則未能享有此利益。當她在會議中質詢這規例時「有些人不會面對男女平等的問題，只說政府都是如此,幸好有些男牧師比較開明，便說『政府一定是對的嗎？』於是引起辯論……。去年便將「遺孀」字眼改為配偶。」

我們問到表面制度上雖然公平，但實際決策權會否仍掌握在男性手上，這挑起張牧師一段入職前的回憶：「我考慮按立期間，曾經有男牧師給我意見，不太贊成，原因是他們覺得按立後要當主任職位，手下全是男士，他擔心一個女上司未必能管男下屬，他會有這個憂慮……。他們不是完全可以接受按立女牧師。」李牧師同意女性在決策層的聲音是微弱的，「你的聲意是否被接納視乎你是否獲得人家尊敬，我的情形便如此。其他的（女性）能讓你有份參予已經好了……但尊敬不等於票數……於是從投票（結果）看，意見最後是不被接納。」張牧師針對領導職位多屬男性的現象，在她的堂議會有規例設女性名額，男女各佔一半。黃牧師對她那個年代男牧師處領導地位則有這樣解釋：「他們（在教會工作）時間長，有地位，（領導）工作責任重，四處去開會，如果女的這樣奔波也不容易……。」她認為教會不見得特意不讓女性擔任某些工作，只是太多繁雜事情，對女的來說太辛苦了。至於男的為甚麼不辛苦，她說：「我也不知道他們的想法如何，個人覺得如更年期，月經生理現象等，會有不方便、疲累。」

女牧師是否像專業女性一樣，要作額外努力才得到別人接受？李牧師同意一般確這樣，「就以（基督教會）幾位女牧師而言，在某程度上……她們幾位女性比較他們的（男）同儕有更佳表現，即是說女性甚麼時候都有雙倍好表現，才被看成同等，若有同等表現，便被視為低一等……有些男士表現不出色，卻自動到某一階段便升牧師……對女的則諸多留難。」但她亦指出這是別人的情況，她自己沒有類似的遭遇。有一種看法是女牧師懷孕時不宜上祭台主持儀式及司餐。李牧師及張牧師不約而同提到，一些信徒確有這種擔心，她們的答案也不約而同是，「男牧師當中不是有很多大肚腩的嗎？為甚麼他們不難看，女的肚子大就難看？」但黃牧師並不覺得女牧師要有更佳工作表現，她強調「總之要盡責」。我們的印象是，三位對工作上的性別歧視有不同感受。黃牧師基本上不覺得有性別歧視。女牧師的事業如果發展得不如男同事，原因來自女性本身，如生理問題等，而非制度。李、張二位看到性別歧視，但大多發生於其他女牧師身上，她們直接感受的則不多。或者她們擁有受人尊重的職位及高等教育，因此掩蓋了性別歧視吧。在主觀方面，她們則覺得本身的能力使她們克服這問題。另外一方面，她們對升遷問題也不看得太重。三人不約而同流露出一個訊息：偏重服務理想，而不著眼在權力架構中往上爬，張牧師說她自己不嚮往權力，但她會鼓勵女性在決策層上往上爬。這種個人取向反映出女性對工作期望，重內在精神意義多於外在的名位，重理想多於報酬；因而實際上女性會退出競爭而安於二線位置。當然，這並非意味著客觀上並不存在對女性上進的窒礙。張牧師就曾有一段不愉快的經歷：當她的男性下屬辭職時，有人批評這是因為她是女上司，不懂處理事務的緣故。

談到女牧師婚姻生活，黃牧師指出最早的幾位女牧師都沒有結婚。「不知道是否真的因為工作挺忙，自己也看重和欣賞自己的工作。工作上可以接觸很多人，不會寂寞。我選擇了自己的生活，」她說。但是，男牧師卻結婚的居多，看來她並沒有察覺到職業女性要比男同事作更多犧牲及其背後的原因。不過三位牧師都指出年青的一代的女牧師（包括張牧師自己）很多都結婚，教會也接受。張牧師想起一件往事。「當初考慮讀神學時……我找第一屆會長商量，他反而怕我不讀神學，因為當時法例男女有別，女性讀完神學後加入教會，或在讀神學期間，結婚等於自動離職……這法例到八三、八四年才更改。」

隨著時代的轉變，女牧師的數目多了，可同時維持工作及婚姻的也多了。張牧師認為這些改變，思想開放只佔了一個小因素，她說近年男牧師移民造成教會人手不足，故此容納已婚女牧師出於實際的需要。這使我們想起勞動市場男性不足時，（例如世界大戰期間男丁上戰場，或經濟急劇起飛），便有較多空間容納女性。無論在宗教界或俗世，女性都是後備軍。

基督教對兩性角色的看法

三位牧師的經歷，是否反映了教會的女性觀？教會有沒有明確界定婦女角色呢？黃牧師認為基督教文化對兩性沒有偏見，教會對丈夫妻子角色沒有特定看法，她認為夫妻間應合作，這觀點與社會普遍觀點是一致的。李牧師則認為香港很多規模小的教會很保守，解經時一字不易地解，因此解不通。聖經描寫的是古代猶太社會，與中國社會很相近，有「男人是家庭及教會的頭，女人是身體」這種思想，「但今天有學識家庭已沒有這觀念……（今天）已不是幾千年前的社會，若按照聖經上幾千年前的社會處事是不妥當的，這是斷章取義借（經）作藉口。」她舉例保羅在書信中曾說過男人是女人的頭，但在另一處書信中又說：在主耶穌裡，猶太人無分男女，在主裡同一體。因此不能斷章取義。張牧師也有差不多見解：「聖經本身有其（處境）……當然背後的精神值得去跟從，例如對人的尊重……不能搬字過紙解釋聖經。」她同意早期婚禮勉詞很強調妻子依從丈夫，但近期改變了，強調愛的真義。起碼循道衛理教會如此，其他教會情況她不知道。李牧師說大的教會很少講男女角色的分工。對於兩性在教會動參予方面的實際分工情況，張、李兩位牧師均認為教會中女會友雖然佔大比數，但她們通常做輔助性的工作，如插花，採訪等，與男教友工作有層序關係。不過張牧師指出不同堂會有不同情況。在她管轄的教區中，女性參予決策層面活動相當多，前面已提過，她推動女性在堂議會中佔一半比數。她又這樣說：「教會制度、氣氛對女性接納很大，但她們本身的突破、發揮很弱，（扮演）很傳統角色……真正參予決策的，在堂議會中提意見的很少。」李牧師也認為教會中存有傳統性別角色的思想，很多女宣教師聽過男女平等的原則，但現實卻非如是，令她們感到矛盾。她講述了教會中曾發生這樣的事：男牧師在開會途中覺得很悶熱，想開窗（或口渴，想飲水），卻不自己去做，而暗示女牧師去做。她說曾鼓勵一些女宣教師對不合理的現象提出意見，但這些人通常反應很消極，「她們會說『算啦』」，李牧師認為這種態度有礙教會的發展。

教會與社會運動

最後談到教會帶動社會思潮的角色，李牧師認為教會很少參予社會活動，肯回應社會已經很好，更遑論帶領社會前進。她感慨早期東來的洋傳教士敢於拓墾的精神在本土教會中消失了。張牧師說教會不會盲目對所有社會運動有反應，但他們會關心對於西方六十年代至七十年代初興盛的女權運動，她有這樣看法：「個人認同（婦解運動）精神……我想自己不會是最前鋒的一群……我看到自己有某些限制，我看到性別中有某些差異，無論性格、生理或是體格。我不會fight for無此止境絕對的平等……（我會爭取）平等的精神、工作、待遇、人們對我們的接納等……有些事的確不適合女性做，所以我不會盲目追求平等。……早期教會比較傳統……我的改變不是教會帶來的，是世俗社會轉變刺激我們去思考這些問題……大家互相影響某些事，教會會在社會前線，特別是人文主義方面，如社會福利政策……其他方面社會步伐會較快，如經濟、科技等。」張牧師沒有具體提出如何改變教會過時的傳統，李牧師則認為教育是唯一的途徑，要口誅筆伐。她亦付諸行動，她為基督教學校教師及牧師組織的進修活動，也有請講者探討性別平等的主題，可惜短期內看不到明顯的效果。十年樹木，百年樹人，或者在久遠將來效果才出現吧。

結語

透過三段訪問，我們理解到雖然基督教，特別是早期的基督教是社會改革者：但是在教內，在推動性別平等方面，它卻落後於時代。廿多年前，當女性的職業出路漸漸多時，教會才開始有限度地按立女牧師。教會人事制度，也似乎沒有從性別平等的角度考慮。相反，明顯或隱蔽的性別歧視，至今仍然存在。三位女牧師的經歷及觀點，本質上有不少相同之處。無論她們女性意識強或者弱，作為少數者她們證實了自己的才能及堅持理想，已是很可敬可佩了。

註：太平洋戰爭期間，何明華會督曾因戰時需要按立了一位女牧師李添愛，但這行動在1944年卻被英國教廷指為違反教則而被推翻。據說黃羨雲於1958年被任命為會吏時，何曾表示希望她能升為牧師，但可能要久等。關於香港及中國聖公會按立女牧師之曲折歷程，見Paton.D.M, *Hall, R.O., Bishop of Hong Kong, 1895-1975,* Diocese of HK & Macau, 1985, Chap IV.

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香港佛教婦女角色與地位的時代性

永明法師

前言

據文獻載述，南北朝、劉宋年間（西元３１７－４２８年），佛教已傳入香港，[1]并建有杯渡寺、靈渡寺等。那麼，香港佛教已有一千五百多年歷史了，但無論古代、近代或現代，尚未有關於香港佛教婦女事蹟、故事等的報導或載述。若有，亦只是零星、間接地散見於一篇或二篇「香港史話」之類的散文片段裡。[2]

與香港情形相反，印度、中國在這方面的報導與載述卻不少哩！在印度，小乘大乘佛經載述了摩訶波闍提夫人、勝鬘夫人、天女散花、龍女成佛……等。[3]在中國，早於南北朝（梁代），已有佛教婦女傳記《比丘尼傳》。全書為六十五位佛教婦女寫著立傳。其中兩篇記述外國佛教婦女鐵薩羅（Devasara）與愛道（Mahaprajapati）的生平事蹟，并有中文英譯本流行於東南亞、歐美國家。[4]

與中印兩地相比，香港佛教婦女地位是否特別不被重視呢？香港佛教婦女角色及其建樹，是否都遠遜於中、印佛教婦女呢？香港佛教雖然不是香港文化的主流，但它見證了香港文化一千五百多年，是香港文化整體的一部份。香港佛教婦女角色與地位，在相當廣度、深度上，是香港婦女角色與地位的縮影與見證。基於上述，本篇簡介香港佛教婦女角色與地位。

一・香港農業佛教的婦女角色與地位

自西元３１７－４２８年，佛教傳入香港開始，至１９４１年，香港淪陷前夕，這期間的香港佛教修道者，大都過著山居務農，自耕自修的農禪生活。[5]檀越施主大部份是富紳鄉耆，而非富商巨賈。所以，本篇稱這期間的香港佛教為「香港農業佛教」。

A・「茅蓬」先驅

香港農業時代佛教，修道者大多居山結蓬而修。香港佛教名山──大嶼山，正以茅蓬靜室而成其特色。大嶼山昂平先有茅蓬靜室，以普明禪院為始創開山。建普明禪院者，是比丘尼釋果修於宣統元年（西元１９０９年）。[6]其後有７６間大小茅蓬／靜室，在宣統至戰前期間，在大嶼山先後建成。[7]其中由女修道者親手結蓬創建的，共有６４間，佔大嶼山茅蓬群全數的８４・２１%。[8]

一者，因面積小、規模小、只重視個人清修，她們大都樂於自謙自己所結蓬的為「小」茅蓬，推尊叢林制的寶蓮寺為「大」茅蓬。再者，基於男性中心傳統觀念不自覺的影響，基於對「大」茅蓬宗門的向心力，對宗教貢獻、修福、與布施……等觀念的影響，在開山、結蓬完成後，女拓荒者們大都迅速地以「山居清修者」自居；或到大茅蓬中服務，志願服勞，以求福者身份自居。她們貢獻自己，作種種服務：割草、劈柴、種菜、施肥、挑水、燒湯、煮飯、營齋、佛前香、燈、撞鐘、擊鼓、募捐香油、集資印經、清潔、雜務……等。與此同時，在她們心目中，比丘（男性出家修道者）佔據著重要的位置。她們傳統地，五體投地、敬重、頂禮、膜拜於比丘眾的足下，如同敬重、頂禮、膜拜佛、菩薩一樣。今天，在山上，傳統依舊，無異當年。

從上述觀察可見，大嶼山茅蓬群的創建，佛教婦女承擔的是「拓荒者」的使命。荒地開墾後，她們選擇了閉門清修或服勞求福的位置而安居。拓荒者使命，是第一線角色、主要角色。相對而言，則閉門清修、服勞求福居處，是第二線地位、次要地位。

B・「叢林」與「傳戒」先驅

１９１７年，香港佛教出現了第一間叢林：淩雲寺十方女叢林。位於新界錦田觀音山畔。創立者是妙參法師及其女弟子。捐獻者為錦田鄉紳鄧伯球。據載述，當時淩雲女叢林的禪堂，可容百餘學者坐香參禪。中國內地、南洋各地，到來參學、掛單、定居者，不可勝數。據說，淩雲寺女叢林之所以名為『女』者，是因為創辦人體察到當時『香港女眾信佛者極多，尤盛於他處；而尼眾叢林，獨付闕如』。[9]換言之，香港第一間叢林之所以是『女』叢林，原因有三：（１）香港佛教以女信眾居多；（２）香港佛教女信眾，又遠比其他地方的女信眾多；（３）香港佛教婦女雖多，但她們可居住的地方卻不多。１９１９年，淩雲女叢林開壇傳戒，開香港佛教「傳戒」先河。據說：出家、在家、男、女信眾齊收；前來受戒者無數，盛況罕有。[10]在完成「叢林」與「傳戒」的啟端後，１９２５年，大嶼山禪寺開始秋期「傳戒」。從這一年開始，淩雲寺女叢林的「傳戒」活動與寶蓮禪寺的「秋期傳戒」合併，在寶蓮禪寺舉行。淩雲女叢林，從此淡出「傳戒」第一線。

扣緊僧俗兼容，男女齊收，首間叢林及開壇傳戒這三點而言，則香港佛教的普及教育／婦女教育、叢林生活、戒律培訓與傳持等皆以淩雲女叢林而啟其端。

C・「女子義學」與「佛教雜誌」先驅

香港首間佛教學校是寶覺義學，１９３〇年創立於香港波斯富街。[11]其後發展成為今天的寶覺女子職業中學。創辦人是何東夫人張蓮覺及靄亭法師。當年寶覺義學主要的課程有珠算，縫紉，編織等實用術科，及手藝培訓。[12]據說當時香港一般家庭大都比較貧窮。窮家女子受教育的機會不多；窮家妻子受夫婿賭後、醉後打罵卻又不少。佛教寶覺義學就是為窮家婦女而開設的，授與她們基本技能、手藝，保障她們若干獨立性，使她們藉之可幫補家計或獨立謀生。[13]依此則，戰前香港佛教婦女所爭取的距離婦解運動的走出廚房，同工同酬仍甚遠。後者追求自由與平等，但前者仍在幫補家計與謀生層面上，掙扎求存。

１９３１年，香港佛教首份佛教雜誌《人海燈》創刊。創辦人、編輯者、校對者、發行者，是寶覺義學的女校監、女校長、女教職員及女學生。換言之，香港佛教先驅雜誌的創刊班底，是清一色的娘子軍。[14]１９４１年１２月，香港淪陷，《人海燈》及寶覺義學因而停刊、停課共三年零八個月。戰後才慢慢回復舊觀。[15]看來，戰前香港佛教中人，最了解香港婦女疾苦者，是婦女們自己；最了解香港婦女的烽火離亂徬徨感與憂患意識者，亦是婦女們自己。也許，正因為如此，所以佛教女子義學亦由弱質女流挺身而出，率先創辦，為茫茫人海，以作明燈。再一次，如前所述，這些婦女先驅距離爭取男女平等、同工同酬尚遠；她們正忙於在幫補家計、謀生及戰亂淪陷層面上掙扎求存。顯然可見：香港農業時代的佛教，在開山、結蓬、叢林生活、戒律傳持、婦女教育、雜誌刊物……各方面，婦女們承擔了先驅、拓荒角色。但是，與此同時，無論茅蓬拓荒者、或叢林、傳戒、教育等先驅者：大都功成便身退。拓荒與先驅使命完成後，她們大都自覺、不自覺地，安住於第二線的位置上，默默繼續耕耘。第一線角色、第二線地位，貫串了戰前一代婦女的角色與地位。

二・戰後與現代香港佛教的婦女角色與地位

A・孤兒義學先驅

１９４５年，劫後餘生的香港社會，滿目瘡痍，哀鴻遍野，餓殍孤兒，觸目可見。香港佛教第一間孤兒學校－大光義學，在這一年創立[16]。創校者為大埔大光園比丘尼釋慈祥。大光義學其後發展成為今天的大光中學、大光小學。１９４７年，香港另一間孤兒義學──志蓮義學創立。[17] 創辦者是九龍鑽石山志蓮淨苑比丘尼釋宏智。[18] 志蓮義學，即今天的志蓮學校。

戰後義學的校舍與課室都是借取修院內的祖堂與齋堂權宜暫用，并以化緣十方及修院成員節衣食縮形式來維持經費。創校者又身兼校長、教師、舍監、乃至家長等職。校舍的周圍環境則是一片荒涼，野草叢生。[19] 戰後重建期的香港，佛教孤兒義學的設備與規模都十分簡陋，拓建殊屬艱辛：建校後，經費維持亦非易事。以婦女體魄及婦女的社會地位承擔創建並維持，又更不易。香港佛教婦女的「開拓者」角色，應以戰後這一代為最辛酸艱苦。

B・當代香港佛教婦女的教育、福利角色與地位

繼戰前寶覺義學，戰後大光義學、志蓮義學之後，現代的香港佛教開始逐漸創立更多學校。１９５９年創黃鳳翎中學、黃焯菴小學；１９６９年創大雄中學；１９７３年創善德中學……，[20] 但這些後起之秀俱以寶覺、大光、志蓮為先驅。此外，黃鳳翎中學與黃焯菴小學的捐建者是佛教婦女──黃鳳翎。黃在晚年剃度，以比丘尼身而逝。[21] １９７８年，大光中學創辦人釋慈祥因致力教育，獲ＭＢＥ勳銜，成為香港佛教第一位受勳銜的出家者。五十年代初期，香港佛教開始有正式的自己社會福利、服務機構。１９５３年，香港佛教第一間社會服務機構──沙田般若安老院創立。創立者為般若精舍比丘尼宏賢法師及其院中成員，得巨賈胡文虎先生獨資贊助，捐建而成。[22] １９６３年，佛教創立了第一間西醫贈診所──慈光診所，創立者為宏賢比丘尼。至１９７０年，香港佛教醫院建成。

依此，當代香港佛教在教育、福利、醫療上，無論規模大小，啟步早遲，啟其端者，仍是婦女。但最後，佛教婦女仍傳統地在第二線上默默耕耘。真正領導者是比丘僧。比丘是出家眾之首，亦是佛教四眾之首。這是每一位教內人士所共同地、自然地接受的。在不同時代裡，香港佛教婦女的角色與地位似乎都相同地、貫串地承擔了先驅的角色與次要的地位。一般家庭中的慈母，既是「主」婦，但同時永恒地處在第二線的地位，甚至將丈夫、兒女置於自己生命之上。佛教婦女雖置身方外，但在角色與地位上在若干程度上，這方面的表現，前後二者卻十分類似。

附注

1 詳閱葉文意，〈香港佛教史〉，珠海書院研究所，碩士學位論文，1971；蕭國健，《香港三大古剎》，顯朝書室，1977；Wing Ming, "Buddhist Tradition In Hong Kong", Working-paper, Hong Kong University, 1983.
2 見上列蕭國健之書介述淩雲寺，其中引述錦田鄧洪儀長子鄧欽建淩雲靜室，供庶母黃氏奉佛靜修。因而略及黃氏事。黃氏亦非佛教出家女眾。
3 詳閱《佛本行經》、《普耀經》、《維摩詰所說經》、《妙法蓮華經》。
4 Pao-chang, 'Biographies Of Buddhist Nuns', Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty, r.502-549; translated by Li Jung Hsi, Toho-kai, Inc. Osaka, Japan, 1981. 原作者：梁・釋寶唱。
5 詳閱 "Buddhist Tradition In Hong Kong," Ch.1; 參閱釋明慧，《大嶼山誌》，1957。
6 詳閱釋明慧，〈禪德，釋妙參〉，《大嶼誌》，1957。
7 此數字據《大嶼誌》資料，整理統計後而得。
8 葉文意，〈妙參法師其人其事〉，《世佛銀禧紀念特刊》。1975；釋明慧，見註6。
9 同上。
10 同上。
11 參閱《寶覺女子職業中學十八週年紀念特刊》，東蓮覺苑，1948。
12 同上；又據該校現任校監愍生法師〈本校當年的學生〉，亦作如是說。
13 同上。
14 詳閱《人海燈，二週年紀念號》，東蓮覺苑，1日1月1936年。
15 摘自〈寶覺女子中學校務報告〉，《寶覺女子職業中學十八週年紀念特刊》。東蓮覺苑，1948。
16 詳見《大光中學十週年紀念特刊》，大光中學，1972。
17 詳見《志蓮學校四十週年紀念特刊》，志蓮學校，1988。
18 同上。
19 同上。
20 Dr. Wing Ming, 見註1。
21 閱《黃鳳翎中學30週年紀念特刊》，黃鳳翎中學，1989。
22 閱《般若安老院30週年紀念特刊》，般若精舍，1983。

永明法師為哲學博士

香港婦女基督徒協會簡介

黃詠嫻

背景

「性別歧視」在許多香港人心目中似乎早已過時，甚至已經不存在，然而在許多情況下卻無條件地接納了一些「習非成是」的傳統觀念，如「男主外、女主內」，「男以才為貌，女以貌為才」，在不知不覺間身體力行了「性別歧視」，甚至許多婦女成為了壓迫自己的主謀而不自知。此等觀念在教會中更是屢見不鮮，造成許多不公平而荒謬的怪現象。有見及此，一群對此問題有醒覺及具使命感的婦女基督徒，在香港基督教協進會的支持下，於八四年八月組成了「香港婦女神學團契」，亦即是香港婦女基督徒協會（以下簡稱「女協」）的前身。「女協」於八八年一月四日正式成立，目的乃匯集婦女基督徒的經驗，從婦女角度出發，反省聖經及信仰。

目標

一・女性身份的重建

傳統以來，婦女只有從屬於別人的身份如母親、女兒、妻子等。因此，「女協」相信女性應努力重建自我的身份。女人也是上主所創造，同樣有上主的形像，可以獨立自主地愛主愛人。

二・發展婦女神學、推動教會更新

婦女基督徒是教會一分子，故此婦女亦有責任推動教會更新。況且女性常因教會的傳統而無法發揮應有的力量，所以婦女應站起來提醒教會，無論在神學或教制上，真正實踐男女平等，藉不同的職分（包括牧職）事奉上主，榮神益人。

三・積極關心社會

「女協」相信關心社會人人有責，應多支持婦女關社，為婦女打開更多參與渠道。此外，「女協」亦相信在男性中心的社會文化中，許多社會運動都傾向男權主導，忽略女性的經驗和參與。所以積極鼓勵婦女基督徒關心社會，是婦女建立自我和塑造兩性平等社會的首要工作。

四・聯結本地

團結本地基督徒婦女，聯繫本地及世界其他婦女組織，發揮肢體關顧的力量，協力促使婦運進一步開花結果。

黃詠嫻為香港婦女基督徒協會執委

簡介「過渡期香港天主教婦女的價值取向」研究計劃

張家興

這是一個由公教教研中心研究組負責的一項探討性工作計劃。

我們看到九七的衝擊為香港社會帶來震盪，但同時亦帶來前所未有的空間。政制開放及直接選舉就是一個明顯的例子。作為婦女，九七的衝擊如何為她們在家庭裡、社會裡、教會裡帶來新的空間？婦女如何在思想上掌握、在實際生活上利用這個新的空間？這可以說是引起我們做這個研究的其中一個動機。我們又看到在價值傳遞的工作上，婦女擔當極為重要的角色。香港天主教婦女擁有怎樣的價值觀念？這些價值觀念如何支持她們面對未來，尤其面對九七的衝擊？她們又用怎樣的符號去肯定和表達內心的價值觀念？這可以說是引起我們做這個研究的另一個動機。

經過了幾個月的討論，我們終於界定了研究範圍如下：在九七問題衝擊之下，香港天主教婦女作為家庭成員、教會成員、及作為生活在香港、以香港為家的中國人的價值取向。至於研究對象，則是香港天主教婦女，３１至４５歲，已婚，有兒女，自一九六零年或之前居港。

我們同意，外表的行為可以用客觀、科學的語言描述（Ludwig Wittgenstein 的 denoted），以實踐求證。但意義及價值是另一層次的事實（Winter 的 a different order of reality），較難用直接、準確、數量化的語言（digital language）來描述。意義及價值層次的事實只能意會（connoted），用形像（Segundo 的 iconic language）或符號（Winter 的 symbolic language）來表達。我們亦同意，形像或符號的作用並不是把已經看得見、觸摸得到的客觀現實記錄下來，而是把肉眼看不見的意義及價值顯現出來（Paul Klee 的 makes visible, not reproduces the visible）。這並不表示形像或符號所顯現只是純粹主觀、不可以客觀驗證的觀念。我們相信意義及價值可以在具體實踐經驗中求證。因此，在這研究中，我們十分重視婦女的行為、情緒、及對具體經驗的描述。它們給形像及符號賦予血肉，並提供了客觀的驗証。

以研究方法來說，我們準備作一個大膽的嘗試，請一個有個人及家庭輔導亦有帶領個人成長小組的經驗的輔導員做導師，以小組形式，帶領十八位來自不同工作及教育背景的天主教婦女，在三整天內，透過重塑、圖畫、分享等，讓婦女接觸自己的內心世界，讓內心世界呈現。研究組成員亦參與其中，聆聽、發問及參與角色扮演。小組工作完畢之後，研究人員將再分別做個別訪問，目的在核對一些小組內所得但可能有疑問的資料及搜集所需補充性資料。

我們希望在一九九二年年底之前完成這個探討性研究。

張家興為公教教研中心研究組統籌

工作與家庭

敖恒宇

七十年代之前，社會科學者慣常地將「工作」與「家庭」視為兩個不同的研究領域，前者的重點在於男性的事業及職責，而後者則強調女性的角色與任務。在這些學者看來，「工作」與「家庭」之間的連繫只單單地建於「性別分工」的基礎上，故此無需作出深入的討論。然而，這種帶有性別主義色彩的看法越來越站不住腳。隨著女性地位上升與經濟參與，「工作」已非男性的天下：婚姻制度的變化亦令人驚訝，和諧的家庭成了浪漫化的神話。另一方面，「工作」與「家庭」之間的錯綜關係已超乎傳統觀點所能了解。

西方社會的一些現象，例如：勞動市場女性數目日增、女性進入傳統男性為主的行業、遲婚、生育率下降、離婚率上升、單親家庭增多等，在今天的香港亦漸漸出現，且看下列的一些數字：

（１）１９６１年女性勞動參與率是３６・８%，八十年代末期的數字是接近５０%，換言之，約有一百萬女性投身工作。新進入勞動市場的年輕女性大部份從事文職及服務性行業。

（２）女性初婚年齡中位數在１９７４年為２３・１，１９８９年為２６・３，而且趨勢正不斷上升。與此同時，離婚率亦急升，根據９１年的統計數字，該年內共有近三萬名女性的婚姻狀況為「離婚」及「分居」，較之十年前增加了１５０%！[1]數字顯示１９９０年離婚個案共有６７６７宗，[2]估計目前本港的單親家庭已超過四萬個。

這些關乎「工作」及「家庭」的轉變相信並非獨立無關。一方面，我們可從社會變遷的宏觀度去了解及分析，例如經濟發展、教育與就業機會的擴展、兩性分層（gender stratification）的變化、文化價值的改變對此所帶來的衝擊。另一方面，我們亦可從微觀（個人層面）的角度，探討這些轉變之間的關係，例如：家庭內的分工與策略（household strategies）如何影響夫婦之就業行為與婚姻關係。西方的研究指出，婦女外出工作，固然是因應著家庭的財政壓力；但工作亦帶來經濟獨立，促成不美滿婚姻的結束。此外，事業為上的女性通常有遲婚的傾向，而婚姻的延遲亦改變了一般家庭的生命週期（family life cycle）的進程，進而影響家庭的重大決策（例如生育及勞動行為）。

「家庭」與「工作」兩者之間的關係其實是一個十分重要的課題（無論在理論或社會政策方面），特別是九十年代的香港。然而，這方面的研究可謂鳳毛麟角，著作不多，研究的空間很大。

附註

1 彭潔玲〈香港人口變化的新現象〉《信報財經月刊》９１年１２月
2 明報９１年１０月２０日

敖恒宇為中文大學組織及管理學系講師

困局下的女性—淺談中國的女性電影

溫爭流

這裏所指的女性電影並沒有嚴謹的定義，只不過是筆者就一些中國大陸導演以女性為主角、題材所拍攝的電影略為一抒己見而已。

我選取了幾部令我印象比較深刻而又曾經引起不少時人討論的電影來談談，包括〈寡婦村〉、〈出嫁女〉、〈菊豆〉及〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉。以上幾部電影有著相似的題材：以中國舊社會的農村為背景，襯托出女性乃封建婚姻制度的犧牲品。可以說，它們同在表達一種困局—父權社會的主導意識乃壓仰女性以抬高及保護男性的既得利益，其規範與行為模式牢牢地支配著各人的行為。幾部電影中的女性對此困局的意識及反應各有不同，但都脫離不了悲劇的命運。

首先看看王進的〈寡婦村〉，它存在著一種奇怪的祖宗傳統（男女結婚頭三年不准同床：每年夫婦只有三次見面的機會；女性生子後才可搬往夫家等），村民事事以祖宗為首要考慮。村中大部份婦女都像婷姐一般愚昧無知，盲目地服從傳統，深以傳宗接代、服待丈夫為己任。當婷姐多年仍未能為夫生子，深覺對不起祖宗，便像昔人般跳海贖罪。她們毫不醒覺傳統乃死物，人才是有獨立思維的個體此事實，結果當然成為傳統困局的受害者。唯有阿來——一個來自台南的姑娘，因沒將當地習俗的內化，故敢於向傳統挑戰。她偷看丈夫洗澡，並主動表示情慾難禁，結婚不久已和其夫同床。即使最終阿來仍不能逃避當活寡婦的命運，她反抗的精神卻令她與丈夫無悔。較諸其他盲目順從祖宗傳統的婦女，阿來可以說是主動地選擇了自己的路。

〈出嫁女〉亦為王進所執導的電影，片中悲劇意味更重。電影中的女性地位低微、命運坎坷。七十大壽的老祖母仍要在廚房吃飯，而無權與男賓坐席；偷會情郎的女子被丈夫押著遊街毒打；分娩時難產的產婦為生兒子而賠上性命；還有常見的盲婚啞嫁等事例皆說明了在父權社會制度的壓迫下，女性生命賤如草芥，作用只是傳宗接代，卻同時要嚴保貞節，毫無婚姻自主權。五位女主角為逃避俗世所安排的女性命運，決定另找出路，她們選擇了吊頸自殺以期重獲新生。她們如此對困局的回應行為，雖可謂欲自我掌握命運，但想深一層，死亡不過是另一種逃避手法而已。因為「死亡」在當地有一美好的傳統，死後生命能上天堂、遊花園，解脫一切痛苦。既然自殺亦不過是自欺欺人的行為，則女性還能如何抉擇呢？

張藝謀所執導的〈菊豆〉及〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉都是政治諷刺意味較濃的電影，但我們仍可從性別研究的角度一窺其旨。〈菊豆〉的困局在於代表中國傳統家長，象徵封建父權思想的楊金山對菊豆的百般虐待及壓迫。而〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉則以一棟沒有大門的古老大屋來暗喻一個沒有出路的困局。其中陳家老爺是父權社會的權力表徵，燈籠代表男性福澤的來源，陳家老爺便藉著點燈、滅燈、封燈等種種代表寵幸與否的儀式緊緊地操縱著眾姨太太的命運。

兩部電影中的女性皆是男人以金錢買回來的物品，因此成為男性的附庸。她們的作用只是服待男人，嚴守貞節及為丈夫繼傳香燈，女性不容有找尋自我快樂的空間。雖然菊豆在不甘心受其夫虐待欺凌的情況下主動搭上外甥楊天青，希望藉此與其對抗，但她尋找自身快樂及反抗的成功卻是短暫和不見得光的。楊金山死後，復有楊天白（菊豆和天青的兒子）延續舊勢力的力量；同時，外在的群眾壓力更強化了父權社會的困局，菊豆和天青需「擋棺」及分開居住以示清白。基本上，他們的關係從頭到尾都是偷偷摸摸，不為世人所接納的。同樣地，〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉裏的三姨太梅珊當被發現與醫師有染，即被活活吊死。也許，這正是反抗困局所需付出的代價。

既然女性在父權社會的困局下沒有行動的主權，不自覺者或像〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉的二姨太卓雲般完全投入遊戲當中，努力以生子、爭寵為人生目標。即使自覺此困局的存在亦無補於事。正如四姨太頌蓮——一個原先代表知識、開放的女性，雖感嘆人不像人及身不由己的無奈，但她還是選擇了服從適應而非對抗的態度，屈服於男性權威之下，因為在這困局下似乎別無他路。

顯而易見，幾部電影都在不同層面上展現了父權社會制度對女性所形成的壓迫困局。在男性中心意識底下，女性個人的尊嚴及價值已蕩然無存，僅剩下作為性工具及傳宗接代的功能。電影內典型的女性都以為夫家生一男丁為目標，沒有男丁繼後的女性輕則受冷落（如〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉中的二姨太），重則需自殺以贖罪（如〈寡婦村〉內的婷姐）。此外，女性作為男性性慾的發洩對象，卻受到諸多限制。她們需嚴保貞節，一生只可服待一個男人，丈夫死了還要守寡，至於與他人通姦更是彌天大罪。另一方面，社會並沒有要求男人守貞操，他們甚至可以三妻四妾，享齊人之福。可以說，舊社會的女性乃為男性—丈夫、兒子而生存，她不容許有自己的生活與理想。如此一來，女性自然變成男性的附屬品，一切以男性為依歸。這種將女性客體化、物化的意識腐蝕了人之為人的意義，使女性不知不覺地內化、接受並心甘情願地沿續此父權意識型態而不以為忤。

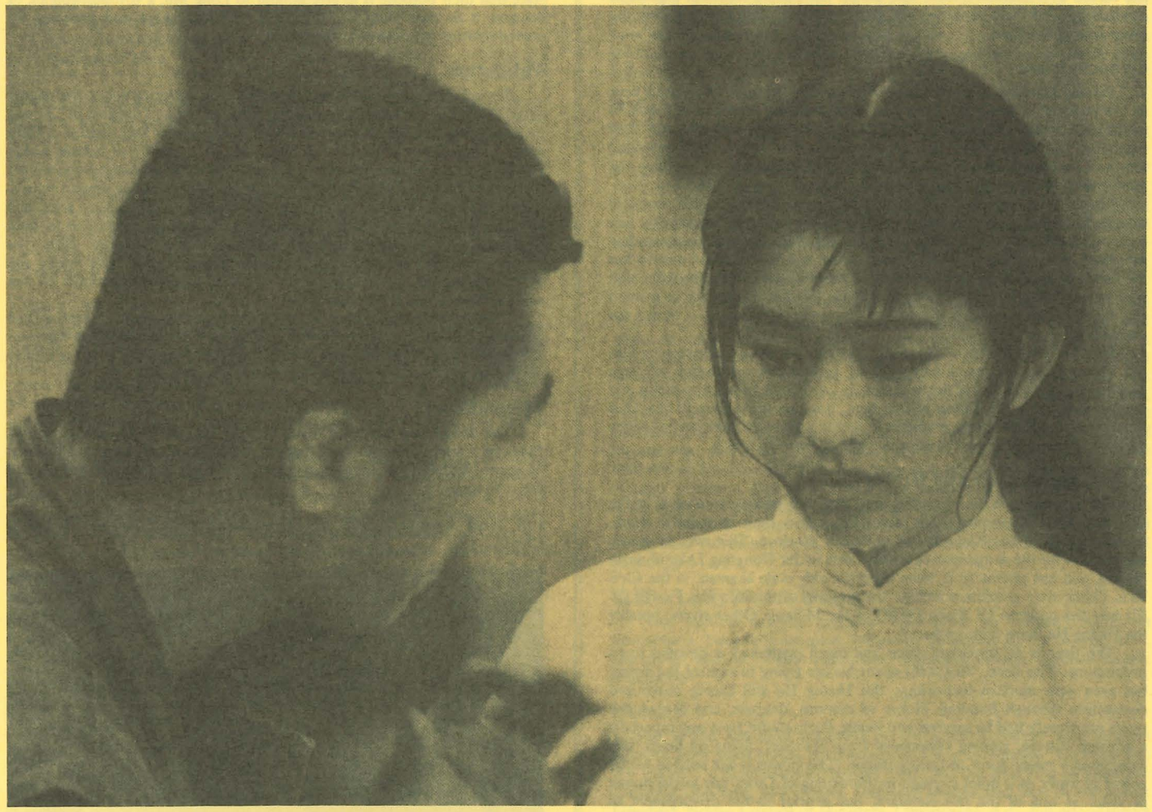
稍有醒覺者在此情況下反而更覺孤單與痛苦：同時，社會現存的種種保護機制令她們最終逃不過悲劇的命運。〈出嫁女〉那群少女自殺不遂，被逼出嫁；〈寡婦村〉的女子們終成為活寡婦；〈菊豆〉內天青死在天白手裏，菊豆唯有一把火燒了染布廠；〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉中三姨太被吊死，四姨太頌蓮亦瘋了……。悲劇收場的結果似乎告訴我們，父權社會制度的困局是牢不可破的，無論個人如何努力，最終均告失敗。

值得反省的是，既然困局是不爭的事實，為何只有女性在獨立面對、抗爭，而男性卻少有積極的回響？且看〈寡婦村〉的男性同為祖宗傳統的受害者，但他們毫無反抗之意：阿來的丈夫阿泰雖與妻子同床，卻是誠惶誠恐，深怕因此得罪祖宗；萬福欲帶婷姐離開村莊亦不過想多些生子機會。〈出嫁女〉的男性不是欺凌女性，便是懦弱無能，更罔論為女性出頭了。〈菊豆〉的楊金山、楊天白及〈大紅燈籠高高掛〉的陳家老爺均為權威、壓迫的表表者。楊天青雖與菊豆通姦，他卻是極為懦弱的，既不敢把昏迷了的楊金山拋下懸崖，又不敢與菊豆私奔。同樣地，陳家大少爺飛浦只曉逃避，不單逃避頌蓮，甚至逃避整個制度，毫無反抗的意圖。

男性們真的對這困局毫無醒覺嗎？不見得吧。男性之所以能視而不見，其主要原因乃此制度維護了他們的既得利益。「父權社會」一詞已表明了一切乃以男性為出發點，男性是社會的主宰。這意味著第二性－女性無辜成為父權社會的犧牲品，難怪男性們的回嚮是如此少得可憐了。

或謂以上所論均只適用於封建舊社會，現代社會女性地位已大為提高。君不見不少男性口中常掛著「男女平等」的口號，女仕們備受男仕的禮待，以往的壓迫與歧視怕已不復存矣。確實，現代的女性們已不用忍受種種無理的要求如纏腳、守寡、盲婚啞嫁等，但這一切都只是用以掩飾實情的假象。性別歧視依然存在，不過換了一種模式而已。廣告、電影、電視等傳媒所傳遞的女性形象不是賢淑的家庭主婦，便是成功男性的伴侶。近年選美及三級片的盛行，更是將女性角色商品化的表徵。面對如此事實，我們難道還可以說女性已突破了困局嗎？當然，這是一個相當大的題目，待有機會再予探討。

溫爭流為中文大學香港亞太研究所性別研究計劃研究助理



《性別研究資訊》從下期起增設「讀者來函」專欄。
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Female Power in Bonding:
A Study of Long Mu

P.G. Misty Sheehan

This essay reports a research in progress. From the ancient matriarchies on, female power has existed and been disparaged for fear of its potency. Female liaisons have continued to exist, as most recently studied among the silkworkers in the Pearl River Delta. Lone females acting outside the constraints of marriage in positions of power such as Wu Zhao Hou or Jiangqing, or in illicit sexual relations, as those portrayed in the Outlaws of the Marsh, are to be feared and destroyed. Sexual manuals admit to this female centre of power, exhorting the male to retain his semen in sexual intercourse, increasing his own power rather than that of his partner.

The temple to Long Mu (龍母), Dragon Mother, located in Deqing County (德慶), west Guangdong Province, is a pilgrimage spot for southern Chinese. Long Mu grants favours, both in temple rituals and through petitioning, to both females and males, although the rituals centre around female needs. Her potency comes from her early virtue, her decision not to marry, her relations with her two natural sisters and four adopted sisters, and, further, her dragon sons, whom she raises from an egg in the river. The dragon sons protected the village from flood, drought and insect pests, and she served as a shaman queen, who taught her people technical aspects of civilized life, led them in virtue, and protected them successfully against the incursions of the Han.

Gynocentrism

Female bonding, a quiet thread in Chinese culture, is introduced here in the concept of gan (乾). Long Mu, who had two sisters of her own to whom she was quite close, vowed never to marry and adopted four neighbour girls supplanting the natal family for her own created extended family. The legends tell of the closeness of these women, and today the temple houses statues of the seven.

Though the legends speak mainly of her assistance to the complete villages historically, popular rituals emphasize a continuing concern for her extended family of women. Long Mu is not transformed into a goddess after her death, but remains a potent human being, a female shaman who in her life used her magical powers and those of the dragons to help the tribe, and who now still provides benefits for her "tribe." Following her advice women can even become mediums themselves, dreaming of prosperous events for one's children.

Despite her promise not to marry, the legend of her courtship by Qin Shi Huang shows a reactionary process against the annexation of west Guangdong, with its major figure a woman. Although Panyu, the major city on the coast of south China at this time, has become a part of the Han Empire, this legend lends credulence to the stories of matriarchal tribes inland and shows their continued resistance to Han expansion.

Power, the Female and Rivers

The daughters of the legendary Emperor Yao who became wives of the Emperor Shun legitimizing his accession, upon their husband's death, become spirits of the Xiang River in Hunan Province. This river is closely associated with the dragonpalace which exists under Dongting Lake in north Hunan, and has poems to it, from a presumably male shaman, in the Ch'u Ts'u. Other river goddesses include the goddess of the Luo He, Fu Fei (宓妃) and the goddess Qi Xiang (奇相) of the Mijiang. Other rivers, notably the Huang He, have male gods.

The river is an important force and much mythology is devoted to its propitiation. The hero, Yü (大禹) spent his life trying to control the rivers, but even with modern technology, the Huang He still causes death and destruction through flooding. Home of demons, dragons, and deities, the rivers are closely tied to survival and death. Early southChina was especially a riverine culture, gaining sustenance from the river, living on boats, and using it as a major form of transportation. This power is not related to the power of water as a quiet strength in the writing of Laozi, nor to the power of water as one of the five elements, but is prior to the development of these intellectual traditions.

Stories come down to us of shamans and shamanesses prior to the establishment of Confucian virtues. Sima Qian's Records of the Historian parodies the encounter of the female shamans with Confucian learning in the guise of Hsimen Pao (西門豹), who eliminates the practice of throwing virgins to be married to the river god. He threw the shamaness herself into the river to tell the god his "bride" will be late. The legendary Li Bing of Shu eliminated the annual sacrifice of two young girls to the river god and the frequent flooding by fighting and capturing the river god. Women do continue to throw themselves into the rivers over unwanted pregnancies or unrequited love and are transformed into local ghosts who have power and must be propitiated.

Pilgrimage

Steven Sangren has written of the importance of pilgrimage in Taiwan in the worship of Mazu (sometimes confused by devotees with Long Mu), and Long Mu's annual pilgrimage on the 8th day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar is an ideal study of the concept of pilgrimage as it is re-emerging on the mainland. Peasant women arrive by boat and take up residence in the temple to take part in the ceremonies; boats of villagers arrive, covered with pennants, bringing roast pigs in processions to the temple. They mix with busloads of prosperous Hong Kong residents, from the area originally, who take up residence in the better hotel, enjoying feasting and imbibing the local tonic wine as their major ritual. Participants state that their purpose is to give honour to Long Mu, a virtuous woman, or because it is their duty, or to receive fore-knowledge and blessings on crucial matters in business or the family.

Validation

Though keeping to their own language and eating customs, the people of south China now identify themselves with the Great Tradition of Chinese culture. Long Mu, like Mazu, has been validated by a long stream of titles given by various emperors. Long Mu's light as a symbol of female power and bonding has been shadowed by the process of her legitimization into the patriarchal centre. The legends emphasize the powers of her dragon sons as well as her own. Further, every woman's ideal is to have many sons, and hers, abeit adopted, are further magical dragons, so her power can be seen to come from fulfilling women's prime function superbly. Note the contradiction that she does that by establishing her own uterine family, not by continuing the family lineage, in line with Ahern's hypothesis on the value of the uterine family to women.

Though the women do a lot of the work in the temple, cleaning and guarding it, local elite males from the village run the society which manages the temple and determines the financial affairs of the temple, a big money maker not just for the village but for the surrounding area.

Methodology

The temple was identified to me by Xiao Ting (蕭亭) of the Guangdong Folklore Society. He and Tang Yongye (譚永業) of the Deqing Historical Museum (德慶縣博物館) have been working with me to study the temple and the customs.

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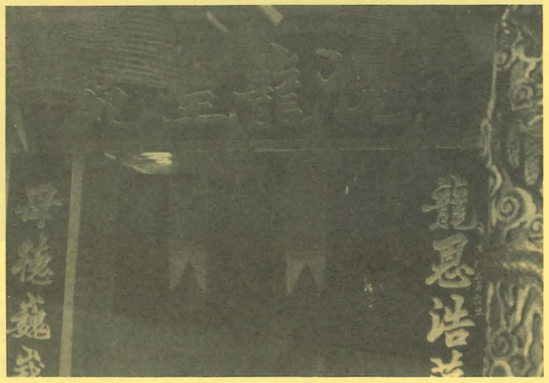

Women and State Feminism in Scandinavia [1]

Grace C.L. Mak

To most outsiders, countries in Scandinavia [2] are pioneers in the drive toward equality between the sexes. Their achievements draw envy from women in the rest of the world. Some examples in the following table explain why.

Some milestones on the road to equal opportunities

	Denmark	*Norway*	*Sweden*
Equal rights of inheritance	1857	1854	1845
Women get voting rights and become eligible for			
— local elections	1908	1910	1919
— parliamentary elections	1915	1913	1919
First woman in parliament	1918	1922	1921
Women admitted to universities	1875	1884	1873
Women granted same rights as men in civil service	1921	1938	1925
Women granted right to ordination	1947	1952	1958
Equal pay for same position in civil service	1919	1959	1947
Equal pay for same position in industry/trade	1973	1961	1960
Women entitled to decide on abortion	1973	1978	1975
Parents granted shared paternity/maternity leave for birth of child	1984	1978	1974

These achievements, mainly in arenas in which legislation can take effect, reflect a relatively receptive state ideology to women's struggle and serve as a guide to feminists elsewhere. The frustration of Scandinavian feminists at equal access to but disparate distribution in schooling, the double demand from work and the family, marginality of women in politics and the scorn established academe holds for women's studies, themes that are only too familiar to feminists elsewhere, appears at first puzzling to the outsider. What caused the frustration? What lessons does Scandinavia have to offer? This essay looks at the status of women in Scandinavia in five areas: education, work, family, politics, and academe.

Education

Education is perceived to play a major role in shaping one's life chances. In Scandinavia, a compulsory nine-year basic education guarantees equal access for boys and girls. Upper secondary and college education opens favourably to females. However, as elsewhere in the world, women's representation declines as level of education goes up. In 1988 women made up 19% of those gaining a doctorate in Denmark and in Norway and 24% in Sweden.

Equal access is not synonymous with parity. The distribution of females in fields of study confirms a cross-cultural pattern. Girls tend to pursue courses in the humanities and social sciences in grammar schools and in nursing, secretarial skills and social work in vocational schools at the upper secondary level, whereas boys tend to study mathematics, science and technology. At college, women are found in shorter duration and/or female-dominated fields, such as teaching, nursing, and the humanities; and men in technology, mathematics and data technology.

Paid Employment

Greater access to education facilitates women's labour force participation, partly because credentials are assets in securing a job, but also largely because men's routes to employment vary whereas women's route is always education. In 1960 women in Scandinavia comprised about a third of the labour force, today the proportion has increased to about half. Women's labour force participation rate has also grown. Today 83% of all women from the age of 20 up to pension age work for wages. Again statistical equality begs further investigation. Scandinavia is similar to other OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries in that a large proportion of the female labour force is engaged in part-time work. In Norway about 50% of all working women have part-time jobs, in Sweden and in Denmark it is 40%.

These countries do poorly in gender distribution in the occupations. About 40-50% of all working women are found in the service and caring trades, while engineers, managers, technicians, and truck drivers are mostly male. Thus, the state has facilitated female entry to the type of waged labour which is by nature an extension of women's work in the family. Public patriarchy has replaced private patriarchy at home. What makes Scandinavia unique, and Sweden is a good example, however, is that the state, through one of its departments, acknowledges the issue. Statistics Sweden, the national statistics office, has a Unit of Equal Opportunity Statistics which monitors the degree of equality achieved in major aspects of life. It defines it as equitable distribution if 40% to 60% of either sex is represented. When the represention of either sex exceeds 60%, it is male- or female-dominated. However, most graphs showing distribution of men and women in the occupations can easily be about a society like Hong Kong.

In a region with a supposedly liberal notion of gender roles, low status jobs are mostly filled by women. Besides, notwithstanding legislation guaranteeing equal pay for the same work performed, there is an income gap between the sexes. As recent as the mid 1980s, women's salaries in Denmark and Norway were 85% of men's, in Sweden it was 90%. Since educational attainment is more or less equal between the sexes, differential status in the work force has to be explained otherwise, which we will turn to in the next section.

In the Family

An individual's decision reflects the limit of equality intended in policy formulation. That women constitute most of the part-time workers and that those who use parental leave are typically mothers when either mothers or fathers are entitled to it says much about sex-role division of labour in the household. Cultural norms rather than law defines the amount and type of male and female contribution to maintaining the household. Time- use surveys suggest that in spite of greater sharing of household chores, women have the main responsibility for housework, and especially for child rearing. By the same token, men devote more time to waged labour and enjoy more leisure time.

Politics

If women in Scandinavia do not differ fundamentally from women elsewhere, do they at least feature quite prominently in politics? The answer is again relative. Female presence in politics in Scandinavia, an average of more than 30%, tops the world. However, it is weak at the core of power. As the ranking goes up, the proportion of female declines. Feminists point out that more presence does not equate with real social power. Politics, like the corporate structure in the economy, is still a man's world.

The Academe

Women's studies in Scandinavia started some 20 years ago, to a large degree stimulated by the international feminist movement. Gains have been made in advancement of empirical data on women's situation, but a theoretical framework is yet to emerge. Many universities have established women's studies centres, many of which are state-funded. However, the relation between women's studies and the university is uncomfortable. Feminist research is not taken seriously in the established academic community and is met with resistance. The feminist "double strategy" of maintaining autonomy in women's studies but integrating with the mainstream has thus met limited success. It is not uncommon to hear male scholars comment that too much has been done when feminist scholars think they have just begun. The marginality is reflected in the financial status of women's studies centres. Current recession and cutbacks are bound to hit hard vulnerable fields, resulting in little job security and long-term planning.

Still a Long Way to Go

This section heading probably best sums up women's status in Scandinavia. Despite great gains, inequality dies hard. At the cultural level, patriarchy acts to shape individuals' behaviour which remains largely traditional.

Notes

1. This article has been informed by the author's contact with feminist scholars from Scandinavia, her participation in a conference "Growing into the Future" in Stockholm in October 1991, and the following publications: Christina Osterberg and Birgitta Hedman, *Women and Men in the Nordic Countries,* Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen, n.d., 2nd ed.; Statistics Sweden, *Women and Men in Sweden. Equality of the sexes 1990,* Statistics Sweden, Stockholm, 1990; and Solveig Bergman, ed., *Women's Studies and Research on Women in the Nordic Countries,* Coordinating Group for Nordic Women's Studies, 1991.
2. The term refers to Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

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"In Bed with Madonna" starring Madonna Directed by Alek Keshishian, IVL 1991

Tessa Stewart

Madonna. She elicits strong response from many, positive and negative, none more so than in the feminist community, where she has both supporters and detractors. This division of opinion prompts one to ask, what lies at the heart of Madonna's image, and how might it effect the millions for whom she is a role model? An examination of this film, which is a documentary of Madonna's life onstage and off during her much publicized "Blonde Ambition" tour of the U.S. and Europe, may serve to bring out some pertinent issues.

The film critics are themselves divided about the film "In Bed with Madonna" - whether it really produces the purported insight into Madonna's public and private life, or whether she has just cleverly managed to subvert the documentary format in order to display herself in a carefully calculated fashion. Certainly, onstage we see Madonna's talent as a performer as she effectively combines dance and lighting to extend song presentation into visually dramatic pieces. Backstage, in the coverage of intertroupe relations she comes across as a street-kid cum drill sergeant, boosting the morale of the troops (dancers) for the next assault (performance) with her feisty pep talks. The sessions are cast in the light of a semi-prayer format in which God is invoked; however, it is never quite clear how he fits in exactly from there on.

Early in the film, Madonna establishes for us her own perception of her role as mother to her troupe of dancers, make-up artists, dressers, and the like. In reality, contrary to some feminists glorification of Madonna-as-mother here, little mothering could be seen by this reviewer. Rather, to characterize the relationship in this way seems akin to likening it to the situation in "Little Red Riding Hood," where the wolf masquerades in a position of the trust so as to fulfil his own needs. Madonna more or less says as much when she talks about meeting her own needs through the relationship when she tells us "I chose people [in the troupe] unconsciously who are emotionally crippled, which fulfils a need in me to be mothered." It seems she has a need to be mothered which fuels her fantasy of mothering her troupe, but in the end she can only rise to behaviour expected from a powerful sibling. (The fact that Madonna's own mother died when she was a child aged five is perhaps relevant.)

One gets the impression that Madonna is looking for control both in her public and her private life. However, whilst her control over her career has been thus far so successful that she is now the most highly paid performer in the pop industry, there are glimpses of her here seeking to marshal those in her private life with less success. In Detroit, her hometown, it appears her family need some fairly active mustering to ensure their attendance, and indeed she waits in vain one night for her brother to show at her hotel. Similarly, there are shots of her beau, Warren Beatty, resisting being rounded up to play his part for the cameras according to her wishes. In one much referred to scene, he questions her bringing her management of her public persona into the centre of her personal life. Refusing to talk backstage in front of the cameras, he makes the damning summation that Madonna sees no point in doing something if it is off camera, that there is no distinction between her public and private life. (Herein may lie the nub of the problem for reviewers who try to determine how much this film allows us to see of the private side of Madonna.)

Nevertheless, the way Madonna invests herself in her career, and her perceived control over it is part of what some feminists admire about her. She gives the impression that nobody tells her what to do, and that no one is exploiting her, neither her handlers nor those in the music business. We see her on tour in Toronto "The Good," being told by the police to cut out the simulated masturbation and orgasm in her show, the police reportedly having received complaints from the public. She refuses to "clean-up" her act, citing artistic freedom - and goes ahead with the full show. It is this willingness to challenge sexual mores, to put together avant garde routines like those in question, that attracts some feminists.

Here we may ask some questions - if one is prepared to be exploitative of one's own self, is this any great improvement to having a middle "man" do it for you? Is Madonna's act truly avant garde - haven't we in fact seen it all before, but in another context? The crotch-grabbing, crotch-wiping motions and the simulated showbiz style orgasm that have little to do with actual female sexual experience and everything to do with an observer and an audience - usually a paying one - these are not new. Almost every night in large cities in the developed world, you can see similar routines to those in Madonna's stage show, in clubs in the seedier parts of town. Indeed, a childhood friend of hers who shows up at one of her performances is still performing in such shows. So yes, we have seen this all before, but formerly it was hidden away, to be found in the context of sex for commercial gain, bought sex.

And now, Madonna has brought this out into the open, into the mainstream, in what she refers to as "a celebration of life." Why? She makes a statement to the press when in trouble over a controversy about the risque aspects of her show in Italy, saying "I do not endorse a way of life, I describe one and leave the audience to make up their own minds." Later on in the film she goes on to say "I know I'm not the best singer or dancer, but I'm interested in pressing people's buttons - I'm interested in being provocative, in being political." Again we may ask, to what end? Some would say that Madonna is all about one almighty, wonderful liberating send-up. If so, one wonders whether her audience, especially the younger members, are able to grasp the subtleties involved. It is not unusual for pop groups to find that their ironic poses or songs have been misinterpreted by avid fans, taken at face value. For when images which are stock images and part of our culture are re-presented in a pop setting, the simplistic nature of the medium tends to override finer points of detail, particularly when accompanied by ill-assorted video images that often have little relations to the songs being sung.

Rather than encouraging a new ironic outlook, a new debate about the images she works with, Madonna's activities seem to have accelerated a wider acceptance of soft porn in the pop industry. One might draw a direct line from the increasing use of soft porn images in many pop videos over the last ten years to Madonna's self-presentation today, a trajectory that is seamless in its increasing use of images of bought sex. These are distinguished by their calculation - female singers giving just the right pout, show of skin and sexual come-on, all of it manufactured manipulation. It was not the sexually explicit nature of Madonna's show that one male reviewer complained of, in fact, rather the opposite! It was its lack of soul, the lack of real sensuality, of spontaneous sexuality. This is to say nothing of the lack of images of intimacy, trust and mutual respect in this repertoire. Madonna does not stop at simple sexploitation, but is happy onstage to play about with sado-masochism and abuse, mock kicking one of her all male dance troupe, crawling on the ground in a macho black leathers "angry" act.

Offstage, things are not much different, with Madonna at times wantonly abusive of those in her troupe. "I used to beat up kids like you when I was little," she cracks to her hairdresser, an unsophisticated young woman who doesn't know how to reply. She verbally pushes around her new young lover, one of the male dancers, also young, shy, and none too bright. When he comes under pressure, being teased for his lack of intelligence, for their affair, he disappears. Madonna's appeal to the other dancers to stop bugging him concludes with an appeal one suspects is less about concern for her lover than about her real bottom line - "'cause I really want him to dance in the show tonight." Her show must go on. He and two of the other dancers have since filed suit claiming damages against Madonna, saying she reneged on her commitment to allow them to edit or censor any scenes they felt "invaded their privacy."

The actual scenes in "In Bed with Madonna" seem to blow intimacy apart; it's difficult to know what is really going on. Madonna is in bed, presumably naked, and orders various male dancers to undress and get in with her. What follows, in a highly charged "shock" atmosphere, involves scatological references to penis size, sexual attractiveness and performance abilities, often abusive in tone. The scenes from the Truth of Dare competition she organizes have a similar tone, where she performs fellatio on a bottle-neck, and dares two of the male dancers to kiss in front of everyone. All very juvenile, one might say, but perhaps there is more to it than that. At a recent local conference on women's sexuality, many therapists present had no problem in agreeing that Madonna exhibits the classic signs of having been sexually abused as a child. At one stage on screen - though she makes it into a joke afterwards - she states to her friend that her father had sex with her when she was little, when she would climb into bed with him in the years right after her mother died. The "acting out," use of her body and sexuality to gain attention, her manipulativeness and difficulties with intimacy, would all support this theory. If this is so, what Madonna is displaying worldwide is a truly abusive experience of sex.

Whether there is truth in the above idea or not, the point is that the way Madonna portrays herself leaves things open to this interpretation. She portrays an exploitative image of sexuality, one that males have traditionally been more comfortable with, and this image is a keystone of her public persona. Whether she means it to or not, it links up with the currency of soft porn, and is influential in that we can see even formerly squeaky clean stars like Kylie Minogue becoming outright copyists - if only to compete with Madonna's success. Strong alternative self-presentations exist - for example that of Sinead O'Connor - but their exposure is limited by their very antagonism to commercial and sexual exploitation. Meanwhile, Madonna's personal flair and skilful use of publicity helps ensure that her approach is increasingly taking centre stage.

In Hong Kong, many dismiss these issues as irrelevant, pertaining only to the more morally lax and decadent West. One Chinese University student, intelligent and otherwise well-informed, once told me that she had understood that Madonna's wearing of her trademark brothel underclothes in public was nothing strange or shocking for Westerners - that we more or less saw it as normal behaviour. Yet these issues are alive here too. In Anita Mui's recent Coliseum performances the "Metropolitan Weekly" magazine said parts of the show were "shocking" and unsuitable for children. Mui had apparently copied Madonna's routines right down to the same trademark attire, provocatively clad male dancers, and sexual taunting of a priest figure, just like Madonna in her "Like a Virgin" routine.

A local critic in a glowing review of "In Bed with Madonna" observed: " It is easy to see why Madonna manages to repeatedly bowl over her detractors and critics." Maybe so, but the question is, at what cost to our view of ourselves and our sexuality, male and female? Soft porn, with its limited and often demeaning view of sexuality, is becoming more accepted, its images available more routinely, and Madonna is an active part of that process. Perhaps those for whom Madonna is a role model, in particular the young and impressionable, will end up in bed making love with each other soft-porn style, in a calculating fashion. Young women may be particularly affected, in that most of these images are of women, and in the absence of contradictory images they may begin to accept these as representing sexual reality. Men have long been conditioned to accept these images as part of their sexual round by exposure to girlie pin-ups, magazine centerfolds and the like. Their wives and lovers may be about to "catch up" with them. Thus they may end up participating in their own sexpolitation - Madonna style.

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Musing on Gender Studies:

Are There Any Implications on How to be Human?

Tsui Hing-fung

Not being a member of the Gender Studies research program, I have the benefit of asking questions as an outsider. Around the world, gender studies seems to attract the participation of female rather than male academics, why? Is gender studies an area reflecting the cultivation of a pasture by female researchers due to the invisible barrier to women's advance in a predominantly male establishment, such as the university? In what ways does gender studies reflect a different world view, different way of life, different approach to the whole business of research? Should the differences exist, are there any implications here on how to be human?

The first two questions could easily be answered by historians and sociologists. The liberation of women and women's access to higher education are late happenings in the history of humankind. The process has not been a straight course. Concessions to women's rights have been reluctant; traditional and religious beliefs have always played a part in the restriction of women to the household.

The third question requires some thought. In the creation of a separate academic pasture, are researchers simply aping what the established academic world has already purported? To promote understanding of the concept of gender, to dispel stereotypes about gender, to trace the historical development of gender practices, to discover the micro or macro aspects of gender attitude transition in the present day urban society, and so on, are some of the more readily identified research purposes. Some would claim that the world view and approach to the research is from a "feminist" perspective (many outsiders think they know the definition of this word, but insiders will tell you their diverse individual definitions). To help the perplexed, some researchers would say they look at things from an " androgynous" perspective, meaning that positive characteristics of both male and female are included in such a view. But this means one should retain the concept that there are certain labels considered to be "positive-male" and "positive-female".

You may think the last question is irrelevant, that the significance of a research study is not to be linked up with an existential question of how to be human.... Frustratingly, the knotty question stays. It will certainly be asked by critics and most fittingly it should be borne in the minds of gender studies researchers.

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Book Review

Mary Field Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, Jill Mattuck Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (New York: Basic, 1986)

Michele Chase

Anyone interested in how gender influences knowing and learning will find *Women's Ways of Knowing* evocative and thought-provoking. Seeking to discover the voices of women, traditionally overlooked in developmental research (such as that of William Perry), four psychologists interviewed women of different backgrounds. The results of their research greatly enrich our understanding of how human beings grow cognitively and ethically. In addition, this book provides a fine example of scholarship presented in a women's way of writing.

The authors took an interview/case study approach, interviewing 135 women, many more than once. Featuring many direct quotations and stories, the book reflects their concern to focus on the actual voices and views of the women on issues concerning self-image, relationships, learning, living, changes, and growth. Many interviewees were students or alumnae of universities, and also included were women in "invisible colleges," or social agencies that help women with parenting. The researchers felt that listening to the voices of women diverse in age, circumstances, ethnic background, and social class (rather than focusing on a homogeneous sample) would enable them both to make comparisons and to discover a common ground in the epistemological development of women.

One striking pattern the authors discovered was that women repeatedly emphasized *voice* in describing their intellectual and ethical development: for these women "the development of a sense of voice, mind, and self were intricately intertwined" (18). This contrasts with metaphors of *seeing*, such as "the mind's eye" and equating light with illumination, that scientists and philosophers (male?) have often used to describe their experience with the intellect.

Because of interviewees' frequent references to voice and silences the authors used this metaphor through which to describe in Part I of the book a set of five major epistemological perspectives from which women know and view the world: silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. *Silence* is being voiceless and unable to receive or generate knowledge; *received knowing* is seeing knowledge as absolute and in the possession of authorities to whom one listens and learns from; *subjective knowing* is distrusting authority and listening instead to an inner voice; *procedural knowing* is seeing knowledge as objective and rational, with an emphasis on "listening to reason"; and *constructed knowing* is a more integrated voice, the knower playing an active role in the construction of knowledge.

The authors recognize that these may not be universal, fixed, or exhaustive categories, and that similar perspectives can be found in men's thinking. They also are careful not to describe their categories as sequential stages of development. Their sample included a wide range of voices, not all studied over time (though interviewees' descriptions of past thinking and growth were important sources of insight). However, their categories provide a useful starting point for understanding and researching women's ways of knowing.

In Part II of the book the authors use the insight gained to discuss how women from the different perspectives experience family life and being educated, and again the voices of the women interviewed and the stories of their lives speak eloquently. Of special interest is a chapter called "Connected Teaching," which makes some thought-provoking points about ways in which teachers can encourage women to speak. The authors present a model of teachers as midwives who (unlike " banker" teachers who deposit knowledge in students' heads) draw out, articulate, and expand students' own latent knowledge. Focusing on the students' knowledge rather than on their own, these teachers " contribute when needed, but it is always clear that the baby is not theirs but the students'"(218). They are objective, but trust their personal experience and that of their students; they also welcome diverse viewpoints. Finally, their authority is based not on subordination but on cooperation.

The cooperation stressed in the chapters on women's ways of learning and teaching also is expressed in the way the book is written. Some women in academia are becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the adversarial stance of much academic writing, in which the scholar first has to provide lengthy and brutal criticism of the work of others as a justification of his or her own work. In this book, however, the authors gracefully acknowledge previous research and scholarship, and through citation locate their research in the context of similar and related work, and yet it is done in such a way as to suggest that they are adding to the ongoing conversation of a *community* of scholars.

This interest in community and connectedness can be sensed also from the preface which mentions the authors' collaborative efforts to write the book and their decision to try to write in a single voice rather than to attribute separate parts to single authors. A sense of collaboration with the women interviewed is also made clear through the frequent use of these women's words. Use of their stories provides contextual richness that allows readers to better understand the women and hear their voices. Another indication of this attitude of connectedness is that the authors chose to use the personal pronoun " we" and to use mostly active voice in describing their ideas and research methodology. (For example, "We had another motive for including women from the programs for parents"(13). This involves the readers by making the authors' voices less authoritative and distant.

That the book is a fine example of women's ways of writing and scholarship makes it worth study, but more important is that it is a valuable contribution to our understanding of how women learn and grow cognitively and ethically. Carefully researched and well-written, it stimulates the thinking of readers, who will find themselves remembering and asking searching questions about their own lives and development. We can all find our own voices here.

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"Letters to the Editor" will appear in future issues of Gender Studies: News & Views.
Letter's, preferably short, should carry the writer's name and address. Pseudonyms may be used for publication.

Women's Studies and the Women's Movement in Australia

Summary of a talk by Dr. Chilla Bulbeck on January 14, 1992 at The Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Women's Movement in Australia

The women's movement in Australia between the 1880s and the 1920s focused on providing women with an alternative to marriage, sometimes seen as female sexual slavery. Because women were denied access to men's work and men's wages and to the law courts, they had few choices in the 1880s besides domestic service, prostitution and marriage. Over this period Australian women won the vote, access to the professions, an increase in their wages, some legal rights concerning divorce and guardianship of their children. From the 1920s to the 1960s, women focused their attention on issues to do with motherhood, and won the rights to a widow's pension, better support for their children if their husbands died, better education and health care for families. Divorce laws were reformed and guardianship of children went more often to mothers. From the 1960s to the present day, Australian women have focused again on more individual issues, and issues which one might define as sexuality issues. These are issues specific to women, arising often because of the different capacities of women's bodies, or the different meanings they have in western society: for example, abortion law reform, prostitution, pornography and rape, law reform, domestic violence and incest. One of the most significant developments in the women's movement in Australia has been the role of femocrats, or women appointed to government positions explicitly to advance the interests of women. Femocrats have won reforms across the spectrum of Australian society - rape laws, domestic violence, affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation, reform of educational curricula, and reform of the welfare payments system.

Women's Studies in Australia

Women's studies in Australia has developed largely since the 1970s. Today many universities teach majors in women's studies, and there are some programmes explicitly designed to extend the availability of women's studies to include women who live in rural areas and women from working class backgrounds. Despite this, women's studies remains largely dominated by white middle-class women of English-speaking backgrounds. Only over the last decade has women's studies scholarship begun to attract a few women of non-English-speaking backgrounds and Aboriginal women.

Research Interests

I am interested in the debates and exchanges between western and Third World women, particularly since the United Nations Decade for Women. Is feminism a western theory and political movement which has little relevance to the bulk of women in the world? Do the concerns of western feminism, for example for equality or sexual reform, grow out of the experiences of white middle-class women? Does that mean these concerns do not touch the experiences of women elsewhere in the world? Can feminism as a theory and a practice grow in strength by taking account of the different theories and perspectives of women all around the world? Are there still some common conditions and experiences that women all over the world share?

In my own research, I first addressed these problems in my book *One World Women's Movement.* More recently, I have been studying the literature which suggests that in much western feminist research there is a process by which Third World women are constructed as the "other," as all that is different from white western women. In this process, women all over the world who are not white English-speaking and middle-class are reduced to a set of characteristics: backward or traditional, passive or submissive, sexually promiscuous or sexually naive, unsophisticated or unaware of sexual oppression in their own nations, or too defensive of their male compatriots in political struggle. This stereotyping occurs because western feminists have not explored the different histories of women in colonized and ex-colonized settings. Furthermore, western feminists study other women by looking outward from themselves and their own western histories and experiences. Western feminists should balance this picture by standing outside their own history and looking back at themselves. By seeing how we look through the eyes of other women, I believe that western feminists may derive a better insight on our own peculiarities and differences. I am particularly interested in analyzing the different histories and experiences of women around the world in relation to the area of sexual identity. Sexual identity formation is a key aspect of how white middle-class western people define themselves. This has been the result of a revolution in thinking which dates back to the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. Aspects of the process have been: the breakdown of a dense network of family ties which defined people through kin relations: as parents, children, grand children, and so on.

The Industrial Revolution caused people to see themselves very much in terms of workplace relations and occupations. In the west one's occupation is sometimes called a "calling card," a key way of defining oneself. Since the Second World War, patterns of consumption have also become important elements of self identity - how you spend your spare time, your tastes in wine, food, music, housing, films and so on. Added to this, one's sexual tastes and performances have become a key aspect of identity.

Liberal democracy is the major political institution of the west. Liberal democracy assumes that everyone is a free and equal voter who has a bundle of rights and duties in relation to the state - for example, the obligation to work and serve the state in times of war. In return the state gives every adult the right to vote, access to the law, freedom of expression and movement. Since women won the vote and their legal freedoms, they too have been assumed to be free individuals like men, who have duties as individuals, and not so much because they are mothers or daughters.

The sexual revolution since the 1890s may loosely be called sexology. This revolution has argued that everyone, whether male or female, desires sexual activity. Men desire sex more strongly than women, and women are masochistic in their sexual desire. Women desire pain in sex. The sexological revolution has been linked to liberal democracy so that some people argue for their individual rights to sexual expression. Thus social movements like gay liberation have been born; men argue that pornography is a civil right because it is part of freedom of speech; some men campaign for the right to engage with sex with children, as long as the children enjoy it.

Coupled with all this has come a decline in the value of motherhood in western society. Instead women are valued according to their success at work and their capacity to be pleasing to men. Over the last twenty years, the image of the beautiful woman in the west has become younger, slimmer, more sexually provocative.

Some of the key issues for western feminism are violent pornography, domestic violence and incest, prostitution, and bodily autonomy. These have not always been the issues of key concern to women elsewhere in the world. I wish to explore the different sexual histories of women around the world which give rise to both different issues for concern, and different evaluations of subjectivity or one's identity.

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GENDER STUDIES: NEWS AND VIEWS

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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 1 June, 1992

Editorial

Sameness or Difference? — Action in Search of a Goal

Grace C.L. Mak

The question comes with increasing urgency. What is the ultimate goal of the feminist movement? Non-feminists assume the clear-cut answer that women want to enter men's land and share what men already possess. Feminists are not so sure. After long years of struggle, we find ourselves entangled in the dichotomy between expanded access to men's power structure and institutionalising an alternative, potentially more humane, vision of life. We are posed with the task of understanding the consequences of our effort toward equality.

Status attainment literature has done much to investigate the structural barriers that keep women from a fair representation in, among other spheres, politics and the economy. In the corporate world, "glass ceilings" prevent female access to top jobs. Implicit in the literature is an acceptance of a world built on men's terms, a world that sees the notion of power as not only unproblematic but probably desirable, and that all women ask for is inclusion in it. Carol Gilligan and other psychological theorists, in an attempt to restore value to women's moral differences from men, pose a different view. Women's relational capacities, captured especially in their caringness and tolerance, offer an alternative approach to social organisation. A world premised on the well-being of all naturally precludes existing patterns of domination of many by a few. It promises humanity. The danger is, however, that insistence on difference may easily be manipulated to perpetuate sexist stereotypes and women's place on the periphery. The ray of hope may lead further into the abyss. On the other hand, equality in the sense of getting a share of men's power may drag women into an imperfect world, legitimating it by women's very presence. It is a damned if you do, damned if you don't situation. So what are women after? More of the same, or something different?

Grouped under seemingly unrelated themes–women in religion and women's status — the main articles in this issue speak to the dilemma. The pieces on women's status in Hong Kong and in Scandinavia, implicitly comparative, rest on the hidden criterion that equality means parity with men in rewards. Some of the pieces on religion, however, reveal interestingly that women's lower status in the hierarchy may result from choice. The three Protestant priestesses in one of the articles testify, in their own words, that pursuing the service ideal eclipses the mundane strife for high rank. What appears to be subordination is a voluntary resignation from power, a conscious decision made after a reinterpretation of the meaning of human existence. Not incidentally, Wing Ming, herself a Buddhist nun, observes in her insightful article that early Buddhist nuns in Hong Kong, who were pioneers in the arduous effort of providing welfare for the poor, withdrew from leadership afterwards. Both groups of women compensate for their low ranks with intrinsic rewards from altruism. Whether married or not, they are not bound by maternal obligations, which often restrict secular women's promotional prospect in the workplace. Still, they choose not to compete with men in the conventional sense. They denounce and attempt to redefine the rules of the game.

So what does it mean for those of us involved in gender studies? Are we in search of a brave new world, or, as Tsui Hing-fung asks, are we merely cultivating new turf within a male constructed and dominated framework? Feminist scholars have come a long way and have significantly advanced our knowledge of women's reality. The agenda in front of us now is, where and how to locate feminism, of which our gender research is a part, in the hitherto patriarchal society.

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